THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

Written originally in FRENCH by

RAPIN DE THOYRAS:

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES;

AND

CONTINUED FROM THE REVOLUTION

TO THE

Acceſſion of KING GEORGE II.

BY

N. TINDAL, M. A.

Late RECTOR of ALVERSTOKE IN HAMPSHIRE, and CHAPLAIN
to the ROYAL HOSPITAL at GREENWICH:

With the Reign of GEORGE the II:

BY

T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

AND AN INDEX TO EACH VOLUME.

VOL. V.

Illuſtrated and Embelliſhed with Portraits of the KINGS, QUEENS, and illuſtrious Perſonages,
Monuments, Great-Seals, Coins, naval and military Engagements, &c. and
Maps of the different Parts of the World, where the
Important Events of this Hiſtory took Place.

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THE GREAT SEAL OF KING GEORGE. I

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GEORGE THE FIRST.

G. Kneller Pinxit. *Taylor Sculp.*

At Kensington Palace.

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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK XXVII.

SECT. I.

From the Acceſſion of King GEORGE the I, to the End of the Rebellion in SCOTLAND.

30. GEORGE I.

THE illuſtrious houſe of Hanover entirely owe their advancement to the throne of Great-Britain, to the effectual meaſures taken by king William and queen Anne, for the excluſion of all catholic princes. Had not the order of the ſucceſſion been changed, and ſuppoſing the doubtfulneſs of the pretender's birth a ſufficient reaſon to ſet him aſide, the houſe of Savoy would have been in poſſeſſion of the Britiſh dominions, as they derive their right from the princeſs Henrietta, daughter of king Charles I, whereas the houſe of Hanover are deſcended from the princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of king James I. Nor was it out of any particular regard for the dukes of Hanover, that the Engliſh nation agreed to alter the ſucceſſion, but out of a belief, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of the ſtate. All catholics were therefore declared incapable of ſucceeding to the crown, and conſequently the ſucceſſion was eſtabliſhed in the proteſtant branches. Upon this foundation it was, that, the duke of Gloceſter being dead, the princeſs Sophia was acknowledged for lawful heir to the imperial crown of Great Britain.

Though this change of the ſucceſſion has been exclaimed againſt by many, it is built on very ſtrong reaſons. In catholic countries, a proteſtant king will not be endured: why therefore ſhould a proteſtant ſtate be obliged to ſuffer a catholic king? Are there not, between ſovereign and ſubjects, mutual obligations? And is not the preſervation of religion one of the greateſt? If the catholics think their religion unſafe under a proteſtant prince, has not experience taught the proteſtants, that their religion can never be ſecure under a catholic prince? What the nation had ſuffered from the zeal of king James to introduce his religion, did it not ſufficiently juſtify their fears and precautions? To maintain the proteſtant ſucceſſion againſt the pretended heir, and ſeveral others, who, after his deceaſe, might put in their claim, the beſt meaſures were taken. Of theſe, the moſt effectual was the humbling the exorbitant power of France, by which king James and his pretended ſon were protected. Lewis XIV was at laſt forced to abandon their defence, and acknowledge the proteſtant ſucceſſion. All the other ſtates, enemies of France, rejoiced at the revolution, and made it their intereſt to ſupport it. The union of Scotland with England had the ſame end, and was ſo eagerly deſired by king William, only that the Scots might ceaſe to wiſh for a ſeparate king, and concur with the Engliſh in the ſucceſſion they had eſtabliſhed.

Purſuant to the act of ſucceſſion, George Lewis, ſon of Erneſt Auguſtus, firſt elector of Brunſwick-Lunenburg, by the princeſs Sophia, grandaughter of king James I, aſcended the throne on the death of queen Anne. His mature age, being then fifty four years old [a], his experience, his perſonal qualities, his numerous family, the general peace then in Europe, the intereſt his allies had to ſupport him, ſeemed to promiſe him a quiet and peaceable reign; but, however, he was not without his diſturbances. This prince had great talents for a crown, and had not failed to exert them on occaſion. He was concerned in all the affairs of Germany, and always came off with advantage. The great ſervices, he had done for the emperor Leopold, determined the emperor Joſeph, his ſucceſſor, to uſe all his power to procure him admittance into the electoral college: and the emperor Charles, ſucceſſor of Joſeph, cauſed him to be acknowledged elector by Lewis XIV, and by the electors of Cologn and Bavaria, who, till the treaty of Raſtadt, had refuſed him that title. He had waged war in perſon and with ſucceſs. His campaign on the Rhine in 1709 was glorious, and would have been much more ſo, had not the too great bravery of count Merci diſappointed his project of ſending aid to the duke of Savoy, to enable him to penetrate into la Franche Comté. This prince had an excellent ſpirit and noble ſentiments: he was much more ſenſible of ſervices than of injuries; courageous, little capable of diſſembling or hiding his thoughts; my maxim (ſaid he, ſoon after his arrival in England) is never to abandon my friends, to do juſtice to all the world, and to fear no man. To theſe valuable qualities he joined a great application to buſineſs, and a ſincere deſire to render his ſubjects happy.

All theſe virtues together had gained him the reſpect and love of his German ſubjects, who were all ſubmiſſive to his will; and their obedience had nothing of conſtraint, becauſe his commands were always reaſonable, and dictated both by equity and goodneſs.

As ſoon as queen Anne had reſigned her laſt breath, the privy council met, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor and reſident Kreyenberg (in whoſe hands they were lodged) produced the elector of Brunſwick's three inſtruments, nominating the perſons to be added, as lords juſtices, to the ſeven great officers of the realm [b].

After the opening of the inſtruments, a proclamation was iſſued, declaring, that the high and mighty prince George, elector of Brunſwick Lunenburg, was, by the death of queen Anne, become our lawful and rightful liege lord, king of

[a] He was born May 28, 1660.

[b] The great officers were:
Dr Tenniſon, archbiſhop of Canterbury,
Lord chancellor Harcourt,
John Sheffield, duke of Buckinghamſhire, lord preſident,
Charles Talbot, duke of Shrewſbury, lord treaſurer,
William Legg, earl of Dartmouth, lord privy ſeal,
Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty,
Sir Thomas Parker, lord chief-juſtice of the king's-bench.

To theſe were added, by the elector of Brunſwick, in the inſtrument under his own hand, the following perſons;

Duke of Shrewſbury,	Earl of Angleſey,
Duke of Somerſet,	Earl of Carliſle,
Duke of Bolton,	Earl of Nottingham,
Duke of Devonſhire,	Earl of Abingdon,
Duke of Kent,	Earl of Scarborough,
Duke of Argyle,	Earl of Orford,
Duke of Montroſe,	Lord Viſcount Townſhend,
Duke of Roxburg,	Lord Halifax,
Earl of Pomfret,	Lord Cowper.

Great-Britain, France, and Ireland. This proclamation was ſigned by above a hundred lords and gentlemen, ſeveral of whom, in leſs than a year, entered into treaſonable plots to deprive the king of his right, and broke out into open rebellion againſt him.

King George was proclaimed at the uſual places, and with the uſual ſolemnities, in the cities of London and Weſtminſter. The ſtreets were crowded with multitudes of people, and no diſorder was committed. The ſame day the lords-juſtices appointed the earl of Dorſet to carry the king the news of his inauguration, and to attend him in his journey to England.

The earl of Ila, lord juſtice general of North-Britain, having received notice of the queen's death, and orders to proclaim the king, went to the lodgings of the duke of Montroſe (one of the lords of the regency) where he found the marquis of Tweedale, and ſeveral other lords and perſons of diſtinction, who, with the magiſtrates of Edinburgh, and the officers of the ſtate, cauſed the king to be proclaimed with great ceremony.

Two days after the lords juſtices of Ireland, the archbiſhop of Armagh, and ſir Conſtantine Phipps, having received the like notice, proclaimed the king on the 6th of Auguſt at Dublin. At the ſame time, they iſſued a proclamation for diſarming papiſts, and ſeizing their horſes.

There was not the leaſt diſturbance or interruption given in any place to the proclaiming of the king; only at Oxford, the mayor received a letter brought by a perſon in a bachelor's gown, requiring him to proclaim the pretender[c]. The mayor communicated this letter to the vice-chancellor, and both of them tranſmitted copies of it to mr. ſecretary Bromley, repreſentative for the univerſity of Oxford, who ſent them letters of thanks. The vice chancellor alſo offered a reward of a hundred pounds to the diſcoverer of the author.

In the mean time, the lords of the regency finding the nation much expoſed by the ill condition of the army and fleet, took all poſſible precautions to guard againſt a ſurprize. They diſpatched ſuch officers of the army, as they could truſt, to their reſpective poſts; gave orders to reinforce the garriſon of Portſmouth, and ſent veſſels out to view the harbours of France. They choſe mr. Joſeph Addiſon to be their ſecretary, and ordered all diſpatches, directed to the ſecretary of ſtate, to be ſent to him. This was particularly mortifying to the lord Bolingbroke, who was now obliged to ſtand at the door of the council chamber with his bag and papers, and to receive orders from thoſe, whom, a few days before, he expected to command.

The parliament met at Weſtminſter, the afternoon of the very day the queen died, purſuent to the act, which regulated the ſucceſſion. The ſpeaker being in Wales, it was moved by mr. ſecretary Bromley, that the houſe ſhould adjourn to the Wedneſda following. But this motion, though ſeconded, was anſwered by ſir Richard Onſlow, that time was too precious for any to be loſt at ſo critical a juncture. And therefore the houſe adjourned only to the next day.

On the 5th of Auguſt, the lords-juſtices came to the houſe of peers, where the lord chancellor, in their name, made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'It having pleaſed Almighty God to take to himſelf our late moſt gracious queen of bleſſed memory, we hope, that nothing has been omitted, which might contribute to the ſafety of theſe realms, and the preſervation of our religion, laws, and liberties, in this great conjuncture. As theſe invaluable bleſſings have been ſecured to us by thoſe acts of parliament, which have ſettled the ſucceſſion of theſe kingdoms in the moſt illuſtrious houſe of Hanover; we have regulated our proceedings by thoſe rules, which are therein preſcribed.

The privy-council, ſoon after the demiſe of the late queen, aſſembled at St James's, where, according to the ſaid acts, the three inſtruments were produced and opened, which had been depoſited in the hands of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and the reſident of Brunſwick. Thoſe, who, either by their offices, or by virtue of theſe inſtruments, had the honour of being appointed lords-juſtices, did, in conjunction with the council, immediately proceed to the proclaiming of our lawful and rightful ſovereign king George, taking, at the ſame time, the neceſſary care to maintain the public peace.

In purſuance of the acts before-mentioned, this parliament is now aſſembled, and we are perſuaded, you all bring with you ſo hearty a diſpoſition for his majeſty's ſervice, and the public good, that we cannot doubt of your aſſiſtance in every thing, which may promote thoſe great ends.

Gentlemen of the houſe of Commons,

'We find it neceſſary to put you in mind, that ſeveral branches of the public revenue are expired by the demiſe of her late majeſty; and to recommend to you the making ſuch proviſions in that reſpect, as may be requiſite to ſupport the honour and dignity of the crown: and we aſſure ourſelves, you will not be wanting in any thing, that may conduce to the eſtabliſhing and advancing of the public credit.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'We forbear laying before you any thing, that does not require your immediate conſideration, not having received his majeſty's pleaſure. We ſhall only exhort you, with the greateſt earneſtneſs, to a perfect unanimity, and a firm adherence to our ſovereign's intereſt, as being the only means to continue among us our preſent happy tranquility.'

The commons being returned to their houſe, mr. ſecretary Bromley moved for an addreſs of condolance and congratulation, inſiſting much on the great loſs, the nation had ſuſtained by the death of the late queen. mr. Robert Walpole moved for ſomething more ſubſtantial, 'to give the king aſſurances of their making good all parliamentary funds;' and mr. Onſlow, afterwards lord Onſlow, very juſtly obſerved, 'that the ſtreſs of the addreſs ought not to lie upon condoling, but upon congratulating and giving the king aſſurances of their maintaining both his majeſty's undoubted title to the crown, and public credit.' Accordingly, inſtructions were given for drawing up the following addreſs, which was unanimouſly agreed to the next day:

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

'We your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Great-Britain, in parliament aſſembled, having a juſt ſenſe of the great loſs the nation has ſuſtained by the death of our late ſovereign lady queen Anne, of bleſſed memory, humbly crave leave to condole with your majeſty on this ſad occaſion.

It would but aggravate our ſorrow, particularly to enumerate the virtues of that pious and moſt excellent princeſs; the duty we owe to your majeſty, and to our country, oblige us to moderate our grief, and heartily to congratulate your majeſty's acceſſion to the throne; whoſe princely virtues give us a certain proſpect of future happineſs in the ſecurity of our religion, laws, and liberties, and engage us to aſſure your majeſty, that we will, to our utmoſt, ſupport your undoubted right to the imperial crown of this realm, againſt the pretender and all other perſons whatſoever.

Your faithful commons cannot but expreſs their impatient deſire for your majeſty's ſafe arrival and preſence in Great-Britain.

In the mean time, we humbly lay before your majeſty the unanimous reſolution of this houſe, to maintain the public credit of the nation, and effectually to make good all funds which have been granted by parliament, for the ſecurity of any money which has been, or ſhall be, advanced for the public ſervice, and to endeavour, by every thing in our power, to make your majeſty's reign happy and glorious.'

The ſame day, the houſe of peers agreed upon the following addreſs:

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

'We your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal in parliament aſſembled, though deeply ſenſible of the great loſs theſe nations have ſuſtained, by the demiſe of her late majeſty of bleſſed memory, think it our duty, at the ſame time, with thankful hearts to Almighty God, to congratulate your majeſty upon your happy and peaceable acceſſion to the throne: and we do, with the utmoſt loyalty and duty, aſſure your majeſty of our zealous and firm reſolutions to ſupport your undoubtedly rightful and lawful title to the crown, againſt all enemies and pretenders whatſoever.

Our zeal and affection for your majeſty's ſervice engage us to exert ourſelves with all vigour and unanimity for ſecuring the public ſafety; and we will always, to the utmoſt of our power, maintain the honour and dignity of your crown. And we do, with faithful hearts, beſeech your majeſty, as

[c] In the letter were theſe expreſſions:
'This is to warn you, if you ſhould receive an order to proclaim Hanover, not to comply with it for the hand of God is now at work to ſet things upon a right foot, and in a few days you will ſee wonderful changes; which if you are wiſe enough to foreſee, you will obtain grace and favour from the hands of his ſacred majeſty king James, &c.'

ſoon as poſſible, to give us your royal preſence, which we are perſuaded will be attended with all other bleſſings to your kingdoms.'

This addreſs having been tranſmitted by the lords-juſtices to the king, he returned this anſwer:

GEORGE R.

'I take this firſt opportunity to return you my hearty thanks for your addreſs, and the aſſurances you have given me therein.

The zeal and unanimity you have ſhewn, upon my acceſſion to the crown, are great encouragements to me; and I ſhall always eſteem the continuance of them as one of the greateſt bleſſings of my reign.

No one can be more truly ſenſible than I am, of the loſs ſuſtained by the death of the late queen, whoſe exemplary piety and virtue ſo much indeared her to her people, and for whoſe memory I ſhall always have a particular regard.

My beſt endeavours ſhall never be wanting to repair this loſs to the nation. I will make it my conſtant care to preſerve your religion, laws, and liberties inviolable, and to advance the honour and proſperity of my kingdoms.

I am haſtening to you, according to your deſire, ſo affectionately expreſſed in your addreſs.'

The addreſs of the commons being alſo tranſmitted to the king, he returned the following anſwer:

GEORGE R.

'Your dutiful and loyal addreſs is very acceptable to me. The unanimity and affection my commons have ſhewn, upon my acceſſion to the crown, are moſt agreeable inſtances and pledges of their fidelity to me. I have a juſt ſenſe of your inexpreſſible loſs, by the death of your late ſovereign. You may be aſſured of my conſtant endeavours to ſecure to you the full enjoyment of your religion, laws, and liberties; and that it will always be my aim to make you an happy and flouriſhing people; to which your reſolution to maintain the public credit of the nation will greatly contribute. I am haſtening to you, according to your earneſt deſire, and the juſt expectations of my people.'

A great many perſons, particularly the leading men among the party, whoſe deſigns were fruſtrated by the queen's ſudden death, being extremely angry with dr. Ratcliffe, for not attending the queen, when ſent for by the duke of Ormond, their reſentments were carried ſo far, that, on the 5th of Auguſt, ſir John Packington made a complaint againſt him in the houſe of commons. But it being repreſented, that the doctor, who had the honour of being a member of the houſe, was then abſent, that matter dropped.

Two days after, there was a debate about the choice of a chairman of the grand committee of ſubſidy; ſome of the tory members having moved and inſiſted on placing ſir William Wyndham in the chair. But mr. Walpole repreſented, that mr. Conyers had, for ſo many years, ſo well diſcharged that office, that it would be inconſiſtent with gratitude, good manners, and prudence, to chuſe another. Upon which mr. Conyers was placed in the chair. The tories having loſt this point, ſome of them, on pretence of ſhewing extraordinary zeal for the new government, propoſed the giving the king a million ſterling for the civil liſt, which was 300,000l. more than the late queen had enjoyed. But, though no direct oppoſition was then made to that motion, yet it was afterwards dropped; the wiſeſt of the king's friends knowing, that the tories would take occaſion from thence to reproach him, as oppreſſing the nation by a higher revenue than the queen, as they afterwards ſuggeſted in their libel, called Engliſh advice. For this reaſon, the propoſal for the ſame ſum as had been granted to the queen was approved, and a bill for that purpoſe, being brought in, paſſed with great diſpatch. While the bill was depending, mr. Horatio Walpole moved, that the committee ſhould have power to receive two clauſes; one for the payment of the arrears due to the Hanover troops in Engliſh pay, being 65,000l. the other for 100,000l. to be paid by the treaſury, to any perſon that ſhould apprehend the pretender, if he ſhould land, or attempt to land in any of the king's dominions. Sir William Wyndham ſeconded mr. Walpole as to the arrears; and mr. Shippen very frankly owned, he had oppoſed that payment in the late reign, but that he was for it now. Mr. Aldworth, member of parliament for New Windſor, ſupported likewiſe the motion; but, as if he deſigned to expoſe the members, who, at this juncture, appeared ſo forward to pay thoſe very troops, which, a few months before, they had treated as runaways, he ſaid, 'That, for his part, he had formerly been againſt the payment, becauſe he had been given to underſtand, in that very houſe, that thoſe troops were deſerters; but that he had ſince been informed, they were hired to fight, and had ſerved well as long as there was fighting: and if, when they came in ſight of the enemy, they, who hired them, would not ſuffer them to fight, he did not ſee any reaſon, why they ſhould be called deſerters.' As to the clauſe, for giving 100,000l. to ſuch, as ſhould apprehend the pretender, mr. C—n ſaid, the next day, 'That he was not the day before in the houſe, when that clauſe was moved; but, if he had been preſent, he would have oppoſed it, becauſe, in his opinion, the proteſtant ſucceſſion was no longer in danger, ſince his majeſty's peaceable acceſſion to the throne:' and he was ſo poſitive in this aſſertion, that he defied all the houſe to prove the contrary. He was ſeconded by mr. Shippen; but mr. Pulteney, and after him the lord lumley, made it clearly appear, 'That the proteſtant ſucceſſion was in danger, as long as there was a popiſh pretender, who had many friends both at home and abroad: that the late queen was ſenſible of that danger, when ſhe iſſued out her proclamation againſt him; and that the caſe was not altered by her majeſty's demiſe: that the nation would be at no charge, if the pretender did not attempt to land; and if he did, 100,000l. would be well beſtowed to apprehend him.' To this mr. C—n made no reply.

Mr Craggs, who, the day before the queen died, had been diſpatched to Hanover, returned, the 13th of Auguſt, with letters from the king to the lords-juſtices: Upon which they went to the houſe of peers: and the chancellor, in their name, made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is with great ſatisfaction we can now tell you, that we have this morning received a letter from the king, wherein his majeſty is gratiouſly pleaſed to acquaint us, that his majeſty is haſtening hither, to employ his utmoſt care for putting theſe kingdoms into a happy and flouriſhing condition.'

'He has commanded us, in the mean time, to continue our care of every thing, that may conduce to the peace and ſafety of his dominions. And we are aſſured, that, if this had required his more immediate preſence, he would, without the leaſt delay, have repaired hither, for the ſupport of ſo dutiful and faithful ſubjects. For his majeſty does very particularly expreſs his great ſatisfaction in the loyalty and affection, which his people have univerſally ſhewn upon his majeſty's acceſſion to the crown.'

'At the opening this ſeſſion, we did not mention to you the apprehenſions we then had, from the ſmallneſs of the ſum at that time advanced, that the lottery would not be full, being deſirous, in the firſt place, to try to make it effectual in the manner the parliament had eſtabliſhed it. But we are obliged now to acquaint you, that all our endeavours have failed of the deſired ſucceſs, though the contributions have been thereby conſiderably increaſed.'

'We muſt therefore earneſtly recommend to you, gentlemen of the houſe of commons, to take this into your conſideration, and to give ſuch further encouragement, as you ſhall think proper, for raiſing the whole ſum, which was intended, and is abſolutely neceſſary for carrying on the ſervice of the year.'

The parliament had, before the queen's death, paſſed an act for a lottery for 1,400,000l. but public credit was then ſo low, that not above ſixty or ſeventy thouſand pounds had been ſubſcribed. This was occaſioned partly by the diffidence of the monied men in the late adminiſtration, and partly by the low intereſt allowed for the blank tickets. The lords of the regency and privy council, to reſtore public credit, and fill the lottery, went in a body to the bank, and ſubſcribed large ſums themſelves, which was ſuch an encouragement to others to follow their example, that 700,000l. was ſubſcribed in two days; and the parliament, purſuant to the king's deſire giving further encouragement by making a ſmall addition to the intereſt for the blank tickets, one per cent. only, the remainder was ſubſcribed in a few days more.

Addreſſes of thanks for the king's letter were voted by both houſes, and ſent to Hanover by the lords-juſtices, who, about a week after, came to the houſe of peers to paſs the money-bills, that were ready for the royal aſſent. The ſpeaker, upon preſenting the civil liſt and lottery bills,

made a remarkable ſpeech [d] and, the buſineſs of the ſeſſion being finiſhed, the lords-juſtices prorogued the parliament to the 3d of September.

Thus ended the ſecond and laſt ſeſſion of the fourth parliament of Great-Britain, and the laſt of queen Anne's reign.

The French miniſter, monſieur d'Iberville, who had behaved himſelf with great hautineſs, was, upon the queen's death, ſeized with ſuch an apprehenſion of being inſulted by the people in his own houſe, that he ſent a letter to the duke of Ormond, to deſire his protection; and, the duke acquainting the lords-juſtices with it, ſome of the trained-bands were ordered to guard his houſe. That miniſter had before he received any orders from his court, aſſured the regency, 'That his maſter would inviolably maintain the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht, particularly with relation to the ſettlement of the Britiſh crown in the houſe of Hanover.' And the earl of Peterborough, who arrived in London from France on the 7th of Auguſt, told ſome of the regency, that the French king had given him the like aſſurances; mr. Prior having likewiſe, by orders of the regency, notified the queen's death to the French king, received the ſame anſwer. Some days after, Iberville received a letter from the marquis de Torcy, approving what he had done; and another from the French king to the Britiſh regency with the ſame aſſurance, importing likewiſe, 'That having been informed, that reports had been ſpread, as if he deſigned to make alterations in the late renunciations, he thought fit to declare, as he had already done to the earl of Peterborough, that theſe reports were altogether falſe and groundleſs: That, the king of Spain having ſent the cardinal del Guidice as embaſſador to France, which might create ſome ſuſpicions, his moſt chriſtian majeſty had deſired the king, his grandſon, to recall him: And that the elector of Brunſwick having, ſome time before the death of the queen, ſignified to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, that, whenever his ſucceſſion to the crown of Great-Britain ſhould take place, he would cultivate a friendſhip with his moſt chriſtian majeſty, he (the king of France) on his part, aſſured the lords-juſtices, that he would do all that lay in his power to maintain a good intelligence and amity between the two crowns.'

The anſwer, which mr. Prior received about the Catalans was not altogether ſo agreable to England. The regency had wrote to the court of France, 'That, his moſt chriſtian majeſty having promiſed to interpoſe his good offices with the king of Spain in favour of the Catalans, they were ſurprized to find, that, inſtead of that, his moſt chriſtian majeſty had ſent his troops to aſſiſt thoſe of his grandſon, in the reduction of Barcelona; and that they hoped, his moſt chriſtian majeſty would make good his promiſes, and conſider the ill conſequences of his ſuffering his forces to act againſt a people, who were under the protection of the crown of Great-Britain.' To this mr. Prior received an anſwer, 'That the moſt chriſtian king had already made good his engagements in behalf of the Catalans: That their obſtinacy was the cauſe of all the misfortunes, that might befal them: And his glory that would not ſuffer him to recall his troops from before Barcelona.' Some days before this anſwer was tranſmitted to England, the marquis d' Almanza, one of the deputies from the principality of Catalonia, made application to the lords-juſtices, and communicated to them a letter he had received from the governor of Majorca, with an account of the condition of the city of Barcelona. Upon which they ordered, that a copy of the letter, which they had written to the court of France, ſhould be communicated to the marquis; and he was farther aſſured, that directions had been ſent to admiral Wiſhart, not to moleſt the inhabitants of Barcelona, or hinder any relief to be brought to them by ſea.

The lords-juſtices were ſenſible how little the French king's aſſurances, that he would not diſturb the proteſtant ſucceſſion, were to be relied on; and therefore, though they had ſent a reinforcement to the garriſon of Portſmouth, under the command of colonel Pocock, they ordered another draught of five hundred out penſioners of Chelſea-Hoſpital to march thither, under the command of colonel Jones and at the ſame time, ordered the juſtices of the peace of London and Weſtminſter to take exact liſts of the popiſh reſcuants, and to ſeize their arms and horſes; and, upon the landing of the ſeven Britiſh batalions from Oſtend, a battalion of the earl of Orkney's regiment of fuſileers was commanded to march to Portſmouth, which made a ſtrength ſufficient for the defence of that important place.

On the 17th of Auguſt, the earl of Berkley, commander of the ſquadron of men of war and yachts, appointed to attend the king and prince, arrived on the coaſt of Holland. Monſieur Klingraef, the king's reſident at the Hague, immediately diſpatched an expreſs to Hanover, to acquaint him with it.

The ill conduct of the late miniſtry with relation to the treaty of commerce with Spain ſoon appeared. For, on the 19th of Auguſt, the merchants trading to that kingdom, laid before the regency the difficulties under which they laboured, by means of a large donative which king Philip was about to extort from the Britiſh and other merchants [e]. This increaſed the general indignation againſt the managers of the Spaniſh treaty, who had ſettled our trade to Spain in

[d] The ſpeech was as follows:

My Lords,

'The knights, citizens, and burgeſſes of Great-Britain, in parliament aſſembled, under the preſent happineſs they enjoy by his majeſty's peaceable and quiet acceſſion to the throne, could not enter upon any work more ſatisfactory and pleaſing to themſelves, than the providing a ſufficient revenue for the occaſions of his majeſty's civil government, in order to make his reign as eaſy and proſperous, as the beginning of it hath been ſecure and undiſturbed.

They are ſenſible, that the peace of the kingdom is not to be preſerved, nor the rights and liberties of the ſubjects to be protected, without ſupporting the juſt authority and dignity of the crown; and therefore they have thought it their intereſt, as well as duty to make ſuch a proviſion, as may not barely ſuffice to the neceſſity of the government, but may be ſuitable to the ſtate, the honour and luſtre, which the crown of Great-Britain ought to be attended with.

Whatſoever is ſuperfluous in that proviſion, and more than the ordinary ſervices of his majeſty ſhall require, will but inable him to exert his higheſt and moſt valuable prerogative of doing good: And we can give no greater proof of the truſt we repoſe in his majeſty's gracious diſpoſition, than putting the ſame intire revenue into his hands, which her late majeſty died poſſeſſed of; whoſe virtues we all admired, and of whoſe affection and concern for the religion, laws, and liberties, of this kingdom, we had ſo long experience.

As the crown itſelf deſcends immediately, and knows no vacancy, the commons have taken care, that the revenue ſhould follow it as cloſe as poſſible for they have given all the diſpatch to this grant, which the forms of their proceedings would allow. So that when his majeſty ſhall pleaſe to anſwer the impatient deſires of his people, by coming to take poſſeſſion of his kingdoms, he will find himſelf equally eſtabliſhed in theſe revenues, as if he had ſucceeded to all by an uninterrupted right of inheritance. The only difference is this, that, if he had inherited them, he would have wanted one ſingle proof of the duty, and affection, and unanimity of his ſubjects.

Our deſire is, that this may be looked upon as an earneſt and pledge of that zeal and fidelity, which we ſhall always retain, and which, upon every occaſion, we ſhall be ready to demonſtrate to his majeſty's perſon and government: As ſuch, we hope his majeſty will graciouſly accept it at this time; and hereafter, when he ſhall have had experience of this firſt voluntary offering of his loyal commons, we hope he will find it to his ſatisfaction, as large and as ample as he could wiſh, might but the term of the grant be as long as we could wiſh, ſince it is to have equal continuance with his majeſty's life.

My lords, the bill, which the commons have paſſed for the purpoſes I have mentioned, is intitled, An act for the better ſupport of his majeſty's houſhold, and of the honour and dignity of the crown of Great-Britain.

They have alſo prepared another bill, as well for rectifying miſtakes in the names of the commiſſioners for the land-tax, as for raiſing ſo much as is wanting to make up the ſum of fourteen hundred thouſand pounds, intended to be raiſed by a lottery, for the public ſervice, in the year 1714. This having been recommended to their care, and appearing to them to be neceſſary for his majeſty's and the public ſervice, they have reaſon to think they have now abundantly ſupplied the defects in the former proviſion; and in this aſſurance they humbly preſent this bill alſo for the royal aſſent.'

[e] An account of this affair was publiſhed in the two following letters from Cadiz;

Cadiz, July 29.

'The king of Spain has demanded a donative in this place, and in other parts of Spain, and particularly of the Britiſh merchants and other foreigners inhabiting here: and their proportion of the donative is ſettled by a note left at each of their houſes, regulating what each perſon is to pay, which the merchants have refuſed to comply with, as being contrary to treaties in force, and have repreſented the ſame to the king of Spain; But, inſtead of finding redreſs, they have had ſoldiers quartered upon them, and expect the number to be doubled every day, during the time they ſhall refuſe to pay the donative. However, they have reſolved to let their effects be ſeized, rather than comply with a demand ſo unjuſt in itſelf, and ſo diſhonourable to the Britiſh nation, of which there is no precedent.'

Cadiz, July 29.

'Our factory is inſulted the moſt that ever was yet experienced from this government; a donative (or free gift) being endeavoured to be extorted by violence from us. To which effect our governor has put guards of ſoldiers in our houſes, threatening to double them at 8 rials value per diem, which amounts to half a dollar, until we pay the ſaid donative, which amounts to 125 pieces of eight on ſome, on others more or leſs. Thus the principal of our articles and privileges are trampled on. This is the reſpect ſhewn to our queen and nation, and the honourable uſage given to her ſubjects here. And what can be expected for the future? We hope a ſudden and determined reſolution will be taken at the court of England, to get ſatisfaction for this arbitrary dragooning the Britiſh ſubjects; and that a ſtop will be put to their ever pretending here any more to ſuch an extortion and breach of public faith; otherwiſe no living, nor can we be ever ſecure here'. Hiſt. Reg.

ſo precarious a manner, as made it ſubject to the will and pleaſure of the king of Spain, whoſe miniſters believed themſelves ſo ſecure of ours in England, that they thought they might put any hardſhips on our merchants. But upon the news of the queen's ſudden death, and of the vigorous proceedings of the regency, they entertained other ſentiments, and recalled the orders they had given for exacting the donative.

[1714] The latter end of Auguſt, the abbot Gaultier, who had been the agent of France and the pretender, ſet out for that kingdom, as many others had done upon the queen's death who had come hither on very ill deſigns.

About the ſame time, mr. Murray arrived expreſs from Hanover, with an account that the king had deferred his departure for ſome days; and brought ſeveral orders for the regency and council, particularly for the preparing a patent to create the prince royal prince of wales; and for removing the lord Bolingbroke from his office of ſecretary of ſtate; which was done on the laſt of Auguſt, with particular marks of diſpleaſure; three of the lords of the regency, the dukes of Shrewſbury and Somerſet, and the lord Cowper, having taken the ſeals from him, and locked and ſealed up all the doors of his office.

The union between England and Holland was ſo neceſſary for their mutual preſervation, that it was one of the firſt cares of the lords of the regency to notify to the ſtates the queen's death, and his majeſty's peaceable acceſſion to the throne. This was done on the 4th of Auguſt by the earl of Strafford, the Britiſh embaſſador in Holland, who made a ſpeech on the occaſion, wherein he obſerved, that, by the act of ſucceſſion, all officers were to continue in employment ſix months after the demiſe of the queen, unleſs the ſucceſſor otherwiſe diſpoſed of the offices; and that conſequently he remained ſtill embaſſador of the crown of Great-Britain. Upon the arrival of baron Bothmar's ſecretary with the news of the queen's death, monſieur Klingraef, the reſident of Hanover, preſented to the ſtates a memorial, with a letter from the king, which was lodged in his hands, to be in readineſs, if there ſhould be occaſion, by which the king required of the ſtates the preformance of their guaranty of his ſucceſſion to the crown of Great-Britain. The ſtates aſſembled that very night, upon Klingraef's delivering the king's letter; and, the next day, came to a reſolution to return this anſwer, 'That, as ſoon as they were informed of the ſickneſs and death of the queen, they immediately bethought themſelves of their engagements for the guaranty of the ſucceſſion to the crown of Great-Britain in the proteſtant line, as it was ſettled by acts of parliament. That, at the ſame time, they conſidered with themſelves, not only how much it concerns the kingdoms of Great-Britain, that the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line ſhould have intire effect, but alſo how deeply the proteſtant religion, the ſafety of their ſtate, and the liberty of all Europe, were intereſted therein. That therefore they unanimouſly reſolved to perform their engagements, and to execute all that by treaty of mutual guaranty they had promiſed. That as they received the account of the queen's death with grief, ſo it was very acceptable news to them, that his electoral highneſs, as the next heir in the proteſtant line, was inſtantly proclaimed king by the unanimous advice of the council, and with the acclamations of the people. That they moſt heartily congratulate him thereupon, and wiſh him all further happy ſucceſſes in a proſperous reign. That from this good beginning they hope his majeſty will take peaceable poſſeſſion of his kingdoms without any oppoſition. That, nevertheleſs, they were willing and ready to perform their engagements, and to take all proper meaſures with him for that end. That, it being likely his majeſty will ſpeedily go for England, they will be very glad, if he will pleaſe to take his journey thro' their dominions. That they will endeavour to facilitate his paſſage with all that is in their power; and that they will at all time ſhew the high eſteem they have for his majeſty's perſon and friendſhip; and that they have his intereſts as much at heart as their own.' This reſolution was, with a letter to the king, delivered to the reſident of Hanover; and, at the ſame time, the ſtates diſpatched letters to the ſeveral provinces, deſiring them forthwith to provide the neceſſary funds for ſetting out a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war; of which twelve that were ſaid to be deſigned for the Baltic, were almoſt ready to put to ſea.

About the middle of Auguſt, the count of de Tarouca, embaſſador plenipotentiary of Portugal, in a conference with the ſtates-deputies notified to them the favourable declaration the regents of Great-Britain had cauſed to be made to monſieur de Bruciado, the Portugueſe envoy at London, 'That Spain ſhould be obliged to conclude peace immediately with the crown of Portugal; or, in caſe of refuſal, his Portugueſe majeſty might depend upon being aſſiſted by the crown of Great-Britain, conformably to the treaty of defenſive alliance between theſe two crowns.' This declaration having been reported to the ſtates-general, they cauſed aſſurances to be given to the Portugueſe miniſter. 'That they would readily concur in all meaſures his Britannic majeſty might judge proper to be taken for obliging Spain to agree with Portugal on fair and juſt conditions of peace.' After theſe declarations, there was little difficulty in concluding the treaty between Spain and Portugal.

The earl of Strafford having received a letter from the king, to return the ſtates thanks for their reſolution about the guaranty, the earl, two days after, made a ſpeech to the ſtates, and, among other things, ſaid, 'That they had thereby engaged the friendſhip of a king, which could not but be very advantageous to them, as well in regard to the neighbourhood and powerfulneſs of his kingdoms and ſtates as with reſpect to his majeſty's perſonal merit, who, for his many excellent qualities, would be eſteemed and courted by all Europe, as well as loved and reſpected by his own ſubjects: And that he was known to be a prince, who was a religious obſerver of his word, they might be aſſured, that in gaining his friendſhip, they ſecured to themſelves a ſolid and laſting ſupport,

The court of France, confounded by the queen's ſudden death, followed the beſt council, which, in the preſent condition of their affairs, they could take, which was, to acknowledge king George. Accordingly, beſides the forementioned declarations, monſieur de Chateauneuf, their embaſſador at the Hague, made the earl of Strafford the uſual compliments of condolance upon the death of the queen, and, at the ſame time, thoſe of congratulation upon the king's acceſſion to the throne. And it is obſervable, that the pretender, who, by our miniſters and thoſe of France, had been put in hopes of carrying his point, as appears by his own declaration, and by what paſſed between our miniſters and the abbot Gaultier, was intirely diſappointed. For upon the news, which he received the 14th of Auguſt, that the queen was either dead, or paſt recovery, he poſted immediately for Verſailles: But, the king of France having notice of it, the marquis de Torcy ſent to tell him, 'That his moſt chriſtian majeſty was ſurprized at his being returned into his dominions, knowing the engagements he was under, in reſpect to the ſucceſſion of the crown of Great-Britain in the houſe of Hanover; and therefore deſired him to quit his teritories.' Upon this the pretender, having made a melancholy viſit to the queen-dowager of England at Chaillot, returning to Barleduc, under the deepeſt concern for the ill ſucceſs of his journey; and ſet out afterwards for the court of Lorrain at Luneville, from whence he went to Plombieres, to drink the waters of that place.

It will not be improper to take notice of ſome remarkable paſſages at Hanover before the news of the queen's death reached the court. On the 26th of July, the earl of Clarendon, envoy extraordinary from the queen, arrived at Hanover; but, the elector being then at Herenhauſen, it was the 4th of Auguſt, before the earl was conducted thither to have his firſt audience: One reaſon of the delay was, that the king of Pruſſia arrived there incognito on the 30th of July, The cauſe of this interview between theſe two princes at this juncture was variouſly diſcourſed of; but, very probably, the deſign of it was to cultivate a good correſpondence between them which their enemies had endeavoured to interrupt. The French court and ours knew, it would not be eaſy to defeat the proteſtant ſucceſſion, while theſe two families, which were both included in the intail, were united in affection and intereſt; and therefore they attempted to divide them, by propoſing to the king of Pruſſia's miniſter here, that his maſter ſhould immediately ſucceed after the queen, if he would fall in with the meaſures of the courts. But that king was too diſcerning to be caught in that ſnare: He knew, that their deſign was only to ſet the two families at variance which muſt not only defeat the proteſtant ſucceſſion, but ruin the intereſt of the reformation, render the two families incapable of ſupporting their own or their country's intereſt againſt the deſigns of France and Sweden, and facilitate the pretender's way to the throne of Great-Britain. He therefore not only rejected the propoſal, but likewiſe aſſured the elector of Hanover, that he would aſſiſt him with all

his power to maintain his title to the Britiſh crown; and having concerted meaſures with him for their common intereſt, returned to Berlain the 3d of Auguſt,

Mr Craggs, who had been ſent to Hanover with an account of the queen's dangerous illneſs, arrived there on the 16th of Auguſt, and went directly to Herenhauſen with the privy-council's letter to the king. The ſame night three other expreſſes arrived at Hanover; two to the king, and one to the earl of Clarendon, with the news of the queen's death; which the earl communicated to him at two o'clock in the morning. This was confirmed, four hours after, by the arrival of monſieur Godike, ſecretary to baron Bothmar, with the further account of his majeſty's being proclaimed king of Great-Britain in the cities of London and Weſtminſter, without the leaſt ſhew of oppoſition. The king received this news, ſo much to his glory and advantage, with a ſerenity of countenance and compoſure of mind, peculiar to him. The baron de Rhede, his firſt chamberlain, was immediately diſpatched to Berlin, to deſire an interview with the king of Pruſſia, before his departure for Holland. But, that prince having begun his journey to Koningſberg in Pruſſia, before the baron's arrival at Berlin, the interview was prevented. However, as ſoon as the king of Pruſſia received from the Hague the news of the queen's death, and of the proclaiming of king George, he immediately declared his reſolution to contribute his aſſiſtance to the maintaining of that ſucceſſion, in caſe it ſhould be diſputed; and ſent orders to his miniſters at the ſeveral courts, particularly to mr. Bonnet, his reſident at London, to notify, 'That, as his majeſty had conſtantly declared himſelf in favour of the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover to the crown of Great-Britain, ſo now he was affected with peculiar joy to hear, that the ſettlement of that crown had, in due time, taken effect, by the proclaiming of king George, the rather, becauſe it viſibly tended to the promoting the proteſtant religion, and the true intereſt and welfare of the Britiſh nation: and that, in caſe of need, he was ready to employ all the power which God had put into his hands, in aſſiſting to maintain that ſucceſſion againſt all, who might offer to diſpute it.'

The neighbouring princes and ſtates likewiſe either went in perſon, or ſent envoys and deputies to congratulate his majeſty's happy acceſſion to the crown; which occaſioned a great concourſe of people, and retarded the king's departure; the thoughts of which ſo afflicted the inhabitants of Hanover, who had ſo long enjoyed the bleſſings of his mild government, that they were inconſolable. The king, in order to alleviate their grief, cauſed intimation to be given to the magiſtrates, that they might aſk ſome favour of him; and, at their requeſt, the exciſe of proviſions was taken off, the debts of inſolvent debtors were diſcharged, and their perſons ſet at liberty.

The king, having committed the government of his German dominions to a council, at the head of which he placed his brother prince Erneſt, took into conſideration what part of the royal family he ſhould carry with him, and then determined, that the prince ſhould go with him; that the princeſs, his conſort, ſhould follow a few weeks after, with the two eldeſt princeſſes; and that the young prince Frederic George ſhould remain at Hanover with his youngeſt ſiſter. The king alſo named thoſe of the houſhold, who were to attend him to Great-Britain. [f]

The king ſet out from Herenhauſen the 31ſt of Auguſt, and in four days came to Utrecht, from whence he went to the Hague. He had there ſeveral conferences with the ſtates, wherein the aſſurances, which had been mutually given by letters of friendſhip and effectual aſſiſtance, were confirmed. [g] At length, on the 16th of September, the king and prince embarked at Orange-Polder, on board the Peregrine and the Mary Yatcht, which having, ſoon after, joined the ſquadron of Engliſh and Dutch men of war, that waited for them, under the command of the earl of Berkeley, they all ſailed for England with a fair wind; and, the next day, about nine in the evening, arrived ſafe at the Hope, where the admiral thought fit to drop anchor. There being a thick fog the ſaturday morning, the yatch did not go up the river till the afternoon. The king and prince went into a barge in Long Reach, and arrived at Greenwich about ſix o'clock in the evening. The duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guard, and the lord-chancellor, at the head of the lords of the regency, received him at his landing, and complimented him on his ſafe arrival. The king choſe to walk to his houſe in the park, accompanied by moſt of the nobility, and great numbers of the principal gentry, through an infinite crowd of perſons of all conditions. Before he left his yatcht, he appointed the earls of Dorſet and Berkeley to be lords of his bedchamber, and knighted mr. William Sanderſon, captain of the Peregrine. After the king had undergone the fatigue of paſſing through the crowd, and of giving his hand to all, who approached him, he retired to his bed-chamber, and ſent for ſeveral of the nobility, ſuch as had moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal for his ſucceſſion. It was obſerved, that the duke of Ormond, the lord chancellor, and the lord Trevor were not of that number. The earl of Oxford, was not at Greenwich that evening, but was one of the earlieſt there the next morning; but had the misfortune to be undiſtinguiſhed among the crowd, and, with great difficulty, had at laſt the bare honour of kiſſing his majeſty's hand, without exchanging a word with him. Nor did the earl eſcape ſuch reflections from the ſpectators, as his conduct had juſtly deſerved. On the other hand, the duke of Marlborough appeared there, juſtly favoured by the king, and looked upon (though not yet declared) as captain general. [h] The dukes of Shrewſbury, Somerſet, Bolton, Argyle, Montroſe, Rutland, and Montague; the marquis of Dorcheſter; the earls of Dorſet, Bridgewater, Sunderland, Carliſle, Berkeley, Nottingham, Portland, Orford, Wharton, and Cholmondeley; the lord viſcount Townſhend; the lords Oſſulſtone, Sommers, and Halifax; the biſhop of Saliſbury; general Stanhope, mr. Lechmere, and many others, received particular marks of favour; and the duke of Argyle was declared groom of the ſtole to his royal highneſs; colonel William Car and colonel Tyrrel, grooms of the bed-chamber; the earl of Hertford, the lord Finch, the lord Lumley, and colonel Oughton, gentlemen of the bed-chamber to the prince.

On the 20th of September, the king and prince of Wales made their entry with great pomp and magnificence. There were in the king's coach the prince, and the duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guard in waiting. Above two hundred coaches of the nobility and gentry, all with ſix horſes, preceded the king's. When he came to St Margaret's Hill in Southwark, he was met by the lord-mayor, aldermen, recorder, ſheriffs, and officers of the city of London; in whoſe name ſir Peter King, recorder, made a congratulatory ſpeech. The lord-mayor delivered the ſword to the king, who returned it to him, and he bore it in the proceſſion bare-headed. The royal pomp continued till his arrival at his palace of St James's, and was favoured by as fair a day as was ever known in that ſeaſon of the year.

The court was extremely numerous the next day, when, beſides the Britiſh nobility and gentry, ſeveral foreign miniſters made their appearance; particularly thoſe of France, [i] Poland, Pruſſia, and Sicily, took that occaſion to congratulate his majeſty's happy acceſſion to the throne, and ſafe arrival in England. [k]

[f] Theſe were, the baron de Kilmanſeck, maſter of the horſe; baron Bernſdorf, firſt miniſter of ſtate; baron de Goritz, preſident of the finances, and miniſter of ſtate; monſieur de Robethon, privy counſellor to the king; count Platen, great chamberlain; baron de Rhede, great chamberlain; the marquis de la Foret, chamberlain; baron Schutz and his two brothers, one gentleman of the bed-chamber to the king, the other to the prince; monſieur Reiche, privy-counſellor, and ſecretary to his majeſty; baron de Hartoff, counſellor of war; monſieur Schraden, ſecretary of ambaſſies; monſieur Hammerſtein, gentleman of the king's bed-chamber; monſieur Kempe, gentleman of the bed-chamber to the prince; two phyſicians, dr. Steigerthal and dr. Chappuzeau; two ſurgeons, and two valets de chambre.

[g] The marquis de Chateauneuf, embaſſador of France, had an audience among other foreign miniſters, to compliment the king on his acceſſion; and the report was, that he uſed theſe, among other civil expreſſions, 'There are yet a few difficulties to be removed, to put the finiſhing hand to the treaties yet depending; but your majeſty ſhall be the arbiter of the peace.' To which the king anſwered, 'I will be the guaranty of it.' The duke de Oſſuna, and the marquis de Monteleone, plenipotentiaries of Spain, came from Utrecht to the Hague, to wait on the king and had a private audience, the 9th of September.

[h] The duke of Marlborough, having been detained a fortnight at Oſtend by contrary winds, happened to land at Dover, the day the queen died. He knew nothing of the queen's death, no more than the mayor and jurats of Dover, by whom he was received in their formalities with the acclamations of the people, and with a diſcharge of a great number of guns from the platform, but none from the caſtle, which are uſed only in royal ſalutes. The reaſon of his coming at that time is not known for certain. He had been invited firſt by the lord treaſurer Harley, and afterwards by the lord Bolingbroke, and great promiſes were made him. The compliment went ſo far that orders were ſaid to be ſent to the commanders of the caſtles and forts on the coaſts of Kent, Eſſex, and Suffolk, to pay the ſame honours, by the firing of guns wherever he landed, as was done when he returned in triumph from his glorious campaigns. But it ſeems this ceremony was ſoon after countermanded by an expreſs. However, the duke conſented to make a kind of public entry. About two hundred inhabitants of Southwark, with their member at their head, reſolved to meet and attend him through the Borough. He was likewiſe attended as he paſſed through the city with the like number on horſeback. His coach happened to break down at Temple-Bar, and he was forced to go into another. He was cenſured by his enemies for this conduct, as if it was a ſort of inſult on the queen, who was but juſt dead.

Before we proceed to the events of this reign, it will be proper to give a general idea of the ſtate of affairs in Great-Britain and Ireland.

The animoſity between the ſeveral parties, which even at this day divide England, was, at king George's acceſſion, higher than ever. The whigs, who had been in diſgrace the four laſt years of the queen's reign, were full of reſentment at the uſage they had received from the tories, and hoped to have full ſatisfaction under the new reign, which they looked upon as the end of their humiliation. The tories, on their part, were extremely apprehenſive of a downfall, and this apprehenſion had engaged ſeveral of their leaders in practices not only dangerous, but directly contrary to the meaſures, the nation had taken with the two laſt ſovereigns and the houſe of Hanover. To the views of theſe men were aſcribed the late peace with France, and the violence offered by the queen to her allies, to compel them to a reconciliation with that crown, and to the ſacrifice of the fruits of their victories.

Moreover, the principles of the revolution had been far from being univerſally embraced. Not only the papiſts eſpouſed the abdicated family, but alſo great numbers of churchmen; and it was much to be feared, that they would join with the catholics to dethrone a prince, whom they looked upon as a foreigner. The famous diſtinction of a king de jure, and a king de facto, was not yet forgot, nor the doctrine of paſſive obedience; and ſeveral refuſed to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration.

Scotland was generally diſſatisfied with the union. They were apt to conſider themſelves as degraded to a province of England. They had always been pleaſed with the title of an independant kingdom, heartily lamented the loſs of it, and as heartily wiſhed to recover it. That the Scots ſhould, at king George's acceſſion, be in theſe ſentiments, is no great wonder, ſince it requires ages to root out of the minds of a nation ſuch ſort of impreſſions, however ill-grounded. Accordingly, the Scots began to ſhew their diſcontent ſoon after the queen's death, of which there is the following account: the regency having iſſued a proclamation for a reward of 100,000l for ſeizing the pretender, they were informed that the pretender's friends in Scotland deſigned an inſurrection; and that ſome of them had been ſeen to go in arms towards the Highlands; upon which they ordered a good number of half-pay officers, eſpecially of thoſe belonging to the Scots regiments, to go thither immediately, that, in caſe of neceſſity, they might raiſe the militia of the country, under the orders of major-general Whetham, who commanded in chief there. Though this precaution was neceſſary, yet the Scots jacobites were ſo confounded, that they could do nothing conſiderable; ſo that the chief of them only held ſome conſultations, and retired to their lurking places.

Some of the Highlanders appeared in a body near Fort William at Inverlochy, in the weſtern Highlands. But, the governor ſending out a detachment againſt them, they marched off; ſo that they could do nothing at that time in Scotland, but only ſteal ſome cattle, and took an opportunity by night to proclaim the pretender. The government ordered them to be proſecuted; and, by way of prevention, the duke of Gordon was confined by the regency to the city of Edinburgh, on his parole; his ſon, the marquis of Huntley, to his houſe in the north; and his ſon-in-law, the lord Drummond, to his caſtle of that name. The duke of Athol, lord privy-ſeal, who had cauſed the king to be proclaimed at Perth, was ordered to continue at his caſtle of Blair in the Highlands, to preſerve the peace of the neighbourhood: and the regency being informed, that the Highlanders had appointed huntings, when it is uſual for the Clans to attend their chiefs, they forbad thoſe huntings, and ordered ſir Donald Macdonald of Slait, one of thoſe chiefs, ſuſpected to be in the pretender's intereſt, to be made priſoner, and ſent to the caſtle of Edinburgh. The lord Drummond was alſo ordered to be ſeized, but eſcaped to the Highlands, from whence he wrote to the lords juſtices, and offered bail for his good behaviour. The earl of Broadalbin, who had ſufficiently declared himſelf for the pretender, tho' he had abjured him when he ſat as one of the ſixteen Scots peers, thought fit to retire to an inacceſſible caſtle in a lake: upon which a detachment of foot was ordered to guard the avenues; and captain Campbel of Glendoroul, who had a commiſſion, by the earl of Oxford's means, to raiſe an independant company in the Highlands, was taken at Inverlochy, and from thence ſent priſoner to Edinburgh. The late lord-treaſurer had, a little before, ſet up a new chamberlain's court in Scotland, the old one having been long diſcontinued, becauſe arbitrary princes had made it a grievance to the ſubject. The deſign of reviving it now was only for a cover to beſtow money upon ſuch, as were in the court-meaſures. Accordingly, the earl of Mar, who managed the affairs of Scotland, reccommended his own brother-in-law, ſir Hugh Paterſon of Banockburn, and the lord Haddo, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Aberdeen, to be two of the commiſſioners, to whom the queen had granted a bill of 1000l. each, payable by mr. Douglaſs, receiver-general of the land-tax. The lord viſcount Kilſyth, one of the ſixteen Scots peers, and the lord Lyon, king at arms, two other relations to the earl of Mar, had alſo grants for the like ſums. Soon after the queen's death, ſir Hugh Paterſon demanded payment of his bill; but the earl of Ilay, lord juſtice-general of Scotland, interpoſed, and acquainted the regents, how unreaſonable a thing this was; and particularly that men, ſuſpected of diſaffection to his majeſty's government, ſhould have the public money diſtributed amongſt them. Upon this the lords regents ordered the duke of Athol, lord privy-ſeal, to put an immediate ſtop to all grants, that were not paſſed before the queen's death; which diſappointed thoſe gentlemen of their money, and ſaved 4000l. to the government.

When the king was proclaimed at Glaſgow, forty or fifty unknown perſons, while the magiſtrates were buſy in attending the proclamation, took an opportunity to pull down the epiſcopal meeting-houſe there, where one mr. Cockburn had ſet up the Engliſh liturgy, by countenance of the late government, more to diſguſt the citizens, than in hopes of gaining proſelytes. As ſoon as the magiſtrates heard of it, they ſent to apprehend the actors, and to prevent the pulling down the houſe; but they had done their work, and made their eſcape, before the magiſtrates came thither; ſo that none of them were diſcovered or taken. The jacobite party took occaſion from hence to reflect upon the preſbyterians, as if they had perſecuted thoſe of the church of England, and inſerted an account of it in the poſt-boy, with all the aggravating circumſtances, that their malice and invention could ſuggeſt. Complaint was likewiſe made of it to the regency, who ordered the lord advocate of Scotland to inquire into it. There was found good reaſon to ſuſpect, that the thing was done on purpoſe by the diſaffected party, to raiſe a clamour; becauſe mr. Cockburn, the day before, had retired with his family and effects to Edinburgh, though the magiſtrates of Glaſcow had given him aſſurance of protection. This account being taken upon oath by the magiſtrates, and ſent up to the regency, put an end to that matter. Thus ſtood affairs in Scotland, at the time of king George's acceſſion.

As for Ireland, the chief thing to be dreaded there, was the great number of papiſts, who are ever ready to throw off the yoke of the Engliſh. A little more conduct in king James II, and a little more aſſiſtance from France, would have endangered that kingdom. And, at the time of the queen's death, popery was in much the ſame ſituation.

Indeed there ſeemed to be no danger from any foreign power. Holland would not fail to fulfil all engagements; the king of himſelf was powerful: he had on foot a good number of troops, which, without obſtacle, could have been embarked in his own dominions. But, after all, Lewis XIV. was ſtill alive: it could not be doubted, but that it was againſt his will that he had acknowledged the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and promiſed not to diſturb it. He was aſſuredly in the ſame ſentiments ſtill, and perhaps thought himſelf more obliged to keep his word with king James, on his death bed, never to forſake his ſon, than the engagements, the neceſſity of a peace had forced him into. It may be,

[i] Ibberville the French envoy ſaid on this occaſion, 'That, as ſoon as his majeſty's leaſure would permit, he would deſire an audience, to repeat to him the aſſurances, the marquis de Chateauneuf had given his majeſty at the Hague, on the part of his moſt chriſtian majeſty.'

[k] An accident happened this day, which interrupted a little the gay humour the court was in. Charles Aldworth, member of parliament for Windſor, had imbibed, at St Germains in France, ſtrong prejudices againſt the Hanover ſucceſſion, which, at his return to England, he made no ſcruple of publiſhing, and confirmed them by frequent drinking the pretender's health. This drew upon him ſeveral quarrels, in which he met with ſome diſgraces; and, in the later end of the queen's reign, he ſet ſo great value on that merit of his, that he thought himſelf not ſufficiently taken notice of, which made him a little intractable. He took liberties in railing at the old miniſtry; and, to ingratiate himſelf with their ſucceſſors, charged it as a crime in colonel Chudleigh of the foot guards, that he had drank the duke of Marlborough's health. Colonel Chudleigh, the couſin of the other colonel, meeting unexpectedly mr. Aldworth in the preſence-chamber at St James's, expoſtulated with him about it; and, ſome by-ſtanders expreſſing their ſurprize, that men, who had publicly drank the pretender's health, ſhould dare to appear in that place, mr. Aldworth came to hard words with colonel Chudleigh, and challenged him? upon which they both went out, and fought in Marybone fields, notwithſtanding colonel Biſſet's endeavours to prevent it. Mr. Aldworth was killed on the ſpot; and the king, being told of it, expreſſed his indignation at people's quarrelling in his palace; but ſaid, that, as he came to maintain the laws, he would leave the matter wholly to their deciſion.

what he would not do directly, he might do indirectly; with money, may not troops, arms and ships soon be had? It will be seen in the course of this history, that, without any aid, the English and Scots raised such an insurrection, as caused great disturbances: and what would they have done, had they been assisted! In vain would the king have depended on his own troops; they could not be brought over without the consent of the parliament, and the English are too jealous of their liberty, to suffer any foreign forces, and it is with some sort of regret, that they bear even those of the states.

Such was the situation of the British dominions and of Europe, when king George came to the throne; and therefore it is no wonder, that, upon his arrival in England, his first proceedings expressed a dislike of the tories and the late ministry, and shewed his attachment to the whigs. The persons, he had named for the regency, were a plain proof what the friends of the late ministry were to expect. He had, even before his arrival, removed the lord Bolingbroke,[l] and appointed the lord Townshend secretary of state in his room. The day after his landing at Greenwich, he sent the new secretary to acquaint the duke of Ormond, that he had no longer occasion for his service as captain-general, but would be glad to see him at court.

These changes were followed by many others: the duke of Marlborough was made captain-general of the land-forces, colonel of the first regiment of foot-guards, and master of the ordnance. The lord Cowper was made lord chancellor, the earl of Wharton privy-seal, and the earl of Sunderland lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The duke of Devonshire was appointed steward of the household in the room of earl Paulet, and mr. James Stanhope secretary of state in the room of mr. Bromley, and the duke of Montrose in the room of the earl of Mar: the duke of Somerset was made master of the horse, the duke of St Alban's captain of the band of pensioners, and the duke of Argyle commander in chief of the forces in Scotland. Mr William Pulteney was made secretary of war, and mr. Robert Walpole receiver and pay master-general of all the guards and garrisons, and all other forces of Great-Britain, and pay-master to Chelsey-hospital, in the room of mr. How and mr. Moore. The privy-council was dissolved, and a new one declared, of which the earl of Nottingham was president.[m] Out of the privy-counsellors a cabinet council was formed, consisting chiefly of the lord chancellor, the duke of Marlborough, the earls of Nottingham, Sunderland, the lords Hallifax, Townshend, Sommers, and general Stanhope. All these had distinguished themselves by their professed opposition to the late measures, and the peace.

The governors of places were also most of them changed. General Erle was made governor of Portsmouth. There were as many alterations in Ireland as in England. Before the king's arrival, the behaviour of sir Constantine Phipps had been such, that the regency had removed him, as well as the archbishop of Armagh, from being lords-justices of that kingdom, and in their room appointed the archbishop of Dublin and the earl of Kildare, for which they had the king's letter of approbation and thanks.[n] Alan Broderick was made lord chancellor of Ireland, and William Whitshed chief justice. The privy-council was also dissolved, and another named, of which the duke of Ormond was one.[o]

All these changes were made before the coronation, which was fixed to the 20th of October. The king is by some blamed, for not having joined to the great number of whigs a few more of the tories, which they suppose would have prevented the general discontent of that party. But it was very difficult for the king not to do as he did. The inclination which the pretender had indiscreetly asserted, the queen had for him in the latter years of her life could be ascribed only to those who had the management of affairs The ministry, resolutely bent to end the war, notwithstanding the complaints of all the allies (who placed their safety in the humbling of France) and particularly, notwithstanding the repeated opposition of the duke of Hanover, they could not but be sensible, that, if he one day became their master, he would not fail to sacrifice them to his own, and the resentment of the allies, whose projects they had disappointed, and whose hopes they had confounded. It was therefore natural to think, they had taken measures to prevent any danger from him. A thousand circumstances supported these conjectures: the dowry paid to king James's queen: the small reward offered for taking the pretender: the conniving at the listing of men in his service: the suffering the revolution to be publicly talked and preached against, and doctrines to be vented, destructive of the principles on which it was built: the little care to have an eye to Scotland, to redress the grievances complained of by that nation, and which were capable of driving them to extremities: England unprovided of troops, as well as Scotland and Ireland, whilst under frivolous pretences several regiments were kept in Flanders: all this amounted to a sort of demonstration, that the queen's death alone had prevented the defeating of the protestant succession, and the destroying all that had been done for above twenty years to secure and justify the exclusion of king James and his pretended heir. Now can there be to a prince attaced in so important a point, any room for pardon or dissimulation?

Besides, there was a kind of necessity to espouse one of the two parties, who had by turns prevailed under king William and queen Anne. By that means he would be freed from the continual trouble of managing and keeping the balance even between them, and perhaps from the danger of having both turn against him. The whigs were really enemies of France and the pretender, and could not be otherwise; they had constantly declared for the protestant succession, and though, in some of their proceedings, the spirit of party no less appeared than a true zeal, yet they might be depended upon. To the whigs the court of Hanover was indebted, for obliging the French king and the duke of Lorrain not to suffer the pretender in their dominions, and for the advices of what was contriving against the interests of the protestant successor. This being the case, there was no room to deliberate which party to chuse. King William, accustomed from his youth to dissimulation, might have deliberated, or seemed to have done so: but the elector of Hanover, absolute master in his German dominions, and consequently unused to faction and party, was hardly capable of that dissimulation, so requisite in a government like that of England.

Notwithstanding all the changes and the disgrace of so many persons, no ill effects followed. Addresses from the universities, the counties, cities, boroughs, and corporations, expressed the public joy and satisfaction at the king's accession, though in a very different stile: for some insinuated that the protestant succession had not been in danger, whilst others spoke of the late ministry in very severe terms, and mentioned the utmost dread of their measures.[p]

[l] Shortly after the king's arrival, a message having been sent to the lord Bolingbroke, in the country, for his coming to town, to be present at the taking off the seals that had been put on his office; he excused himself, saying, 'The same might as well be done by one of his secretaries; but, if he could be so happy as to have the honour to kiss the king's hand, he would fly to throw himself at his majesty's feet.'

[m] The rest were: The prince of Wales, archbishops of Canterbury and York, lord chancellor Cowper, the dukes of Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Somerset, Bolton, Malborough, Argyle, Montrose, Roxburgh, Kent, Marquis of Lindsey lord great chamberlain, the earls of Wharton privy seal, Pembroke, Suffolk, Sunderland, Anglesea, Carlisle, Abington, Scarborough, Orford, viscount Townshend, Bishop of London, the lords Sommers and Hallifax, Thomas Coke vice chamberlain, James Stanhope secretary of state, sir Thomas Parker chief justice, Thomas Erle lieutenant-general of the ordnance, and Robert Walpole paymaster-general.

[n] On the 14th of Sept. the regency had advice from Dublin, that, upon the removal of sir Constantine Phipps and the archbishop of Armagh, from being lords justices of Ireland, there was an universal joy among all the friends of his majesty's succession; and that all the friends of his majesty's succession; and that some of the populace, who were filled with resentment against sir Constantine, went to his house, in order to insult him; but he had beforehand retired to the castle.

[o] Some time after the following creations were made in Ireland.
George Cholmondeley, esq. baron Newburgh.
Alan Broderick, esq. baron Broderick.
Sir George St George, baron St George.
Sir Arthur Cole, baron Ranelagh.
Sir John Percival, baron Percival.
Richard Fitz-Patrick, esq. baron Goran.
George Evans, esq. baron Carbery.

[p] The address of the university of Cambridge, after condoling the queen's death, and congratulating the king's accession, proceeds as follows:

'It would be unpardonable folly and downright infatuation, if any of your majesty's protestant subjects should turn their eyes to a popish pretender, who can never reign over us but to the certain loss of every thing, that ought to be dear to us, either as we are Britons or protestants. But then your majesty's most loyal university must be utterly incapable of a thought, so destructive to our most holy faith, so opposite to our happy constitution both in church and state, so full of ingratitude to God, and of injustice to your majesty, who, by the death of our late sovereign, hath now alone the rightful and undoubted title to the imperial crown of these realms, which receives a new lustre by your majesty's happy accession to it.

Out of a deep sense of these things, and in obedience to the just and wholesome laws of the realm, and in a conscientious regard to our repeated oaths, we most humbly presume to assure your majesty, that as our own studies and endeavours shall always be employed in the defence of your majesty's sacred person and government, and your just and rightful title to our allegiance against the pretender, and all other your majesty's enemies and opposers whatsoever; so shall it be likewise our especial care, that all those, who are educated amongst us, be instructed in the same true principles of loyalty and duty to your majesty.'

The address of the university of Oxford was in a different stile:

'The inexpressible loss, we have sustained by the death of our late sovereign of blessed memory, would have been insupportable, had not God, in his great goodness to this nation, supplied it to us by your majesty's happy and quiet accession to the throne. With the prospect of this blessing we comforted our-

The firſt time the king was preſent at the privy-council, after he had taken the oath relating to the ſecurity of the church of Scotland, he made the following declaration:

'Having, in my anſwers to addreſſes of both houſes of parliament, fully expreſſed my reſolution to defend the religious and civil rights of all my ſubjects, there remains very little for me to ſay upon this occaſion.

Yet having been willing to omit no opportunity of giving all poſſible aſſurances to a people, who have already deſerved ſo well of me; I take this occaſion alſo to expreſs to you my firm purpoſe, to do all that is in my power for the ſupporting and maintaining the churches of England and Scotland, as they are ſeverally by law eſtabliſhed; which I am of opinion may be effectually done, without the leaſt impairing the toleration allowed by law to proteſtant diſſenters, ſo agreeable to chriſtian charity, and ſo neceſſary to the trade and riches of this kingdom. The good effects of making property ſecure are no where ſo clearly ſeen, and to ſo great a degree, as in this happy kingdom; and I aſſure you, that there is not any among you ſhall more earneſtly endeavour the preſervation of it than myſelf.'

At the ſame time the prince royal was declared prince of Wales, and took his ſeat at the upper end of the board, at the king's right-hand. Soon after the treaſury was put in commiſſion, and alſo the admiralty. The commiſſioners of the treaſury were the lord Hallifax, ſir Richard Onſlow chancellor of the exchequer, ſir William St Quintin, Edward Wortley Montague, and Paul Methuen. Thoſe of the admiralty were the earl of Orford, ſir George Byng, George Dodington, ſir John Jennings, ſir Charles Turner, Abraham Stanyan, and George Bailie. John Aiſlabie was made treaſurer of the navy, and the earl of Cholmondeley was appointed treaſurer, Hugh Boſcawen comptroller, and Edmund Dunch maſter of the king's houſhold. Dr Samuel Garth was knighted, who had lately publiſhed a latin dedication, which he intended to prefix to an edition of Lucretius three years before; but it was not then thought ſeaſonable.

On the 9th of October, N. S. the two eldeſt princeſſes of Great-Britain, Anne and Amelia, ſet out from Hanover, to go, by eaſy journies, to the Hague; the youngeſt princeſs Caroline being left at Hanover, on account of a late indiſpoſition. Three days after, the princeſs of Wales ſet out for Holland, attended by the counteſs of Pickenburgh; and, on the 17th, arrived at the Hague, with the two eldeſt princeſſes her daughters. The next morning ſhe received the compliments of the ſtates-general, by deputies nominated for that purpoſe; and, the weather being fair, ſhe appeared in the afternoon in the Voorhout, attended by a very numerous train of coaches; and, in the evening, kept a drawing room, at which all the ladies and perſons of diſtinction of that place were preſent. The next day ſhe received viſits from the French embaſſador, and other foreign miniſters. The earl of Berkeley and ſir John Walter of the green cloth were come thither five days before, having left the ſquadron of men of war at Helvoet-Sluys, with orders for the yatchts to come up to Rotterdam. The princeſs being informed by the earl, that the wind was eaſterly, on the 20th of October, ſhe went on board a yatcht of the ſtates of Holland, accompanied by the earl of Albemarle, and the reſt of the deputies of that province; by the count of Hanau, and the counteſs, her ſiſter, prince William of Heſſe, and the prince of Anhault. The earl of Strafford accompanied her alſo part of her way to Rotterdam, where being arrived, ſhe embarked on board the Mary yatcht, and with the two princeſſes and their retinue, landed at Margate, October 11th, O. S. and the next evening arrived at Rocheſter. The prince of Wales, having early that day received the news of her arrival, ſet out about ſeven o'clock in the morning, accompanied by the dukes of Somerſet and Argyle, and the earl of Bridgewater lord-chamberlain to their royal highneſſes. The prince, met the princeſs beyond Rocheſter, where ſhe was attended by the counteſſes of Dorſet and Berkeley, who had been named two of the ladies of the bed-chamber. Their royal highneſſes paſſed through the city of London in a chariot with ſix horſes, followed by another in which were the two young princeſſes, and came to St James's on the 13th of October. [q]

The day appointed for the coronation drawing near, the king, as uſual on ſuch occaſions, advanced ſome of the peers to higher titles, and created ſome new ones. [r] Five days after, the coronation was performed at Weſtminſter with great magnificence. [s] There never was ſo great an appearance of lords ſpiritual and temporal, as on this occaſion, no leſs than ſeventeen archbiſhops and biſhops, though two ſees were then vacant; all the dukes in or about London, except the duke of Buckingham; ſeventy earls and viſcounts, and among them the earl of Oxford and viſcount Bolingbroke; and as many barons. The demonſtrations of joy throughout the kingdom on the coronation-day ſeemed to be general, and were in proportion as ſplendid as at Lon-

ſelves, as often as we apprehended that precious life to be in danger; for knowing the ſincerity of our hearts, we never ſuſpected, that any perſons would be ſo regardleſs of their duty and of their intereſt, as not to ſupport, with the utmoſt zeal, that ſucceſſion, to which they were bound by the moſt ſolemn oaths, and on which the preſervation of our religion, laws, and liberties, did next, under God, ſo manifeſtly depend. Our expectations, our wiſhes, and our prayers, have been anſwered by that unanimity, with which your ſubjects have recognized your majeſty's undoubted right, that impatience, they have expreſſed to ſee your royal perſon in the actual poſſeſſion of your throne, and themſelves happy under the influence of your government.

The addreſſes of Orford and Gloceſter were very remarkable. In the Orford addreſs was this paſſage:

'We hope, that the univerſal approbation, with which your majeſty entered your reign, will be an happy omen of unanimity among us: all the inſinuations, as if the proteſtant ſucceſſion was in danger, muſt now appear (as they were) groundleſs, and only a contrivance of deſigning men to divide us. We can now have no ſtrife, but who ſhall ſhew the greateſt zeal for your ſacred majeſty, for our admirable church and happy conſtitution, in oppoſition to your majeſty's enemies, to popery and tchism, and to all anti-monarchical and republican principles.'

In that of Gloceſter were theſe words:

'Her late majeſty at laſt by a happy peace (which God continue to us and our children) ſecured your majeſty's quiet ſucceſſion, which ſhe had always at heart, and was careful of th ough her whole reign. Your majeſty ſucceeds in our hearts: no time, no accident, can make us otherwiſe than truly loyal. It is our principle to obey your majeſty without reſerve, for we think you accountable to none upon earth: and the ſame principles will embolden us unanimouſly to reſiſt your majeſty's enemies, and, with all that is dear to us, to defend your majeſty's juſt title to the crown you wear, againſt all perſons whatſoever. And theſe our inclinations and principles we owe to our ſteady adherence to the eſtabliſhed church of England, the glory of the reformation, truly antient, truly apoſtolical, for her ſubmiſſion and obedience to kings and governers, for her mild behaviour to thoſe, who have formerly torn out her very bowels. No church upon earth can ſhew ſo ancient a charter, ſo unlimited obedience, ſo univerſal charity: no church can boaſt ſo great a defender. May your love to each other find no bounds. May it pleaſe your majeſty, we here ſpeak the ſenſe of all your people, who are truly loyal, and are aſſured they are vaſtly more numerous than thoſe, who are but occaſionally ſo; and therefore doubt not to ſend your majeſty members of parliament, who are not of thoſe, whoſe principles are to obey no longer than they are pleaſed.'

On the contrary, in the addreſs from Nottingham, preſented by their member mr. Plumtree, it is ſaid:

'With pleaſure we now look back upon our paſt dangers, with joy we ſee thoſe intrigues and ſtratagems diſappointed, which were ſo artfully contrived by ſome ill deſigning men to effect our ruin, and from that dreadful ſtorm which lately threatened us, and which, by divine providence, and the wiſe conduct of your majeſty, is blown over, we cannot but addreſs ourſelves to your ſacred perſon, as our ſecond great deliverer, from a ſlaviſh yoke, and a popiſh impoſtor.'

In the addreſs from the county of Hereford is this paragraph:

'We are the more ſenſible of the ineſtimable bleſſing of your majeſty's acceſſion to the throne, becauſe we had very lately ſo much reaſon to apprehend, we were in danger of being deprived of it, by the deſigns of ambitious men, who, if God had not prevented them, to raiſe themſelves to power and riches, had ſacrificed their country to tyranny and ſuperſtition.'

[q] The princeſs Carolina, who was left behind, did not come to England till the 24th of May.

[r] Letters patents, Octob. 15, paſſed the great ſeal, creating

James, lord Chandos, earl of Caernarvon.

Lewis, lord Rockingham, baron of Throwley in the county of Kent, viſcount Sondes of Lees Court in the ſame county, and earl of Rockingham.

Charles, lord Oſſulſton, earl of Tankerville.

Charles, lord Hallifax, viſcount Sunbury in the county of Middleſex, and earl of Hallifax.

Heneage, lord Guernſey, earl of Aylesford in the county of Kent.

John, lord Harvey, earl of Briſtol.

Thomas, lord Pelham, viſcount Houghton in the county of Nottingham, and earl of Clare.

Henry, earl of Thomond in Ireland, viſcount Tadcaſter in the county of York.

James, viſcount Caſtleton in Ireland, baron Sanderſon of Sexby in the county of Lincoln.

Bennet, lord Sherard in Ireland, baron of Harborough in the county of Leiceſter.

Gervaſe, lord Pierrepoint in Ireland, baron Pierrepoint of Hanſlop in the county of Bucks.

Henry Boyle, baron of Carleton in the county of York.

Sir Richard Temple, baron of Cobham in the county of Kent.

Henry, lord Paget, earl of Uxbridge.

The ſame day the king appointed lieutenant-general Cadogan to be colonel of the ſecond regiment of foot-guards, in the room of general Churchill. The dukes of Bolton and Rutland, and the earls of Dorſet and Hallifax, were made knights of the garter. The lord Cobham was appointed envoy to the court of Vienna, and the earl of Stair embaſſador to the court of France. The dukes of Richmond, Grafton, and Kent, the earls of Lincoln, Dorſet, Manchester, Berkeley, Selkirk, Stair, and Orrery, and the lord Carteret, were appointed lords of the bed-chamber; and mr. Howard, brigadier Dormer brigadier Breton, colonel Ker, colonel Tyrrel, colonel Fielding, and colonel Cornwal, grooms of the bed-chamber.

[s] 'The forms were much the ſame as in former coronations; what was particular in this was as follows:

The proceſſion of the officers, and then the peers, from Weſtminſter-Hall to the abbey-church, being cloſed by two perſons repreſenting the dukes of Aquitain and Normandy, the lords, who bore the regalia, came in turn. The earl of Saliſbury, with St Edward's ſtaff; the lord viſcount Longueville, the the ſpurs; the earl of Dorſet, with the ſceepter and croſs; the earls of Sunderland, Pembroke, and Lincoln, with the three ſwords. Then garter's deputy, with his coronet between the uſher of the black-rod, and the

don, ſome few places excepted, where the rabble ſhewed their hatred to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, by riots and outrages [t]. The univerſity of Oxford (who the day before, had preſented to the king by dr. Gardiner, their vice-chancellor, a book of verſes on the death of queen Anne, and the acceſſion of his majeſty to the throne) on the cornation-day, conferred unanimouſly, in a full convocation, the degree of doctor of civil law on ſir conſtantine Phipps, with all imaginable marks of honour and eſteem.

The firſt, affair the king turned his thoughts to, was the execution of an article of the treaty of Utrecht, the demolition of Dunkirk; from whence the trade of England and Holland had been greatly incommoded during the late wars. Inſtead of executing this article, the French king had entirely evaded it; and therefore mr. Prior, who was ſtill reſident at Paris, was ordered to preſent a memorial to him, preſſing the performance of the 9th article of the treaty of Utrecht [u]. The French king, who had uſed the diſtinction of the letter and ſpirit of treaties to juſtify his non-compliance with the treaty of partition, adhered to the letter of this, and pretended he had fulfilled it in the utmoſt extent [v]. His anſwer was not ſatisfactory; Prior was recalled, and

mayor of London; then the lord great-chamberlain ſingle; then the prince of Wales in his robes of ſtate of crimſon velvet furred with ermin; his coronet, with precious ſtones, and cap borne by the earl of Hertford on a crimſon velvet-cuſhion, and wearing a cap of crimſon velvet turned up with ermin, by his majeſty's permiſſion: his train ſupported by Adolphus Oughton, and another groom of his bed-chamber, aſſiſted by Henry Killigrew, gentleman of his royal highneſs's robes. Then the earl of Derby, with the ſword of ſtate, between the duke of Montague, lord high-conſtable for that day, and the earl of Suffolk and Bindon, as earl-marſhal of England; the duke of Grafton, lord high-ſteward on that occaſion, with the crown, between the duke of Argyle, bearing the ſcepter with the dove, and the duke of Somerſet with the orb; the biſhop of Saliſbury with the bible, and the biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry with the patten, and the biſhop of Bangor with the chalice. Then the king in his royal robes of crimſon velvet, furred with ermin, and bordered with a rich broad gold lace, wearing the collar of the order of St George, and on his head a cap of ſtate of crimſon velvet, turned up with ermin, adorned with a circle of gold, enriched with diamonds, ſupported by the biſhops of Durham, and Bath and Wells, under a canopy borne by the barons of the Cinque-Ports. The litany was ſung by the biſhops of Litchfield and Coventry and Norwich, and the ſermon preached by dr. William Talbot, biſhop of Oxford, father to the late lord chancellor. The biſhop obſerves in his ſermon, 'queen Anne not only paſſed laws for the further eſtabliſhment of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, but by her arms, and thoſe of her allies, had, in human appearance, placed it almoſt out of danger, having, in eight campaigns, ſo glorious in the conduct, and ſo aſtoniſhing in the ſucceſs of them, as not to be paralleled in hiſtory, ſo far reduced the only power, that could interrupt it, that there was little more wanting to have compleated our ſecurity. But whether it was to correct us for ſome ſins, whereby we had provoked God to anger, or to chaſtiſe our confidence, which, it may be, we placed too much in the arm of fleſh; or to convince us, that his providence, which alone began, ſhould alone have the glory of finiſhing this great work; he was pleaſed to ſuffer us to fall into a condition, from which nothing elſe could have relieved us. Our enemy, who had ſet up a pretender to this throne, raiſed from a ſtate of aſking peace, to a condition of giving peace and princes too to Europe; our allies, ſome divided from us, others miſerably diſjointed; and we ourſelves not only unguarded, but wretchedly broken into parties and factions at home. The friends of the pretender thought theſe circumſtances ſo encouraging, that they openly avowed his title in writing and diſcourſe, and his agents as boldly inliſted ſoldiers to aſſert it with the ſword. And he muſt have been very ſanguine, who, in this view of things, could have thought, that the pretender, whom our queen's repeated inſtances could not remove from a ſituation, which her parliament thought too near us, would not, upon her majeſty's demiſe, have brought a foreign army to join his friends here, before the proteſtant heir, who was at a much greater diſtance, could have arrived, to have maintained his own juſt right, or defended his faithful ſubjects. But when that day was come, that was to put a period to that royal life, on the continuance of which alone, this threatening danger ſeemed ſuſpended; then was God pleaſed to mix ſo much mercy with the ſtroke, as by his providence to order it, that the unſettled poſture of affairs abroad would not permit the pretender's foreign friends to ſend any forces to encourage an inſurrection; and the unreadineſs of his ſurprized abettors here would not permit them to appear in ſuch a manner, as to invite an invaſion; but our king was peaceably proclaimed, to the univerſal joy of his people.'

[t] Dr Sacheverell was at that time at Sutton, near Birmingham in Warwickſhire, where he preached on the ſunday before the coronation; and above two hundred of the Birmingham people came ſo far to attend upon him, and the conſequence of it appeared a day or two after. Several of the principal inhabitants of Birmingham having reſolved in a ſuitable manner to expreſs their joy on the day of the coronation, an entertainment was prepared for them at the Caſtle-Tavern. When the night came on, a tumultuous rabble got together, broke the windows of the houſe, and forced the company to remove: all the cry was Sacheverell for ever; and down with the whigs. If any one in the ſtreet cried, God bleſs king George, he was in danger of his life. At Briſtol alſo the mob broke the windows of mr. Whiting, the under-ſheriff, who had offended them by proſecuting one guilty of perjury. They did the ſame at mr. Jeffreys's houſe: but fell in a ſtill more furious manner on mr. Stevens's, which they aſſaulted, entered, and plundered. One mr. Thomas, who perſuaded them to withdraw, was murdered; and ſeveral gentlemen inſulted, hurt, and abuſed. At Chippenham in Wiltſhire, the rabble armed with guns, piſtols, and clubs, marched with beat of drum, and abuſed the juſtices, gentlemen, and freemen, who were ſhewing their loyalty in ſolemnizing the king's coronation. The ſame kind of diſorders were committed at Norwich and Reading.

[u] The memorial was as follows:

'The under-written plenipotentiary, miniſter of the king of Great-Britain, has orders from the king his maſter to repreſent to your majeſty, that, having heard the report of the commiſſaries and engineers ſent to view the ſtate of the fortifications and port of Dunkirk, his majeſty is very much ſurprized to hear, that notwithſtanding the inſtances and repreſentations made on the part of Great-Britain, to preſs the execution of the 9th article of the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht, the ſaid port is ſo little filled up, that there can ſtill to this day as great ſhips as formerly paſs by the old canal up to the hornwork of the town. So long as that canal remains, it cannot be denied, that there is ſtill at Dunkirk a port of one thouſand rods long, and conſequently able to receive many hundred ſhips. The words of the treaty are, portus compleatur (that the haven ſhall be filled up) aggeres aut moles diruantur (that the dykes which form the canal and the moles be deſtroyed). We appeal even to your majeſty's engineers, if the haven be filled up, and if the dykes be deſtroyed? The king his maſter is very much perſuaded that your majeſty, being fully informed of this fact, will give your ſtrict orders, that at laſt that ſhall be accompliſhed, which, according to the words of the treaty, ought to have been done above a year ago. The ſame miniſter has orders to repreſent to your majeſty, that the ſurprize of the king his maſter has been ſtill greater, when he was told, that notwithſtanding the ſaid 9th article, which ſays expreſly, ne dicta munimenta, portus, moles, aut aggeres denuò unquam reficiantur (that the ſaid fortifications, port, or the dykes of Dunkirk ſhall never be rebuilt) that they are actually at work in making a new port, much larger than the old canal; which, as well as the old haven, goes up to the town of Dunkirk; and that the foundation of a ſluice much greater than the former, which ſerved to clean the old haven, is laid.

It cannot be imagined, that your majeſty will make uſe of the word dicta, which is in that article, to maintain, that, ſince the ſame canal is not reſtored, the ſame materials are not made uſe of, and the ſame baſtions and courtains are not rebuilt, that your majeſty is at liberty to raiſe new works, and to make a new port better than the former. The bona fides, which ought to reign in all treaties, and which will be religiouſly obſerved by the king my maſter, will not admit of ſuch a ſuppoſition.

When ſhips can go into Dunkirk by the old canal, which is in the north, or by the new, which is on the weſt, Dunkirk will, in the ſame manner, be a port, and be equally incommodious and dangerous to the commerce of Great-Britain.

In either of theſe two caſes the treaty will be equally violated. The king of Great-Britain is reſolved, on his ſide, religiouſly to obſerve the treaty of Utrecht, and to maintain with your majeſty an amity ſo ſincere, that he deſires, above all things, to prevent all incidents, that may diſturb that good intelligence. And, as the hopes of ſeeing the entire execution of that 9th article has been to Great-Britain the principle motive for accepting the peace of Utrecht, he has ordered the under-written miniſter to make the moſt preſſing inſtances with your majeſty, that you will pleaſe to give order for the filling up the ſaid canals, &c.

[v] His anſwer was as follows;

Purſuant to the 9th article of the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht, the harbour of Dunkirk, between the town and the citadel, is entirely filled up. Nevertheleſs, men are ſtill at work, carrying into it the earth, that is produced by the demoliſhing of the cavaliers of the citadel.

The words Portus compleatur, can never be applied to the old canal, which is very different from the harbour; neither, to be ſure, would the king ever have engaged entirely to deſtroy a canal of a thouſand toiſes in length.

That would have been a work immoderately great, for the only time, men could have been employed therein, would have been at low water.

On the other hand, it would have been altogether needleſs, for the ſea will ſoon carry away what remains of the dykes, that were made.

Theſe dykes and jetters ſink daily, and are waſhed away by the ſea. But it having been lately demanded, on the part of the king of Great-Britain, that, to the end they might be carried off the ſooner, the king would cauſe four coupures or outlets to be made therein, his majeſty gave orders accordingly? and, by means of this new work, the old canal will be ſo choaked up in a few days, that it will be leve with the ſtrand, and no ſhipping will be able to enter it. Nay, they will not be able to go up thither, even at high water, but as they do at all other places along the coaſt, quite from Newport to Calais.

The king has ſeveral times complained of the dilatorineſs on the part of England, in point of executing the 9th article of the peace of Utrecht. It ought not therefore to be charged upon his majeſty. This is notorious.

It is well known too, that the fortifications of Dunkirk are demoliſhed; and that the harbour is ſo filled up, that it would be impoſſible for the king to make it good again, did not his majeſty deſign (as he fully does) punctually to perform the treaty.

He has already ſeveral times anſwered the complaints, which for ſome time paſt he has received, about the work he was forced to make, to hinder a great track of land from being laid under water, which the ruining of the ſluices of Dunkirk would have effected. However he is willing to repeat once more the reaſons he has given for that proceeding.

The waters of the canals of Furnes, La Mocre, Wynoxberg, and Bourbourg, were diſcharged by the ſluices of Dunkirk. This outlet was neceſſary to keep the caſtellanies of Bourbourg, Wynoxberg, and even ſome part of that of Furnes, from being overflowed, which, without it, they muſt infallibly have been. But the king, having promiſed utterly to deſtroy the ſluices of Dunkirk, gave his orders for executing the treaty; and, in the mean while, cauſed a repreſentation to be made to the queen of Great-Britain of the inconveniencies, that would enſue upon this rigorous performance; deſiring, at the ſame time, that ſhe would ſuffer one of the three ſluices, which were to be deſtroyed, to ſtand as it did.

This was denied by that princes. So it became neceſſary to find out ſome other method for diſcharging the water of theſe four canals.

The Engliſh commiſſaries and engineers were witneſſes of the ſeveral projects, that were formed for that purpoſe. They were full well acquainted with the deſign of the canal of Mardyke, and were of opinion, it was impoſſible to be executed. It is true, it was a very expenſive one; and the king would gladly have ſaved that money, had it pleaſed the queen of Great-Britain to leave one of the ſluices of Dunkirk ſtanding, only to diſcharge the waters from the country. But, upon her refuſal, it was abſolutely neceſſary to open this canal, to receive the waters of the four other canals.

Theſe four old canals are navigable, and are together forty-eight toiſes broad; and conſequently the new canal muſt needs have a ſufficient breadth to receive all theſe waters, and diſcharge them into the ſea.

The ſluice alſo muſt neceſſarily be proportionable to the breadth of the canal, and to the quantity of waters it retains? for the point is, to hinder the tides getting into the country, and to keep in the waters of the four old canals at high tides.

The ſeaſon preſſed the finiſhing of that work; and, if the ſame had not been carried on with great diligence, what would not men have apprehended from the diſorder, which the autumn-rains might occaſion?

Theſe are the motives, which obliged the king to cauſe the new canal of Mardyke to be opened, and to haſten the accompliſhment of that work. His majeſty has no deſign, no intention to make a new harbour at Mardyke,

the earl of Stair ſent in his room. who proſecuted the affair with great vigour. The court of France would not yield, and declared in expreſs terms, Mardyke was not Dunkirk, and that the treaty of Utrecht did not deprive the king of the natural right of a ſovereign, to make what works he ſhould judge proper for the preſervation of his ſubjects. The truth is, the plenipotentiaries of Great-Britain had been too negligent in the affair. In ſtipulating the demolition of Dunkirk, it was doubtleſs their intention that another and better harbour ſhould not be made on that coaſt but then it ſhould have been ſo expreſſed; otherwiſe, in ſuch articles all advantages will be taken by thoſe on whom they are impoſed.

The ſame fault had been committed in the treaty of commerce with Spain. The advantages obtained in the body of the treaty were all explained away by the ſeperate articles, and the reſult was, that the Britiſh goods and merchandizes paid ſeven per cent. more than had been paid before. King George applied himſelf alſo to redreſs this grievance. Spain in imitation of France, adhered to the letter of the treaty, and would not agree that the terms ſhould be explained according to the intentions of the queen's plenipotentiaries; and it was not till after much time and pains that this, and ſeveral other difficulties relating to the aſſiento contract, were adjuſted. So true is it, that a good negotiator is as rare and as uſeful as a great general.

The barrier treaty, which was negotiating at Antwerp between the emperor and the ſtates-general, and which was of great conſequence to the trade of England, drew alſo the attention of the new king. General Cadogan, intimate friend of the duke of Marlborough, was ſent as plenipotentiary.

In the mean time, the behaviour of the jacobite and high-church party occaſioned the publiſhing a proclamation for ſuppreſſing of riots and tumults. Seditious libels were with great induſtry diſperſed, jealouſies infuſed into weak minds, and the groundleſs clamour of the danger of the church revived [w]. In November, the dukes of Marlborough, Shrewſbury, and Argyle, the earls of Nottingham and Sunderland, the lord Townſhend, the marquis de Monteleone the Spaniſh embaſſador, the count de Noſtiz, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, received, by the mail from France, copies of a paper, printed in Engliſh, French and Latin, ſigned at the top James R, and dated at Plombiers the 20th of Auguſt, 1714, N. S. being a kind of manifeſto or declaration of the pretender, aſſerting his claim to the crown of Great-Britain. He ſays, 'The revolution ruined the Engliſh monarchy, laid the foundation of a republican government, and devolved the ſovereign power on the people.' He obſerves, 'That when he found the treaty of peace was upon the point of being concluded, without any regard to him, he publiſhed, in April 1712, his proteſtation againſt it.' He then gives the reaſon of his ſitting ſtill for ſome time paſt, in theſe remarkable words: 'Yet, contrary to our expectations, upon the death of the princeſs our Siſter (of whoſe good intentions towards us, we could not for ſome time paſt well doubt: And this was the reaſon we then ſat ſtill, expecting the good effects thereof; which were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable death) we found that our people, inſtead of taking this favourable opportunity of retrieving the honour and true intereſt of their country, by doing us and themſelves juſtice, had immediately proclaimed for their king a foreign prince, to our prejudice, contrary to the fundamental and inconteſtible laws of hereditary right, which their pretended acts of ſettlement can never abrogate [x].' The perſons, who received this decla-

to build a place there. He has already declared, and once more repeats it, that he is only willing to ſave a country, which would be laid under water, if this was not diſcharged into the ſea.

For the reſt, the king has given good proofs of his Bona Fides in the execution of the treaties. His majeſty has given particular marks thereof to the king of Great-Britain. He ſees, with pleaſure, the aſſurances which that prince renews to him, that he will religiouſly obſerve the treaty of Utrecht, and maintain a ſincere friendſhip with him.

In caſe of thoſe happy diſpoſitions, all incidents capable of diſturbing this good underſtanding, may be eaſily avoided.

The king does not doubt but it will be perfect, when all ſuſpicions on both ſides ſhall be ſincerely cleared up, and all ſuppoſitions vaniſhed. It is for this end that his majeſty is pleaſed to repeat the reaſons contained in this memorial, and that he again orders the ſieur d'Ibbeville, his envoy extraordinary, to give an account thereof to the king of Great-Britain. The 2d of November, 1714.

[w] Some of theſe libels were, Stand faſt to the church! Where are our biſhops now? The religion of king George. No preſbyterian government. The ſtate gameſter: or, The church of England's ſorrowful lamentation. Eſop in Mourning. The duke of Ormond's Vindication. The lord Bolingbroke's Vindication. No Lord Protector: or, The duke of Marlborough's deſign defeated. The hawkers that cried theſe libels, and ſung ſeditious ballads, were, by ſir William Humphreys, lord-mayor of London, taken up and ſent to the houſe of correction, for which he had the king's approbation, in a letter from lord Townſhend, ſecretary of ſtate.

[x] Matthew Tindal, doctor of laws, publiſhed at London, 1715, in 8vo, remarks on this declaration, of both which it will be proper to give the following abſtract:

The pretender maintains, That the Revolution ruined the Engliſh Monarchy, laid the foundation of a republican government, and devolved the ſovereign power, on the people; and that we are expoſed to arbitrary power, and become a prey to foreigners. This the pretender out of his hereditary courage and goodneſs, would have prevented, and therefore ſays, We parted from our ordinary reſidence, to put ourſelves at the head of ſuch of our loyal ſubjects, as were diſpoſed to defend us and themſelves from all foreign invation.

In anſwer to this, the author of the remarks obſerves, that the European monarchies, founded on the Gothic conſtitutions, were all at firſt elective.

The pretender, after having put the nation in mind how he invaded Scotland, and boaſted, that the miſcarriage of that expedition could not be imputed to him, ſays, 'That, when he found the treaty of peace was upon the point of being concluded, without any reguard to him, he publiſhed, April 1712, his proteſtation againſt it.'

Though the princes of Europe have ſo often rejected all his pretenſions, yet he thinks to cajole them, by ſaying, 'We hope, that all chriſtian princes and potentates, who are now in peace together, will reflect on the dangerous example here given them, and the formidable effects they are threatened with from ſuch an united force, as that of England and Hanover; and that they will ſeriouſly conſider, whether the exorbitant power, that now accrues to the houſe of Brunſwick, be conſiſtent with the balance of power they have been fighting for all this laſt war; and therefore we call on them for their aſſiſtance for the recovery of our dominions, which their intereſt, as well as honour, engages them to grant us, as far as they are able.' Can any thing be more impolitic, than for this popiſh pretender, in the ſame declaration, in which he expects, that the proteſtants of Great-Britain ſhould rely on his word for the preſervation of their religion, to call on all chriſtian princes to have no regard to their moſt ſolemn engagements, but to violate their faith, by breaking that peace, which they have ſo lately concluded? And nothing can be more ridiculous than his ſuppoſing, that France, as well as the reſt of Europe, are in ſuch immediate danger, by the exorbitant power of the houſe of Brunſwick, that they are obliged, if they will preſerve themſelves, to fall upon it with their united forces. The pretender, even while he is perſuading the people of Great-Britain to take up arms againſt the king, cannot forbear telling them, that, by the union of England and Hanover, they have got that balance of power, which all Europe has been ſo long fighting for; and repreſenting their taking up arms as a moſt deſperate attempt, by reaſon of that moſt exorbitant power, which, he ſays, is now in the houſe of Brunſwick; and, as if he had a mind wholy to intimidate them, he affirms that the elector is a powerful prince, ſupported by a good army of his own people, beſides the aſſiſtance, which a neighbouring ſtate (and he might have added the king of Pruſſia) is obliged to grant him upon demand; and many thouſand of aliens refuged in England theſe thirty years paſt, who, having their dependance wholly upon him, will be ready to ſtand by him upon all occaſions.

The pretender labours to draw his loving ſubjects, as he calls them, into a civil war, by ſhewing them the miſchief of ſuch wars, and therefore ſays, What can our ſubjects expect but endleſs wars and diviſions, from ſubverting ſo ſacred and fundamental a conſtitution as that of hereditary right? Which has ſtill prevailed againſt all uſurpations, how ſucceſsful, and how long time ſoever continued; the government finding ſtill no reſt, till it returned again to its true center. But if what he calls ſucceſsful uſurpations have continued for a long time, and we may add, a much longer than his hereditary right, How can that be the true center of government? Eſpecially, if, of the nineteen ſucceſſive kings ſince the conqueſt, thirteen of them did not come to the crown by proximity of blood; and there have been more of thoſe few, that did ſo ſucceed, depoſed, than of the many, who did not, who were all of them not only looked on to have a competent authority during their lives but their proceedings (upon the validity of which moſt of the titles to our eſtates depend) have been eſteemed good in all ages.

He threatens us with other popiſh pretenders, and ſays, How can our ſubjects be ignorant of the juſt pretence of ſo many other princes, that are before the houſe of Hanover, whoſe right, after us, will be as undoubted as our own; who want neither will nor power to aſſert it in their turns; and to entail a perpetual war upon our kingdoms, with a civil waſte in our own bowels, which their diviſions will make unavoidable? The late miniſtry muſt have reduced the nation to a low condition indeed, if they dare not ſtand by their own ſettlement of the crown, leſt it offend the popiſh houſe of Savoy, or any other popiſh pretender. But have not all theſe popiſh pretenders owned the right and title, not only of king William and queen Mary, but of his majeſty, and conſequently acknowledged, that the parliament has a right to diſpoſe of the crown?

The pretender ſays, We ſhall not think ourſelves anſwerable before God and man for the pernicious conſequences, which this new uſurpation of our crowns may draw on our ſubjects and all chriſtendom. Which is in effect ſaying, we have regard to nothing but our own private intereſt; and, for the ſake of that, we care not what pernicious conſequences we draw on theſe nations and all chriſtendom. If it be lawful, after the ſucceſſion of four kings or queens, on pretence of a former indefeaſable title, to diſturb the peace of a kingdom; it muſt be lawful (ſince no time can deſtroy ſuch a title) after the ſucceſſion of four thouſand; and then what kingdom can promiſe itſelf the leaſt peace or quiet?

Though the pretender threatens a fatal war, yet he would have thoſe, whom he calls his loving ſubjects, think he has an unſpeakable kindneſs for them; and, therefore tells them, it is not our intereſt alone we are concerned for; our natural and unalterable love for our people is ſuch, that as we could not ſee without grief their blood and treaſure laviſhed in the laſt war, in oppoſition to our undoubted right; ſo we cannot now with leſs ſorrow ſee them expoſed to be ſubjected to an arbitrary power, and become a prey to foreigners. If indeed he had a natural and unalterable love for theſe nations, he would, ſince he ſlipped the opportunity of making uſe of the good intentions of the princeſs his ſiſter, rather quit his pretentions, than diſturb the peace, and involve them in endleſs wars: or, if he had any ſenſe of honour, he would never endeavour to impoſe upon them by notorious falſhoods; and what can be more ſo, than this part of his declaration, which, though dated before the king came over, or had done any one act of government, yet moſt maliciouſly charges him with deſigning to enſlave the people, and make them become a prey to foreigners, who, by the laws, of which our king has ſhewn himſelf a moſt religious obſerver, are excluded from all places of truſt and profit?

Did not the pretender, bred up in the politics of France, think every one, that could enſlave a nation, would certainly do it, he would not talk at this rate, nor think to terrify us by ſaying, the elector is a powerful prince, and abſolute in his own country, where he has never met with the leaſt contra-

ration, thought it their duty to deliver it into the hands of the ſecretaries of ſtate; upon which the marquis de Lamberti, the duke of Lorain's miniſter, was forbid the court, becauſe ſuch a thing could not be done at Plombieres without the countenance of his maſter; and the following meſſage was delivered to him by the lord Townſhend:' That it was inconſiſtent with his majeſty's honour and dignity, as well as intereſt, to admit to audience the miniſter of a prince, who, at that very juncture, gave ſhelter and protection to a pretender, and an open enemy to his dominions.' The marquis tranſmitted this meſſage to the duke of Lorrain, left London; and went to Oxford, to wait his maſter's anſwer. This gave juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion, that the pretender and his friends had formed a party in that univerſity to advance his intereſt, as it afterwards appeared. The marquis having received the duke of Lorrain's anſwer, dated at Nancy, December the 6th, 1714, communicated it to the lord Townſhend. It was to this effect:

'I believe, ſir, you no ways doubt of my being extremely ſurprized to hear by the courrier, which came from you, that, when you applied to my lord Townſhend to obtain an audience, that miniſter made anſwer, that, ſince the chevalier de St George remained ſtill in my dominions, the king thought fit to forbid you the court: In caſe his majeſty ſhould continue in this diſagreeable reſolution with reſpect to me, I muſt ſubmit to his pleaſure, and you have nothing elſe to do, but to return hither as ſoon as you are able. However, you are firſt to apply to the duke of Marlborough, and to the king's miniſters, deſiring them to lay before his majeſty the unfortunate ſituation I am in, if, after having been ſo ready to let the king know the part I take in his acceſſion to the crown of England, and after having been one of the firſt to make my compliments, and ſhow my zeal on this occaſion, all Europe ſhould be acquainted. that his majeſty had ſome reaſon to be diſſatisfied with me, That I cannot conceive, whence this ſhould proceed, ſince, as to the chevalier de St George, the world knows by what means he came into this country: That every one is informed of the ſituation of my territories, which are ſurrounded and cut through on all ſides by France: That it is known how I had no ſhare in his coming into my country: That I neither invited him to come hither, nor could I force him to go away: That lately, upon the death of queen Anne, I knew nothing of his leaving Bar, till twelve hours after he was gone from thence; and I knew nothing of his return to Bar, till after he was come back, as a traveller, that goes backwards and forwards in a open country, and intermixed with other territories as mine is: As to the maneſeſto or declaration dated at Plombiers, which the chevalier de St George had got printed, I knew nothing more of it, than that he gave me one after it had been publiſhed; but that really I am much concerned to hear from you, that it has been reported, that the ſame manifeſtoes have been ſpread abroad by you, or thoſe of your retinue. I own to you, that I am extremely concerned at this, and that in ſome ſort it ſeems to be a deſign to make me uneaſy, to give out, that either I or my ſervants meddled in ſuch an affair.

Theſe are the reaſons which I have to offer, and which I would have you deſire thoſe gentlemen to lay before the king, in hopes they will convince his majeſty of my moſt reſpectful adherence to him, and that his majeſty will be pleaſed to admit you to an audience.

But if, contrary to my expectation, the king will not grant you an audience, you are to come away, having deſired the miniſters to let the king know the concern I am under; and that I hope his majeſty will pleaſe to accept of my good intentions, and the early care I took to ſhew him the inviolable zeal I have for him.'

When the marquis communicated this letter to the king's miniſters, he, at the ſame time, expreſſed his maſter's 'deep concern at this unlucky affair, which obſtructed the friendſhip and good underſtanding the had ſo early ſought with his Britannic majeſty for whom he ever entertained the higheſt eſteem and veneration.' And he likewiſe expreſſed his own particular concern, and the great mortification it was to him, to be admitted to a court, which he had ſo great a deſire to be made known to. He was anſwered, 'That it was not out of any prejudice to his perſon, nor even to the perſon of his maſter, for whom the king had a great eſteem. But that, as affairs ſtood at preſent, though his excuſes were, in ſome meaſure, allowable, yet his majeſty was the beſt judge of what was conſiſtent with his own honour and dignity; and, as his majeſty was likewiſe ſenſible of the duke's readineſs to ſeek and cultivate a friendſhip with his majeſty, ſo the king wiſhed, that the cauſes which obſtructed the ſame at preſent, might be ſpeedily removed.' The marquis finding by this anſwer, that his majeſty inſiſted on the removal of the pretender from the dominions of Lorrain, before he would admit him to an audience, took his leave of the lord Townſhend, and, on the 13th of December, ſet out on his return home. In anſwer to that part of the duke of Lorrain's letter, wherein he alledges, 'That his territories are ſurrounded and cut through on all ſides by France; and that he neither invited the chevalier de St George thither, nor could force him to go away;' a paper tranſmitted hither by mr. Prior, and delivered to him by the marquis de Torcy, was ſaid to be produced to the marquis, whereby his moſt chriſtian majeſty declared, 'That he neither did, nor would, in any manner concern himſelf with the chevalier de St George;' which declaration was directly contrary to the duke of Lorrain's allegation.

When the pretender's declaration came firſt into England and was publiſhed in the foreign prints, the jacobites and tories inſiſted upon its being a contrivance of the whigs, to reflect on the memory of the queen, and to fix an odium upon the high church party, becauſe in that declaration he ſaid 'That for ſome time paſt, he could not well doubt of his ſiſter's good intentions towards him. But they were much confounded by the duke of Lorrains letter, which owned the declaration to be genuine, and that the pretender himſelf had given him one of them.

About the latter end of November, the king advanced the ſalaries of the chief-juſtice of the king's-bench, and of the exchequer, to the ſame ſum, as was allowed the chief-juſtice of the common-pleas, being 2000l. a year, and the ſalaries of the other nine judges to 1500l. a year.

About this time addreſſes were ſet on foot in Scotland, for diſſolving the union; and it was alſo propoſed, that

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diction from his own ſubjects. It is ſo far true, the elector never met with the leaſt contradiction from his ſubjects; but then it is as true, he never required any thing of them, but what was for their good; and ſubjects will never think a prince's power too great, when he is always contriving how to employ it moſt for their ſervice; and thinks his greateſt happineſs conſiſts in making them happy.

The pretender ſays, The elector is a foreigner, ignorant of our laws, cuſtoms, manners, and language; but for himſelf, We are the only born Engliſhman left of the royal family. Though the pretender was born in England, yet ſince he was carried into France in his cradle, this could not qualify him to underſtand our laws, cuſtoms, and manners; and he, who ſeems to underſtand nothing but the ridiculous trumperies of the Romiſh church, muſt be an utter ſtranger to the laws and cuſtoms of the nation; nor can he have a notion of any conſtitution, but one as arbitrary as that of France. Merely being born in a country cannot create in a man the leaſt kindneſs for it: the place indeed, where one is bred (uſually the ſame where he is born) and the perſons with whom he is bred, generally prejudice a man in their favour; and conſequently the pretender ought to be accounted by the people of Great-Britain as much a Frenchman, as if he had been born there: and 'tis all grimace and French banter to talk of his natural and unalterable love for the Engliſh.

Though he would have it thought, that king George's being a foreigner renders him unfit to govern this nation; yet he will not allow it to be any manner of objection to himſelf, or any other pretender of the popiſh line.

Was not king James II. born and bred among us, and under the greateſt obligations to the church of England, and bound by the moſt ſolemn engagements to preſerve our laws and religion? And yet that did not hinder him, as ſoon as he got into the throne, from attempting the ſubverſion of both. And did not we owe the preſervation of both to a foreigner?

Was not the pretender, though born here, educated among the enemies of our country and religion? Who, from the firſt moment he was capable of underſtanding any thing, could hear nothing from thoſe diſappointed perſons about him, but reviling the Engliſh nation. And has not this early averſion been daily improved by the French, who bear an hereditary hatred to the Engliſh? And can it be thought that the Italian princeſs, who calls herſelf his mother, as well as the prieſts and jeſuits (to whoſe intereſt he is entirely devoted) have not uſed all arts to create in him a mortal averſion to thoſe they call heretics and rebels.

Add to this, that his moroſe, ſullen, and revengeful temper makes him apt to receive the worſt impreſſions: ſo that nature, education, religion, (not to mention want of underſtanding) have rendered him, of all mankind, the moſt unfit, notwithſtanding his being born here, to govern proteſtants and free-born Britons.

Could we ſuppoſe the pretender, though a papiſt, no perſecutor of proteſtants, and with his French education no hater of the Engliſh; yet, as he muſt be wholly in the power of thoſe foreign popiſh forces, with which he deſigns to invade the dominions of ſo powerful a king; ſo he could not hinder them, if they got the better, from treating the people with the utmoſt cruelty. All churchmen then, whether high or low, would, as at the Iriſh maſſacre, be involved in one common ruin. Then all that the nation is worth, could not ſatisfy the demands of France, for what they had expended in behalf of the abdicated family. 'In a word, concludes the author of the remarkes, ſince there is no ſcene of cruelty, that even the reading of the popiſh maſſacres can ſuggeſt, but what the proteſtants of theſe nations had reaſon to apprehend, if faithleſs and blood-thirſty men had prevailed; ought we not every day of our lives, to pour out our thanks to the father of all mercies, for having ſo wonderfully brought about this great deliverance; and to take the utmoſt care to avoid all ſuch diviſions, as may encourage any more attempts from this popiſh pretender? Which nothing can more effectually hinder, than the chuſing ſuch men to repreſent us in the next parliament, who no ways abetted the execrable deſigns of the late miniſtry, but are truly and heartily in the intereſt of their king and country. This, and this only, can put us upon a happy and laſting eſtabliſhment.'

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SAMUEL CLARKE. D.D.

Gibson pinx.t

Goldar sculp.

In the Possession of Mr. Clarke

Published as the Act directs April 1780

none ſhould be elected members of parliament there, but ſuch as would promiſe to uſe their endeavours for that purpoſe. Many well-meaning people ſeemed at firſt inclinable to fall in with thoſe meaſures; but when they found, that the jacobites were the moſt zealous in puſhing this affair, in order to raiſe confuſion and diſcord betwixt the two nations, they refuſed to concur, and referred their grievances by the union to be conſidered, when the nation ſhould be better ſettled. But there was a quite different ſpirit among the high-church party in England, who excited riots and tumults in many parts of the kingdom, to which they had been encouraged by the pretender's declaration. To prevent theſe diſorders, a proclamation was publiſhed on the 6th of December.

Religious diſputes were at this time alſo at a great height. Dr. Samuel Clarke having, before the queen's death, publiſhed his ſcripture-doctrine of the trinity, the lower-houſe of convocation had complained of his book, as containing aſſertions contrary to the catholic faith. This complaint being laid before the biſhops, they deſired an extract to be made of ſuch paſſages, as gave greateſt offence, and were moſt liable to cenſure. Accordingly, the lower houſe made an extract, and having ſent it up to the biſhops, dr. Clarke, whilſt it was under conſideration, wrote a reply to it, which was preſented to ſome of the biſhops, but was not laid before the houſe. After this, there appeared in allmoſt the whole upper-houſe a great diſpoſition to prevent diſſenſions and diviſions, by coming to a temper in this matter, and dr. Clarke was prevailed upon to lay before them a paper, in order to put an end to the affair. [z] Dr. Clarke being apprehenſive, that, if his paper ſhould be publiſhed ſeperately without a true account of the preceding and following circumſtances, it might be liable to be miſunderſtood in ſeveral particulars, cauſed, three days after, an explanation to be delivered to the biſhop of London. [a] The ſame day, the upper houſe came to a reſolution to enter the paper and explanation in the acts of the houſe, to communicate the ſame to the lower-houſe, and to proceed no farther upon the extract. But the lower-houſe were of a different opinion, and reſolved, that the paper was no recantation of his heretical aſſertions, nor did give ſuch ſatisfaction for the great ſcandal occaſioned by his writings, as ought to put a ſtop to any further examination.

Thus ſtood the affair at the queen's death, and, the diſputes about the trinity increaſing, on the 11th of December were publiſhed directions to the archbiſhops and biſhops, for the preſerving unity in the church, and purity of the chriſtian faith, concerning the holy trinity; and alſo for preſerving the peace and quiet of the ſtate.

Theſe directions were:

I. That no preacher whatſoever, in his ſermon or lecture, do preſume to deliver any other doctrine concerning the bleſſed trinity, than what is contained in the holy ſcriptures, and is agreeable to the three creeds, and the thirty-nine articles of religion.

II. That, in the explication of this doctrine, they carefully avoid all new terms, and confine themſelves to ſuch ways of expreſſion, as have been commonly uſed in the church.

III. That care be taken, in this matter, eſpecially to obſerve the fifty-third canon of this church, which forbids public oppoſition between preachers, becauſe (as that canon expreſſes it) there groweth thereby much offence and diſquietneſs unto the people: and that, above all things, they abſtain from bitter invectives and ſcurrilous language againſt all perſons whatſoever.

IV. That none of the clergy, in their ſermons and lectures, preſume to intermeddle in any affairs of ſtate or government, or the conſtitution of the realm, ſave only on ſuch ſpecial feaſts and faſts, as are or ſhall be appointed by public authority; and then no farther than the occaſion of ſuch days ſhall ſtrictly require. Provided always, that nothing in this direction ſhall be underſtood to diſcharge any perſon from preaching in defence of the regal ſupremacy eſtabliſhed by law, as often, and in ſuch manner, as the firſt canon of the church doth require.

V. That the foregoing directions be alſo obſerved by thoſe, who write any thing concerning the ſaid ſubjects.

VI. Whereas alſo we are credibly informed, that it is the manner of ſome in every dioceſe, before their ſermon, either to uſe a collect and the Lord's prayer, or the Lord's prayer only (which the fifty-fifth canon preſcribes as the concluſion of the prayer, and not the whole prayer) or at leaſt to leave out our titles, by the ſaid canon required to be declared and recognized: we do further direct, that you require your clergy, in their prayer before ſermon, that they do keep ſtrictly to the form in the ſaid canon contained, or to the full effect thereof.

VII. And whereas we alſo underſtand, that divers perſons, who are not of the clergy, have of late preſumed, not only to talk and to diſpute againſt the chriſtian faith concerning the bleſſed trinity, but alſo to write and publiſh books and pamphlets againſt the ſame, and induſtriouſly ſpread them through the kingdom, contrary to the known

y Sir Peter King, recorder of London, was appointed chief-juſtice of the Common-pleas, in the room of the Lord Trevor; and Samuel Dodd was made chief-baron of the exchequer; ſir James Montague, a baron of that court, in the room of ſerjeant Baniſter; Serjeant Prat, a judge of the king's-bench, in the room of ſir Thomas Powis; Nicholas Lechmere, ſolicitor-general, in the room of ſir Robert Raymond; Spencer Cowper, attorney-general; and John Forteſcue Aland, ſolicitor-general; to his Royal Highneſs. About the ſame time it was made public, that the ducheſs of Bolton, the ducheſs of St. Alban's, the ducheſs of Montague. the counteſs of Dorſet, the counteſs of Berkeley, and the lady Cowper, were made ladies of the bed-chamber to the princeſs of Wales; and mrs. Selwyn, mrs. Pollexſen, mrs. Howard, and mrs. Clayton, bed-chamber women to her Royal Highneſs.

It was generally reported and believed, that Robert Price, one of the Barons of the exchequer, would be laid aſide upon the demiſe of the queen, he having always ſhewn an indifference with reſpect to the proteſtant ſucceſſion: but he was continued, and it was thought he owed his continuance to his readineſs to go down to Briſtol, with ſir Littleton Powis and Robert Tracy, two other judges, and to try thoſe, who had been guilty of the riot there, on the day of the king's coronation. The cry of theſe rioters was Sacheverel and Ormond: damn all foreign governments. On the 27th of November, ſeven of the chief rioters were brought to their trials for aſſaulting and plundering mr. Stephens's houſe, and murdering mr. Thomas. During the trials mr. Hart, a tobacco-merchant, who had been made a juſtice of the peace by the laſt miniſtry, behaved himſelf with ſuch inſolence, that he was ordered to quit the bench. Another reflected ſo ſcandalouſly upon the grand-jury, that he was ordered to the bar, and bound over to anſwer for his offence. Six of the priſoners were found guilty of the riot; and one of them, upon whom mr. Stephens's wearing apparel had been found, was convicted of felony and burglary to the value of ten-pence only. All the criminals convicted of the riot were fined each twenty nobles only, to be impriſoned three months, and give ſecurity for twelve months for their good behaviour. As the proofs againſt them were plain, a houſe being plundered, and a man murdered by them, it was thought ſurprizing, that not one of them ſuffered capitally for theſe crimes. The grand-jury for the city and county of Briſtol drew up an addreſs to the king, in which they 'returned their unfeigned thanks for his great goodneſs in ſending a ſpecial commiſſion to that city, not only to protect his good ſubjects, but to prevent for the future ſuch riotous aſſemblies, which for theſe four laſt years that before happy place had been expoſed to. And they were ſorry to ſay, that theſe aſſemblies had been encouraged and abetted by ſome of their own fellow-citizens, who had from time to time notoriouſly eſpouſed their cauſe, and, as far as in them lay, had ſcreened them from juſtice.'

z The paper was as follows:

1. My opinion is, that the Son of God was eternally begotten by the eternal incomprehenſible power and will of the Father; and that the Holy Spirit was likewiſe eternally derived from the Father, by or through the Son, according to the eternal incomprehenſible power and will of the Father.

2. Before my book, intitled, The ſcripture doctrine, &c. was publiſhed, I did indeed preach two or three ſermons upon this ſubject; but, ſince the book was publiſhed, I have never preached upon this ſubject: and (becauſe I think it not fair to propoſe particular opinions, where there is not liberty of anſwering) I am willing to promiſe (as indeed I intended) not to preach any more upon this ſubject.

3. I do not intend to write any more concerning the doctrine of the Trinity. But if I ſhall fail herein, and write any thing hereafter, upon this ſubject, contrary to the doctrine of the church of England, I do hereby willingly ſubmit myſelf to any ſuch cenſure, as my ſuperiors ſhall think fit to paſs upon me.

4. And whereas it has been confidently reported, that the Athanaſian creed, and the third and fourth petitions in the litany, have been omitted in my church by my direction, I do hereby declare, that the third and fourth petitions in the litany have never been omitted at all, as far as I know; and that the Athanaſian creed was never omitted at eleven o'clock prayers, but at early prayers only, for brevity ſake, at the diſcretion of the curate, and not by my appointment.

5. As to my private converſation, I am not conſcious to myſelf, that I have given any juſt occaſion for thoſe reports which have been ſpread concerning me, with relation to this controverſy.

I am ſorry that what I ſincerely intended for the honour and glory of God, and ſo to explain this great myſtery, as to avoid the hereſies in both extreams, ſhould have given any offence to this ſynod, and particularly to my lords the biſhops. I hope my behaviour for the time to come, with relation hereunto, will be ſuch, as to prevent any future complaints againſt me.

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Whereas the paper laid before your lordſhips, on Friday laſt, was, through haſte and want of time, not drawn up with ſufficient exactneſs; ſome things therein being not ſo fully expreſſed as they might have been; and others expreſſed in ſuch a manner as may be liable to be miſunderſtood, as not explaining with ſufficient clearneſs and diſtinctneſs my whole thoughts to your lordſhips upon the ſubject therein contained; and whereas, if my preſent meaning in any part of it, ſhould now be miſunderſtood, I may hereafter be thought not to have fully and ſincerely opened myſelf to your lordſhips; I do humbly and with all ſubmiſſion beg leave to take this immediate opportunity of repreſenting to your lordſhips, that I think myſelf indiſpenſably obliged, in conſcience, to lay before your lordſhips the following explanations of the aforeſaid paper, viz.

That whereas I declared in that paper my opinion to be, that 'the Son was eternally begotten, by the eternal incomprehenſible power and will of the Father; and that the Holy Spirit, &c.' I did not mean thereby to retract any thing I had written; but to declare that the opinion ſet forth at large in the book intitled, The ſcripture-doctrine of the Trinity, and in the defences of it, is, that the Son was eternally begotten, by the eternal incomprehenſible power and will, &c. Which words (the eternal incomprehenſible power and will of the Father) I deſire may be ſo underſtood, as to ſignify that God the Father alone is, and is to be honoured as being the original of all, himſelf without original.

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That whereas I declared in that paper my opinion to be, that 'the Son was eternally begotten, by the eternal incomprehenſible power and will of the Father; and that the Holy Spirit, &c.' I did not mean thereby to retract any thing I had written; but to declare that the opinion ſet forth at large in the book intitled, The ſcripture-doctrine of the Trinity, and in the defences of it, is, that the Son was eternally begotten, by the eternal incomprehenſible power and will, &c. Which words. (the eternal incomprehenſible power and will of the Father) I deſire may be ſo underſtood, as to ſignify that God the Father alone is, and is to be honoured as being the original of all, himſelf without original.

laws in that behalf made and enacted, and particularly to one act of parliament made in the ninth year of king William the third, intitled, An act for the more effectual ſuppreſſing of blaſphemy and profaneneſs; we taking all the matters abovementioned into our royal and ſerious conſideration, and being deſirous to do what in us lies, to put a ſtop to theſe diſorders, do ſtrictly charge and command you, together with all other means ſuitable to your holy profeſſion, to make uſe of your authority according to law, for the ſuppreſſing and reſtraining of all ſuch exorbitant practices. And, for your aſſiſtance, we will give charge to our judges, and all other civil officers, to do their duty herein, in executing the ſaid act, and all other laws, againſt all ſuch perſons as ſhall, by theſe means, give occaſion of ſcandal, diſcord, and diſturbance in our church and kingdom.

[1714-15,] On the 5th of January, a proclamation was publiſhed for diſſolving the parliament, and, on the 15th, another was iſſued for calling a new one, in the following terms:

'It having pleaſed Almighty God, by moſt remarkable ſteps of his providence, to bring us ſafe to the crown of this kingdom, notwithſtanding the deſigns of evil men, who ſhewed themſelves diſaffected to our ſucceſſion, and who have ſince, with the utmoſt degree of malice, miſrepreſented our firm reſolutions and uniform endeavours to preſerve and defend our moſt excellent conſtitution both in church and ſtate, and attempted, by many falſe ſuggeſtions, to render us ſuſpected to our people; we cannot omit, on this occaſion of firſt ſummoning our parliament of Great-Britain, in juſtice to ourſelves, and that the miſcarriages of others may not be imputed to us, at a time, when falſe impreſſions may do the greateſt and irrecoverable hurt, before they can be cleared up, to ſignify to our whole kingdom, that we were very much concerned, at our acceſſion to the crown, to find the public affairs of our kingdom under the greateſt difficulties, as well in reſpect of our trade, and interruption of our navigation, as of the great debts of our nation, which, we were ſurprized to obſerve, had been very much increaſed ſince the concluſion of the laſt war. We do not therefore doubt, that, if the enſuing elections ſhould be made by our loving ſubctjes with that ſafety and freedom, which by law they are intitled to, and we are firmly reſolved to maintain to them, they will ſend up to parliament the fitteſt perſons to redreſs the preſent diſorders, and to provide for the peace and happineſs of our kingdom, and the eaſe of our people for the future; and therein will have a particular regard to ſuch as ſhewed a firmneſs to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, when it was in danger.'

The late miniſtry foreſeeing, they ſhould be called to an account for their conduct, had frequent conſultations how to avoid the ſtorm; and ſoon after a traiterous libel was publiſhed, under the title of, Engliſh advice to the freeholders of Great-Britain. Nothing could be more full of malice and falſhood againſt the king's perſon and family; as well as againſt the whigs in general, and the preſent miniſtry; and it was artfully contrived to raiſe diſcontents among the people againſt the government, and to poſſeſs them with an opinion, that the church was in danger by his majeſty's adminiſtration. It was carefully diſperſed through the country, and great numbers of them were intercepted in the city of Exeter. [b] Upon which the government iſſued out a proclamation, promiſing a reward of one thouſand pounds for the diſcovery of the author of the libel, and five hundred pounds for the diſcovery of the printer: but to no purpoſe.

The ſame day, the miſmanagement of the late miniſtry with regard to Chelſea College, was made public by order of the privy-council; upon which, the government of that hoſpital was changed, and brigadier Stanwick appointed governor. [d]

The earl of Strafford being returned to England, an order of council was iſſued, that the lord Townſhend and mr. Stanhope, ſecretaries of ſtate, ſhould go to him, and demand the original inſtructions and orders, and all letters he had received from the late miniſtry, or any foreign prince or miniſter, and copies of all inſtructions, of which he had not the originals; and alſo of all letters writ by him to any perſon whatſoever, relating to his negotiations, from the time of his firſt being at the Hague. The earl delivered them two trunks, which, he ſaid, contained what they deſired; and orders were ſent to ſeal up his papers, that were on ſhip-board, or at the cuſtom-houſe.

On the 20th of January, the day appointed for a public thankſgiving for the king's peaceable acceſſion to the throne, his majeſty and their royal highneſſes went to St Paul's, where an elegant ſermon was preached by dr. Richard Willis, biſhop of Glouceſter.

Mr Prior, who had been deep in the meaſures of the late miniſtry, was now ordered home, the earl of Stair being arrived at Paris, where he had ſeveral conferences with the marquis de Torcy, and preſented memorials about the canal and intended port at Mardyke, and ſignified to the court of France, that he had orders not to take any character upon him, till he had a clear and poſitive anſwer to the memorials.

The elections for the new parliament were now carrying on with great warmth by both parties, but with moſt ſucceſs on the ſide of the whigs. The electors in ſome counties and cities drew up inſtructions for their repreſentatives, the moſt remarkable of which were thoſe of the city of London, wherein was this paſſage: 'We deſire and expect, that you will inquire by whoſe counſel it was, that, after God had bleſſed the arms of her late majeſty, and her allies, with a train of unparalleled ſucceſſes, ſhe was prevailed upon, contrary to the grand alliance, and her repeated promiſes from the throne to both houſes, to ſend to, or receive managers from France, to treat ſeparately of a peace, without the knowledge and conſent of our allies.'

In Scotland the tories publiſhed a circular letter, to diſſuade the Scotch lords from voting for the whigs, or, as they pretended, for the ſixteen peers, of whom the duke of Argyle had brought a liſt from England. But this letter made little impreſſion, and the following peers were elected, the dukes of Roxburgh and Montroſe; the marquiſſes of Tweedale, Lothian, and Annadale; the earls of Sutherland, Rothes, Buchan, Loudon, Orkney, Stair, Bute, Deloraine, and Ilay; and the lords Roſs and Belhaven. All theſe lords were diſtinguiſhed by their attachment to the revolution, and had contributed to the union to the utmoſt of their power. The marquis of Annandale, of the ancient family of Johnſton, had openly declared for king William, though, ſhortly after indeed, he declared for king James. But he repented of that ſtep, and for his faithful ſervices was employed in places of truſt. The marquis of Lothian was a great promoter of the revolution. He had in the reign of king James II. married a daughter of the earl of Argyle, beheaded by that prince, purely out of a principle of honour, and to ſhew his regard for a family unjuſtly perſecuted, a certain proof that he would not favour the deſigns of the pretender. The earl of Sutherland, known at the time of the revolution by the name of the lord Strathnaver, was conſtantly attached to king William, and had followed him in all his campaigns in Flanders, at the head of a regiment. He had appeared very zealous for the privileges of the Scots; and did not think the union detrimental thereto.

And whereas I declared, I did not intend to write any more concerning the doctrine of the Trinity: but if I ſhould fail herein, and write any thing hereafter, &c. I deſire it may be ſo underſtood, as not to preclude myſelf in point of conſcience from a liberty of making any inoffenſive corrections in my former books, if they ſhall come to another edition: or from vindicating myſelf from any miſrepreſentations or aſperſions, which may poſſibly hereafter be caſt upon me on the occaſion of this controverſy; but only to ſignify, that I have no preſent intention of writing any new book; and that, if hereafter I ſhall at any time write any thing which your lordſhips ſhall judge worthy of cenſure, I ſhall readily ſubmit to ſuch cenſure.

[b] They were directed to ſir John Coriton, ſir Nicholas Morrice, Jonathan Elforn, Philip Raſhleigh, Francis Seabell, John Williams, eſquires; mr. Granville Piper, mr. Welchman, mr. William Cary, mr. Prowſe, mr. Philips, mr. Tonkin, mr. Cannock Kendall, in Cornwall, and to the reverend mr. Shute, the reverend mr. Hughes, the reverend mr. Collper, and the reverend mr. Bedford, in the ſame county, and to the mayor of Weſtloe.

[c] This libel was ſuppoſed to be penned by biſhop Atterbury. The ſubſtance of it may be reduced to theſe five heads:

I. A declamation againſt the pretended arts and indirect practices of the government, in order to procure a whig houſe of commons to be elected.

II. Preſſing motives to the tories, to whom the author gives the title of the church, to exert themſelves at this critical juncture to get churchmen choſen into the enſuing parliament.

III. Articles of impeachment, or a large charge againſt the whigs, for intended criminal deſigns againſt the conſtitution in church and ſtate; ſuch as aboliſhing epiſcopacy; repealing the limitations in the act of ſettlement, and an act for triennial parliaments; renewing the war; ſetting up a ſtanding army; and inſlaving the nation.

IV. Great ſophiſtry and declamation to prove, that the church was in danger.

V. Invectives againſt the duke of Marlborough and his family; calumnies againſt the miniſtry, and all the nobility and gentry in the king's intereſt; with treaſonable reflections on his majeſty and his royal family.

This libel was anſwered in a pamphlet, intitled, Treaſon detected; and another, called, A reply to a traiterous libel, intitled, Engliſh advice, &c.

[d] A new commiſſion paſſed the great ſeal, appointing commiſſioners for the government of that hoſpital, the lord-preſident of the privy-council, the captain-general of his majeſty's forces, the firſt lord commiſſioner of the treaſury, the two principal ſecretaries of ſtate for the time being, lieutenant-general Earle, lieutenant-general Lumley, the ſecretary of war, the comptroller of the army, and the governor and lieutenant-governor of the ſaid hoſpital for the time being.

The earl of Stair was already employed by the new government as well as the dukes of Montroſe and Roxburgh, and their attachment to it was not doubted. The only one that ſeemed exceptionable in the liſt was the lord Belhaven. No man had ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the union, and, had his advice been followed, it would never have taken place. But, finding at length all oppoſition in vain, he gave way to the torrent. There was one thing capable of making amends for all his non-compliances, and that was his ſingly oppoſing, in the preſence of the duke of York, the act of ſucceſſion paſſed by a majority of voices in favour of that prince. He was alſo a good ſpeaker, which will be always a great recommendation.

The elections for the houſe of commons were made with almoſt equal ſucceſs, and the whigs had the majority. Thus all ſeemed quiet in Scotland, though a ſtorm was then gathering there, which broke out in leſs than a year. The deſign was conducted more regularly than in England, and was better concealed. It was begun with endeavours for a remonſtrance againſt the union; and the advice of the moſt famous lawyers was aſked upon it, who declared the act of union contained ſeveral nullities, and to be very defective. The oppoſite party, to prevent a remonſtrance ſo diſagreeable to the court, were forced to conſent there ſhould be no addreſs of congratulation: and that, preſented by the kirk, had ſuffered great debates about the manner, in which king William was mentioned, and had paſſed with much difficulty. The Highlanders were ſilent, and declared not themſelves. It was only known, that they were making proviſion of powder and ball. [e]

On the 17th of March, the parliament of Great-Britain met at Weſtminſter; and, the commons proceeding to the choice of a ſpeaker, the earl of Hertford, ſon to the duke of Somerſet, ſaid, 'That, according to his majeſty's pleaſure, they were immediately to proceed to the choice of a ſpeaker: that, in order thereto, they ought, in the firſt place, to conſider, that ſcarce any parliament ever met in a more critical juncture than this, when matters of the higheſt importance were like to be laid before the houſe: that therefore they ought to fix their choice upon a perſon of known parts and abilities; and that, in his opinion, none was ever better qualified for ſo great an office than mr. Spencer Compton.' He was ſeconded by the lord Finch, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Nottingham, who inlarged on mr. Compton's abilities; upon which mr. Compton ſtood up, and modeſtly excuſed himſelf; but, his excuſes not being admitted, he was led to the chair by the earl of Hertford and lord Finch. The king approved him on the 21ſt of March, and then declared from the throne, he had ordered the lord-chancellor to ſhew the cauſes of calling this parliament. Accordingly, the lord-chancellor read to both houſes the following ſpeech, delivered into his hands by the king:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'This being the firſt opportunity, that I have had of meeting my people in parliament, ſince it pleaſed Almighty God of his good providence to call me to the throne of my anceſtors, I moſt gladly make uſe of it, to thank my faithful and loving ſubjects for that zeal and firmneſs, that hath been ſhewn in defence of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, againſt all the open and ſecret practices, that have been uſed to defeat it: and I ſhall never forget the obligations I have to thoſe, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves upon this occaſion.

It were to be wiſhed, that the unparalleled ſucceſſes of a war, which was ſo wiſely and cheerfully ſupported by this nation, in order to procure a good peace, had been attended with a ſuitable concluſion. But it is with concern I muſt tell you, that ſome conditions, even of this peace, eſſential to the ſecurity and trade of Great-Britain, are not yet duly executed; and the performance of the whole may be looked upon as precarious, until we ſhall have formed defenſive alliances to guaranty the preſent treaties.

The pretender, who ſtill reſides in Lorrain, threatens to diſturb us, and boaſts of the aſſiſtance, which he ſtill expects here to repair his former diſappointments.

A great part of our trade is rendered impracticable. This, if not retrieved, muſt deſtroy our manufactures, and ruin our navigation.

The public debts are very great, and ſurpriſingly increaſed, even ſince the fatal ceſſation of arms. My firſt care was to prevent a further increaſe of thoſe debts, by paying off forthwith a great number of ſhips, which had been kept in pay, when there was no occaſion for continuing ſuch an expence.

Gentlemen of the houſe of Commons,

I rely upon you for ſuch ſupplies, as the preſent circumſtances of our affairs require for this year's ſervice, and for the ſupport of the public faith. The eſtimates ſhall be laid before you, that you may conſider of them; and what you ſhall judge neceſſary for your ſafety, I ſhall think ſufficient for mine.

I doubt not but you will concur with me in opinion, that nothing can contribute more to the ſupport of the credit of the nation, than a ſtrict obſervance of all parliamentary engagements.

The branches of the revenue, formerly granted for the ſupport of the civil government, are ſo far incumbered and alienated, that the produce of the funds, which remain and have been granted to me, will fall much ſhort of what was at firſt deſigned, for maintaining the honour and dignity of the crown. And ſince it is my happineſs (as I am confident you think it yours) to ſee a prince of Wales, who may, in due time, ſucceed me on the throne, and to ſee him bleſſed with many children, the beſt and moſt valuable pledges of our care and concern for your poſterity; this muſt occaſion an expence, to which the nation has not of many years been accuſtomed, but ſuch, as ſurely no man will grudge; and therefore I do not doubt, but you will think of it with that affection, which I have reaſon to hope from you.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The eyes of all Europe are upon you, waiting the iſſue of this firſt ſeſſion. Let no unhappy diviſions of parties here at home divert you from purſuing the common intereſt of your country. Let no wicked inſinuations diſquiet the minds of my ſubjects. The eſtabliſhed conſtitution in church and ſtate ſhall be the rule of my government; the happineſs, eaſe, and proſperity of my people ſhall be the chief care of my life. Thoſe, who aſſiſt me in carrying on theſe meaſures, I ſhall always eſteem my beſt friends; and I doubt not but that I ſhall be able, with your aſſiſtance, to diſappoint the deſigns of thoſe, who would deprive me of that bleſſing, which I moſt value, the affection of my people.'

The addreſſes of the two houſes were agreeable to the king's ſpeech. The lords thanked him for his very affectionate expreſſions towards his people, for his aſſurances, that the eſtabliſhed conſtitution in church and ſtate ſhould be the rule of his government, and for his juſt concern for their not having obtained all the advantages promiſed by ſo ſucceſsful a war; they expreſſed their wonder, that the pretender ſhould be yet permitted to reſide ſo near his dominions; and owning themſelves ſenſible, that trade in its moſt valuable branches was rendered impracticable, they added;

'Theſe and other difficulties your majeſty hath met with on your acceſſion to the crown (and which we muſt obſerve, in juſtice to your wiſdom and foreſight, would have been prevented, had your opinion been followed) we muſt confeſs, are very great and diſcouraging. However, we do not doubt, but that your majeſty, aſſiſted by this parliament, zealous for your government, and the ſafety and honour of their country, may be able to take ſuch further meaſures, as will ſecure what is due to us by treaties, eaſe our debts, preſerve the public credit, reſtore our trade, extinguiſh the very hopes of the pretender, and recover the reputation of this kingdom in foreign parts; the loſs of which, we hope to convince the world by our actions, is by no means to be imputed to the nation in general.'

When the addreſs was read, there aroſe a great debate in the houſe, chiefly about the laſt expreſſions in the foregoing paragraph. The lord Trevor, the lord Bolingbroke, the duke of Bucks, the duke of Shrewſbury, the earl of Angleſey, the archbiſhop of York, the biſhops of London and Briſtol, and ſome other peers, excepted againſt that clauſe, alledging, among other things, 'That it was injurious to the late queen's memory, and claſhed with that part of his majeſty's ſpeech, which recommended to both houſes the avoiding the unhappy diviſions of parties: and that it was unjuſt to condemn perſons, without firſt hearing them.' The lord Bolingbroke in particular was very warm on the ſubject, and moved that the words recover, &c. might be ſoftened into, maintain the reputation of this kingdom; and that the reſt of the paragraph might be left out. The earl of Strafford likewiſe excepted againſt the clauſe, becauſe it would expoſe the honour of the nation abroad,

[e] The king having given orders for a new commiſſion of camberlainry, as they call it in Scotland, the following perſons were appointed to be of it: 'The marquis of Tweedale, lord preſident; the earls of Sutherland, Buchan, Marchmont, Bute, and Deloraine; mr. Charles Areſkine, mr. Kennedy, and mr. Hadden. Some time after Charles Warrender, of Lochend, provoſt of Edinburgh, was created a baronet.

which he was ſure had ſuffered no diminution during his negotiations. Theſe and other arguments, urged on that ſide, were anſwered by the marquis of Wharton, the lord-chancelor, the earl of Nottingham, the earl of Aylesford, the duke of Devonſhire, and other peers. The lord chancellor particularly confuted the objections raiſed by the lord Bolingbroke, ſaying, 'That the addreſs did not condemn any particular perſons, but only the peace in general, becauſe they felt the ill conſequences of it. That they, who adviſed and made ſuch a peace, deſerved to be cenſured; but that the words in the addreſs being general, no private perſon was affected by them: and that the alteration of the word recover into that of maintain would ſignify no more towards the juſtification of the guilty, than the word recover towards the condemnation of the innocent.' After this debate, the addreſs was approved and preſented by the lords in a body to the king.

The commons in their addreſs, after having thanked the king for his aſſurances, and expreſſed their ſenſe of the reproach brought upon the nation by the unſuitable concluſion of the war, added: 'We are under aſtoniſhment to find, that any conditions of the late peace, eſſential to the ſecurity and trade of Great Britain, ſhould not yet be duly executed; and that care was not taken to form ſuch alliances, as might have rendered that peace not precarious. And as no care ſhall be wanting in your loyal commons to inquire into theſe fatal miſcarriages; ſo we intirely rely on your majeſty's wiſdom, to enter into ſuch Alliances, as you ſhall judge neceſſary to preſerve the peace of Europe; and we faithfully promiſe to inable your majeſty to make good all ſuch engagements.

It is with juſt reſentment we obſerve, that the pretender ſtill reſides in Lorrain; and that he has the preſumption, by declarations from thence, to ſtir up your majeſty's ſubjects to rebellion. But that, which raiſes the utmoſt indignation of your commons, is, that it appears therein, that his hopes were built upon the meaſures, that had been taken for ſome time paſt in Great-Britain. It ſhall be our buſineſs to trace out thoſe meaſures, whereon he placed his hopes, and to bring the authors of them to condign puniſhment. Then, taking notice of the ill ſituation of trade, they concluded with aſſuring, that they would inable his majeſty to ſupport the dignity of the crown, and make an honourable proviſion for the royal family.'

When this addreſs was reported to the houſe, it occaſioned a warm debate, like that in the houſe of lords on the ſame occaſion. Mr Bromley, ſir William Wyndham, general Roſs, mr. Cæſar, mr. Ward, ſir William Whitelocke, mr. Hungerford, mr. Shippen, and ſome others, raiſed ſeveral objections to it, which were anſwered by mr. Robert Walpole, mr. ſecretary Stanhope, ſir Gilbert Heathcote, and mr. Pulteney. General Roſs inſiſted, 'That the condemning the peace, and cenſuring the late miniſters, was a reflection on the late queen, whoſe act the peace was; and that the reflecting on the late queen could not be agreeable to his preſent majeſty.' He was anſwered by mr. Walpole and mr. Stanhope, 'That nothing was further from their intention than to aſperſe the late queen: That they rather deſigned to vindicate her memory, by expoſing and puniſhing thoſe evil counſellors, who had deluded her into pernicious meaſures; whereas the oppoſite party endeavoured to ſcreen and juſtify thoſe counſellors, by throwing on the memory of her late majeſty all the odium of their evil counſels.' As to what was objected, that the cenſuring the late miniſters without a hearing, and condemning the peace without examining into particulars, was unjuſt and unprecedented, it was anſwered, 'That they muſt diſtinguiſh between cenſuring miniſters, and condemning the peace in general, and condemning particular perſons. That they might, in equity and juſtice, do the firſt, becauſe the whole nation is ſenſible, that their honour and true intereſt were given up by the late peace. That, in due time, they would call them to an account, who made and adviſed ſuch a peace; but God forbid they ſhould ever condemn any perſon unheard.' On this occaſion mr. Stanhope took notice of a report induſtriouſly ſpread about, 'That the preſent miniſters never deſigned to call the late managers to an account, but only to cenſure them in general terms. But he aſſured the houſe, that notwithſtanding all the endeavours, which had been uſed to prevent a diſcovery of the late miſmanagements, by conveying away ſeveral papers from the ſecretaries offices; yet the government had ſufficient evidence left, to prove the late miniſtry the moſt corrupt, that ever ſat at the helm. That thoſe matters would ſoon be laid before the houſe; and that it would appear, that a certain Engliſh general had acted in concert with, if not received orders from marſhal de Villars.' Sir William Wyndham endeavoured to prove, that the peace had been very beneficial to this kingdom, and offered to produce a liſt of goods, by which it appeared, that the cuſtoms had increaſed near 100,000 l. per annum. But he was anſwered by ſir Gilbert Heathcote, who readily owned, that ſir William might indeed produce a liſt of vaſt imports from France; but defied him to ſhew, that our exports thither, particulary of our woollen manufactures, had increaſed ſince the peace. He added, that imports, being only our conſumption, rather prove our loſs than our gain; and that the nation gets only by exports, which keep up our manufactures, employ our poor, and bring in returns of money. Sir William Wyndham made no reply; but ſir William Whitelocke having ſuggeſted, that the whigs deſigned to involve the nation in a new war, and lay ſix ſhillings in the pound, he was anſwered by mr. Walpole, that none in the preſent miniſtry were for a war, if the ſame could any ways be avoided; and that he doubted not but two ſhillings in the pound would be ſufficient towards this year's ſervice.

After theſe and ſome other ſpeeches, the addreſs was carried by a majority of two hundred and forty-four votes againſt a hundred and thirty-eight.

The conduct of the earl of Oxford and the lord Bolingbroke, the two chiefs of the late miniſtry, was at this time very remarkable. The earl ſkulked about ſometimes in town, and ſometimes in the country; affecting to appear very unconcerned, profeſſing his innocence, and boaſting what great things he had done for ſecuring the Hanover ſucceſſion. The other affected to act a more open part, appeared every where, and ſpoke in parliament with ſuch boldneſs, as if he had not the leaſt ſenſe of guilt, or dread of puniſhment. This was ſaid to be owing to the advice of the lord Trevor, who repreſented to him, 'how much their cauſe would ſuffer, if he, whoſe chief intereſt it was to ſupport it to the laſt, ſhould meanly throw it up, by abſenting himſelf. He aſſured him, no hold could be taken of his perſon till he was impeached; which he could not be, till the papers relating to the part of the adminiſtration, in which he was concerned, were examined.' However, it was obſerved, that the earl of Oxford ſold out all the ſtock he had in his own name in the South-Sea Company; and the lord Bolingbroke's heart began to fail him, as ſoon as he heard, that mr. Prior was landed at Dover, and had promiſed to reveal all he knew; which however he did not make good, though he was favourably received by the king, to whom he was introduced by the earl of Dorſet; and, the ſame day, was entertained at dinner by the lord Townſhend, together with the duke of Roxburgh, mr. ſecretary Stanhope, the earl of Dorſet, and the lord Lumley. That evening the lord Bolingbroke, who had the night before appeared at the play-houſe in Drury-Lane, and beſpoke another play for the next night, and ſubſcribed to a new Opera, that was to be acted ſome time after, went off to Dover, in diſguiſe, as a ſervant to La Vigne, one of the French king's meſſengers; and there William Morgan, who had been a captain in major-general Holt's regiment of Marines, hired a veſſel and carried him over to Calais, where the governor attended him in a coach, and carried him to his houſe, as appeared by Morgan's examination. The next day after it was publicly known, that he was gone to France, there was handed about in writing, and afterwards in print, the following letter, ſaid to be writ by him.

'My Lord, Dover, March 27

'I left the town ſo abruptly, that I had not time to take leave of you, or any of my friends. You will excuſe me, when you know, that I had certain and repeated informations from ſome, who are in the ſecret of affairs, that a reſolution was taken by thoſe, who have power to execute it, to purſue me to the ſcaffold. My blood was to have been the cement of a new alliance; nor could my innocence be any ſecurity, after it had been once demanded from abroad, and reſolved on at home, that it was neceſſary to cut me off. Had their been the leaſt reaſon to hope for a fair and open trial, after having been already prejudged, unheard by the two houſes of parliament, I ſhould not have declined the ſtricteſt examination. I challenge the moſt inveterate of my enemies to produce any one inſtance of criminal correſpondence, or the leaſt corruption in any part of the adminiſtration, in which I was concerned. If my zeal for the honour and dignity of my royal miſtreſs, and the true intereſt of my country, has any where tranſported me to let ſlip a warm or unguarded expreſſion. I hope the moſt favourable interpretation will be put upon it. It is a comfort, that will remain with me in all misfortunes, that I ſerved her majeſty faith-

fully and dutifully, in that eſpecially, which ſhe had moſt at heart, relieving her people from a bloody and expenſive war; and that I have always been too much an Engliſhman, to ſacrifice the intereſt of my country to any foreign ally whatſoever. And it is for this crime only, that I am now driven from thence.

You will hear more at large from me ſhortly.

Yours, &c.'

Some maintained this letter to be ſuppoſitious, but the generality of the tories owned it to be true. And it plainly appeared afterwards that he had juſt reaſons to leave the kingdom.

Notwithſtanding all the demonſtrations of the ill conduct of the late miniſtry, many of their friends ventured to juſtify them; of which the addreſs from the corporation of Wigan, in Lancaſhire, preſented by ſir Roger Bradſhaigh, was a remarkable inſtance; in which, after ſtiling the peace of Utrecht a general, ſolid and beneficial peace for the people they proceed thus: 'We take this opportunity to return our thanks for your majeſty's gracious aſſurance of protecting the epiſcopal church of England. This, with your being in full communion with that church, muſt make you dear to all the members thereof. We cannot but pleaſe ourſelves with the hopes, that, by the eſtabliſhment of your family amongſt us, the favourable conjuncture (which has been ſo long wiſhed for) is now come, to extend the epiſcopal government to the reformed churches abroad; which, as we believe, is the only foundation poſſible to unite the chriſtian world upon (if ever it muſt be ſo happy) ſo it muſt render you, above all things, glorious to the whole reformation, by being the happy inſtrument of ſo univerſal a benefit.'

About this time died dr. Gilbert Burnet, biſhop of Saliſbury, in the 72d year of his age. He was taken ill of a violent cold, which ſoon turned to a pleuretic fever. He was attended by his friend and relation dr. Cheyne. But the diſtemper growing to a height, which ſeemed to baffle all remedies, the aſſiſtance of ſir Hans Sloane and dr. Mead was called for, who quicly found his caſe deſperate. He bore the notice of the danger his life was in, with that calm reſignation which had always ſupported him under the ſevereſt trials. As he preſerved his ſenſes to the laſt, he employed the remnant of life in acts of devotion, and in giving the beſt advice to his family; of whom he took leave, in a manner, that ſhewed the utmoſt tenderneſs, accompanied with the firmeſt conſtancy of mind. And whilſt he was ſo little ſenſible of the terrors of death, as to embrace its approach with joy; he could not but expreſs a concern, for the grief he ſaw it cauſed in others. [f] He was ſucceeded by dr. Talbot, biſhop of Oxford, whoſe ſucceſſor was dr. John Potter, regius Profeſſor, the preſent archbiſhop of Canterbury.

What precaution ſoever had been taken about a third part of the commons were tories. This appeared as ſoon as the parliament met. Sir William Whitelock, member for the univerſity of Oxford, upon a motion in the houſe of commons, to take into conſideration the king's proclamation of the 15th of January, for calling a new parliament, made exceptions to the proclamation as unprecedented and unwarrantable; and was called upon by ſome members to explain himſelf; upon which he made an excuſe for what he had ſaid. Notwithſtanding this, ſir William Wyndham roſe up and ſaid, that the proclamation was not only unprecedented and unwarrantable, but even of dangerous conſequence to the very being of parliaments. He was called upon to juſtify his charge, which he declined, but ſaid, That, as he thought ſome expreſſions in the proclamation of dangerous conſequence, ſo he believed every member was free to ſpeak his thoughts.' He was anſwered by lord Finch, 'That not doubt every member had that liberty, freedom of ſpeech being one of their eſſential privileges. But that the houſe, at the ſame time, had both liberty and power to cenſure and puniſh ſuch members, as tranſgreſs the rules of decency, treſpaſs upon the reſpect due to the crown, and ſo abuſe the privilege of the houſe within doors, as to render it contemptible without.' ſir William being again called upon to explain himſelf, and ſtill refuſing, ſome members cried, the tower, the, tower. But mr. Robert Walpole ſpoke to this effect: , Mr ſpeaker, I am not for gratifying the deſire, which the member, who occaſions this debate, ſhews, of being ſent to the tower. It would make him too conſiderable. But as he is one, who ſets up for a warm champion of the late miniſtry, and was in all their ſecrets, I would have him be in the houſe, when we come to enquire into the conduct of his friends, both that he may have an opportunity to defend them, and be a witneſs of the fairneſs, with which we ſhall proceed againſt thoſe gentlemen; and that it may not be ſaid, that we take advantage againſt them.' After ſeveral other ſpeeches, which prolonged this debate above four hours, a motion was made, and the queſtion propoſed, 'That ſir William Wyndham, having reflected upon his majeſty's proclamation, and having refuſed to juſtify his charge, altho' often called upon ſo to do, is guilty of a great indignity to his majeſty, and of a breach of the privilege of this houſe.' This motion occaſioned a freſh debate. The houſe ſtill inſiſted, that ſir William ſhould juſtify his charge; and he as obſtinately declined to do it, ſaying, 'He was ready to undergo whatever a majority would inflict upon him.' At laſt, the queſtion being put, that he ſhould withdraw, it was carried in the affirmative by two hundred and eight voices againſt one hundred and twenty-nine: whereupon he withdrew, as did all the hundred and twenty-nine members, who had been for the negative. Then the houſe unanimouſly reſolved, that ſir William ſhould be reprimanded by the ſpeaker. This was done by the ſpeaker in the following manner:

'Sir William Wyndham,

I am to acquaint you, that the houſe has come to this reſolution, that you be reprimanded in your place by me.

You have preſumed to reflect on his majeſty's proclamation, and made an unwarrantable uſe of the freedom of ſpeech granted by his majeſty.

This houſe has made their moderation appear, and ſhewn their lenity, by laying the mildeſt cenſure your offence was capable of. I am ordered to reprimand you, and do reprimand you accordingly.'

To which ſir William replied:

SIR,

'I return you my thanks for what you have done by the duty of your office in ſo candid and ſo gentleman like a manner. As I am a member of this houſe, I very well know I muſt acquieſce in the determination of this houſe. But I am not conſcious of any indignity to his majeſty, or any breach of the privileges of this houſe; and therefore I have no thanks to give thoſe gentlemen, who, under pretence of lenity, have brought this cenſure upon me. [g]

Three days after the commons entered upon what they ſaid in their addreſs of thanks ſhould be their buſineſs, the inquiry into the conduct of the late miniſtry. General Stanhope preſented to the houſe, in fourteen volumes, all the papers relating to the late negotiations of peace and commerce, and to the ceſſation of arms, telling them, 'That

[f] His character was thus drawn by the marquis of Hallifax:

'Dr Burnet is like all men, who are above the ordinary level, ſeldom ſpoke of in a mean, he muſt either be railed at or admired; he has a ſwiftneſs of imagination, that no other man comes up to; and as our nature hardly allows us to have enough of any thing, without having too much, he cannot at all times ſo hold in his thoughts, but that at ſome time they may run away with him; as it is hard for a veſſel, that is brim-full, when in motion, not to run over; and therefore the variety of matter, that he ever carries about him, may throw out more, than an unkind critic would allow of. His firſt thoughts may ſometimes require more digeſtion, not from a defect in his judgment, but from the abundance of his fancy, which furniſhes too faſt for him. His friends love him too well, to ſee ſmall faults; or, if they do, think that his greater talents give him a privilege of ſtraying from the ſtrict rules of caution, and exempt him from the ordinary rules of cenſure. He produces ſo faſt, that what is well in his writings calls for admiration, and what is incorrect deſerves an excuſe; he may in ſome things require grains of allowance, which thoſe only can deny him, who are unknown or unjuſt to him. He is not quicer in diſcerning other men's faults, than he is in forgiving them; ſo ready, or rather glad to acknowledge his own, that from bleniſhes they become ornaments. All the repeated provocations of his indecent adverſaries have had no other effect, than the ſetting his good-nature in ſo much a better light; ſince his anger never yet went farther than to pity them. That heat, which in moſt other men raiſes ſharpneſs and ſatire, in him glows into warmth for his friends, and compaſſion for thoſe in want and miſery. As dull men have quick eyes, in diſcerning the ſmaller faults of thoſe, that nature has made ſuperior to them, they do not miſs one blot he makes; and, being beholden only to their barrenneſs for their diſcretion, they fall upon the errors, which ariſe out of his abundance; and by a miſtake, into which their malice betrays them, they think that, by finding a mote in his eye, they hide the beams, that are in their own. His quickneſs makes writing ſo eaſy a thing to him, that his ſpirits are neither waſted nor ſoured by it: the ſoil is not forced, every thing grows, and brings forth without pangs; which diſtinguiſhes as much what he does, from that which ſmells of the lamp, as a good palate will diſcern between fruit, which comes from a rich mould, and that which taſtes of the uncleanly pains, that have been beſtowed upon it. He makes many enemies, by ſetting an ill-natured example of living, which they are not inclined to follow. His indifference for preferment, his contempt not only of ſplendor, but of all unneceſſary plenty, his degrading himſelf into the loweſt and moſt painful duties of his calling; are ſuch unprelatical qualities, that, let him be ever ſo orthodox in other things, in theſe he muſt be a diſſenter. Virtues of ſuch a ſtamp are ſo many hereſies, in the opinion of thoſe divines, who have ſoftened the primitive injuctions, ſo as to make them ſuit better with the preſent frailty of mankind. No wonder then, if they are angry, ſince it is in their own defence, or that from a principle of ſelf-preſervation they ſhould endeavour to ſuppreſs a man, whoſe parts are a ſhame, and whoſe life is a ſcandal to them.'

[g] The tories took advantage of this moderation, and ſome of their writers ſecretly diſperſed, not many days after, a libel intitled, The honour and partiality of the houſe of commons, ſet forth in the caſe of ſir William Wyndham; containing bitter invectives againſt the well-affected. Annals.

nothing had been omitted, that might either anſwer the deſire they had expreſſed of being thoroughly informed of what had paſſed in thoſe important negotiations, or ſatisfy the whole world, that the preſent miniſtry acted with the utmoſt fairneſs and candour, and deſigned to take no manner of advantage over the late managers in the intended inquiries. That indeed the papers now laid before the houſe were only copies; but that the originals would be produced, if occaſion required: concluding, that, thoſe papers being too many and too voluminous to be peruſed and examined by all the members, he therefore moved, that they might be referred to a ſelect committee of twenty perſons, who ſhould digeſt the ſubſtance of them under proper heads, and report the ſame, with their obſervations to the houſe.'

The earl of Oxford being come to town the night before, his brother mr. Edward Harley, a member of the houſe, ſaid, 'That it was eaſy to ſee, that one of his neareſt relations was principally aimed at in theſe intended inquiries; but he might aſſure the houſe, that the ſaid perſon, notwithſtanding the various reports, which had been ſpread concerning him, would neither fly his country, nor conceal himſelf, but be forth-coming whenever he ſhould be called upon to juſtify his conduct. That he hoped he would be able, upon the ſevereſt trial, to make his innocence appear to all the world; but if he ſhould be ſo unhappy, as to have been guilty of the crimes, that were laid to his charge, he would think all his blood too ſmall a ſatisfaction to attone for them.' No body oppoſed mr. Stanhope's motion; only mr. Hungerford excepted againſt the number of twenty, and moved, that one more might be added; which being readily agreed to, it was reſolved, that the books and papers ſhould be referred to a committee of ſecrecy, the number to be twenty-one, who were choſen by ballot. [b]

The committee of ſecrecy met that evening, and choſe mr. Robert Walpole for their chairman. But, he being the next day taken ill, the committee choſe mr. Stanhope to ſupply his place; and, for diſpatch, ſubdivided themſelves into three committees, to each of which a certain number of books and papers were allotted. They made ſuch diſpatch, that their report was ready in two months.

On the 11th of April the earl of Oxford went to the parliament, and took his ſeat in the houſe of peers.

About this time the earl of Peterborough ſuddenly returned from his late travels to Italy and France, having met with lord Bolingbroke on the road between Paris and Calais; but it was ſaid, he did not ſpeak to him. The next day after his arrival, the earl appeared at St James's, but, whatever was the occaſion, two days after the lord Townſhend ſignified to him an order forbidding him the court.

On the 12th of April the marquis of Wharton, lord privy-ſeal, died at his houſe in Dover-Street, after an indiſpoſition of twelve days, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age. His name will be ever endeared to the friends of liberty, and to all who have a true concern for the proteſtant intereſt. Could the ſervices, which he performed for this nation and the preſent royal family be duly enumerated, they would appear beyond the beſt ſkill and abilities of any ſingle man. King Charles II. admitted him to great familiarities, and had him for a companion in many of his debauches, with a deſign to make him wholly his own. With regard to private vices, the ſucceſs was notorious; but, in what related to the public and court, he abſolutely diſappointed the king. He ſaw and heard the deſigns of a prince, to whoſe indolence and luxury the nation was obliged for its preſervation. This gave him a juſt contempt for ſuch a governor, and an abhorrence of all his views. King William was duly ſenſible of his ſervices before and at the revolution. In that reign he attained to no higher a ſtation than being comptroller of the houſhold: which muſt be aſcribed to the unhappy influence of thoſe, who hated him, and his royal maſter. He received however the utmoſt proofs of confidence and reſpect, and had the king's moſt intimate deſigns communicated to him. His probity and good affection in what concerned the government was ſo well aſſured, that it gave him great and conſtant intereſt. Many important meaſures were aſcribed to his ſecret advice. His great vigour and happy addreſs in ſerving the good cauſe, which he had ever in view, cannot fully be deſcribed. His labours were infinite with men of all ranks, and on all proper occaſions. He knew how to accommodate himſelf to every temper and inclination. What to others would have been great pain and trouble, afforded him great pleaſure and ſatisfaction. The merit of his conduct in the country, at court, and in the ſenate, was equally admirable. His enemies, who were only ſo on the account of his public zeal and uſefulneſs, have greatly aggravated his immoralities, and loaded him with crimes, from which he was wholly free. But, did he not learn the rudiments of vice under their favourite king Charles? Have not the private lives of moſt of their leaders been equally faulty? Are they excuſable for pretending to the name and noiſe of religion? lord Wharton's defects oblige us the more to admire his excellencies. In a life ſpent in a libertine manner, uſeful knowledge and learning were neglected. But an infinite fund of good ſenſe and great natural abilities ſupplied whatever was wanting. On every emergency he diſcovered what was proper, and was never at a loſs how to act. There was not only a readineſs, and propriety in his ſpeeches, but they were weighty and important. Nothing can be imagined more excellent than his ſkill and ſagacity in the management of a debate. In theſe public appearances he was greatly aſſiſted, by never engaging in the ſupport of what he did not believe to have truth and juſtice on its ſide. He lived to ſee the ſucceſs of a cauſe, for which he had laboured with zeal and integrity. But his enjoyment of the bleſſing of the ſucceſſion was very ſhort. A misfortune in his family is ſuppoſed to have produced the fatal effect. His ſon poſſeſſed ſome of his parts and abilities; but his very different uſe and application of them are well known.

On the 22d of April was the famous eclipſe of the ſun, to obſerve which the chevalier de Louville and monſieur de Montmaur, two French mathematicians, came from Paris, by the direction of the royal academy of ſciences, and were civilly entertained by the members of the royal ſociety, with whom they joined in making their obſervations.

The day following, being the anniverſary of the late queen's coronation, great diſorders were committed in the city of London, by the lower ſort of people; as was likewiſe done on the 29th of April, being the duke of Ormond's birth-day.

The general aſſembly of the church of Scotland met on the 4th of May; the earl of Rothes, lord high-admiral of that kingdom, being the king's commiſſioner; and the moſt remarkable of their acts was the confirming the ſuſpenſion of two miniſters, mr. James Maitland, of Innerkethie, and mr. John Maitland, of Fergus, his brother, who had been ſuſpended by the ſynod of Aberdeen, for not obſerving the 20th of January, the thankſgiving-day for his majeſty's acceſſion to the crowns, and not praying for king George by name. Theſe miniſters refuſing to anſwer any queſtions for removing the ſuſpicion, which they lay under, of diſaffection to the king, the aſſembly, by another vote, depoſed them from the office of the miniſtry, and appointed their churches to be declared vacant.

The aſſembly had a difficult part to act in this nice juncture; for ſeveral of the Preſbyterians had given injunctions to their deputies, to move for an addreſs to the king, that he would be pleaſed to uſe his endeavours, that the church of Scotland might be delivered from the hardſhips brought upon her in the late reign, by the unlimited toleration granted to the epiſcopal preachers, and the act for reſtoring lay patronages, which were both contrary to the treaty of union. They had alſo ſome difficulty to avoid remonſtrances againſt the union's being cotinued. But they managed their affairs with ſo much prudence, as to prevent any heats about thoſe matters in the aſſembly, and uſed their endeavours with ſucceſs to keep the honeſt part of the nation from puſhing thoſe things, ſo that they were willing to refer the redreſs of thoſe grievances to a more proper ſeaſon, when the king and the parliament might do it without interrupting the great affairs, which then lay before them. Thus the general aſſembly of the church of Scotland ended quietly, and another was appointed to meet the firſt Thurſday of May, 1716, according to cuſtom. This was a great mortification to the Jacobite party in both nations, who flattered themſelves with creating diviſions in the church of Scotland, by thoſe popular topics; but the Preſbyterians refuſed to give into their meaſures.

The committee of the houſe taking the civil liſt into con-

[b] The committee conſiſted of the following members:

Sir Richard Onſlow,
Robert Walpole,
Spencer Cowper,
James Stanhope,
Hugh Boſcawen,
William Pulteney,
Nicholas Lechmere,
Daniel lord Finch,
John Aiſlaiby,
Thomas Vernon,
Algernoon, earl of Hertford,
Edward Wortley Mountague,
Sir David Dalrymple,
George Baillie,
Sir Joſeph Jekyll,
Thomas Erle,
Richard Hampden,
Sir Robert Marſham,
Alexander Denton,
Thomas Pitt, ſenior.
Thomas Lord Coningſby.

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THOMAS MARQUIS OF WHARTON.

G. Kneller pinx.r

G. Vandergucht sculp.t

In the Possession of Robt. Coke Esqr.

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ſideration, ſeveral papers relating to former eſtabliſhments were read; and then the queſtion was offered, 'That it appears to this committee, that the ſum of 700,000 l. per ann. was ſettled upon king William during his life, for the ſupport of his houſhold, and other his neceſſary occaſions; and at the time of his demiſe, after the deduction of 3700 l. a week, which was applied to the public uſes, was the produce of the civil liſt revenues, that were continued and ſettled upon queen Anne, during her life.' Thoſe, who propoſed this queſtion, had two things principally in view; to vindicate the preſent miniſtry from the aſperſions caſt upon them, and induſtriouſly ſpread about, by the emiſſaries of the late managers, that the whigs deſigned to give the king a larger revenue than his predeceſſors had enjoyed: And to make good the branches of the civil liſt revenue, which had been alienated or abridged; ſo that the whole neat produce might amount to 700,000 l. per ann. The leading men among the tories being ſenſible of the firſt, and pretending to be ignorant of the conſequence of this preliminary queſtion, inſiſted a long while, 'That it was enſnaring. That what had been done by former parliaments, ought not to be a ſtanding rule for the ſubſequent: That, ſuppoſing the parliament had given king William a revenue of 700,000 l. per ann. for the civil liſt, they ought to conſider, that he was to pay out of it 50,000 l. per ann. to the late queen, then princeſs of Denmark; 15 or 20,000 l. per ann. for the late duke of Glocester; and 40,000 l. for the dowry of king James's queen. That, after the late queen's acceſſion to the throne, the parliament taking notice, that the produce of the civil liſt revenues exceeded what they had been given for, the ſum of 3700 l. per week (that is, 192,400 l. per annum) was taken out of them, and applied to other uſes; notwithſtanding which deduction, the late queen had honourably maintained her family, and ſupported the dignity of the crown; however, if the preſent revenues of the civil liſt were not ſufficient, they were ready to conſent to an addition.' It was anſwered, 'That the queſtion before them was founded upon facts, which, if denied, they were ready to prove by the records of the houſe.' But ſir William Wyndham ſtill urging, that the queſtion was enſnaring, mr. ſecretary Stanhope anſwered, 'That he would be very plain with them, and own, that, as it was notorious, that great endeavours had been uſed to alienate the affection of the people from the king and his government, by falſe ſuggeſtions, that they deſigned to plunge the nation into extraordinary expences, they thought it highly neceſſary to clear his majeſty and his miniſters from that malicious aſperſion.' To this lord Guernſey replied, 'That the diſaffection of the people, if any, did not proceed from his majeſty, but from the hardſhips his miniſters put on the tory party.' To this it was returned, 'That, as ſoon as it would be made known to the world, how the late miniſtry had uſed, not only the whigs, but the whole nation, nothing, that could be done againſt them, would then be thought a hardſhip; but, however, that neither that noble member, nor any of his family, had reaſon to complain of hardſhips.' After ſome other ſpeeches, the tories endeavoured to drop the queſtion, by moving, that the ſpeaker might reſume the chair; which being rejected, the queſtion was carried in the affirmative, and a motion made that 700,000 l. clear ſhould be granted yearly for the civil liſt. The queſtion being put upon this motion, occaſioned another great debate. Sir Thomas Hanmer, mr. Bromley, ſir William Wyndham, mr. Cæſar, mr. Hungerford, and ſome other leading tories, did not at firſt directly oppoſe the queſtion, but inſinuated, 'That, before they came to that reſolution, it would be proper, that a particular of the king's expence ſhould be laid before the houſe.' Mr Walpole, mr. ſecretary Stanhope, mr. Lechmere, and others, having exploded that propoſal, as altogether inconſiſtent with the king's honour, to have all the private expences of his family and houſhold looked into, as if he had need of a guardian; the tories then moved, that the ſum of 600,000 l. per annum, be given to his majeſty, and 100,000 l. per annum ſettled on the prince, of Wales. The court-party perceiving, that the propoſal of giving the prince of Wales a ſeparate revenue was only a deſign to divide the royal family, by leſſening the dependance of the next heir, oppoſed it, and, the queſtion being put on that motion, it was carried in the negative by a great majority. The tories having loſt theſe two points, ſome of that party more openly oppoſed the main queſtion. Among the reſt, ſir William Wyndham ſaid, he had the honour to ſerve her late majeſty, and had the opportunity to look both into her revenue and her expence; and he could aſſure the houſe, that about 500,000 l. per annum was ſufficient for the ſupport of her family and civil liſt; tho' ſhe reſerved about 50,000l. a year for the late king James's conſort.' The court-party were glad of this confeſſion; and mr. ſecretary Stanhope deſired the committee to take notice of what that gentleman had advanced, becauſe it would ſerve to confirm ſome matters, which the committee of ſecrecy had found in the papers, that were laid before them. The queſtion being put, it was carried without dividing, that 700,000l. a year clear ſhould be granted for the civil liſt during the king's life.

There was another warm debate a few days after, upon a motion for an addreſs againſt penſions. The leading tories and others exclaimed againſt the penſions given by the crown to ſeveral perſons of quality (ſome of whom they named) who had no occaſion for them. Mr Robert Walpole urged, 'That they ought not to ſtint the king's beneficence, nor debar him from the exerciſe of the moſt glorious branch of his perogative, which is to beſtow his favours on ſuch, as diſtinguiſh themſelves in his ſervice.' He was ſeconded by mr. Hampden, who obſerved, that all the penſions, about which ſo much noiſe was made, did not amount to above 25,000l. and then moved, that the chairman ſhould leave the chair; which being put to the vote, paſſed in the affirmative by three voices only, a hundred and ninety-one againſt a hundred and eighty-eight.

On the 30th of May, the houſe of peers, in a grand committee, conſidered of the bill for regulating the land forces; when there aroſe a great debate about a clauſe, for confining the ſeveral regiments to thoſe parts of his majeſty's dominions, for which they were allotted; for inſtance, the twelve thouſand men, that were on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, to Ireland. The duke of Bucks, the lord Trevor, the lord North and Grey, the biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſome others of that party, ſpoke for the clauſe. But the duke of Marlborough and ſome other lords ſhewed the fatal conſequences, with which it might be attended, in caſe of an invaſion from abroad, or an inſurrection at home, by a number of enemies, foreign or domeſtic, ſuperior to the number of forces actually on the ſpot, where either of them ſhould happen. It was further urged, 'That his majeſty having truſted his perſon and family entirely in the hands of the nation, and at the opening of this ſeſſion told the parliament, that what they ſhould judge neceſſary for their ſafety, he ſhould think ſufficient for his own; the leaſt they could do for him, was to leave to his wiſdom and diſcretion the diſpoſal of the few troops, that were kept on foot.' Some tory lords moved, that the foreign officers might be excluded from that number: but the duke of Marlborough ſpoke in their favour, and argued, 'That to exclude officers, who, like the French refugees, had, for above five and twenty years, ſerved England with diſtinguiſhed zeal and untainted fidelity, would be a piece of injuſtice unprecedented in the moſt barbarous nations.' After ſome other ſpeeches, the queſtion was put, whether the clauſe ſhould be inſerted; and it was carried in the negative by eighty-one voices againſt thirty-five. The next day, the lords read the bill the third time, which, with ſome amendments, was approved, and ſent down to the commons. [i]

On the 18th of May, ſir John Norris, with a ſquadron of twenty men of war, and a fleet of merchant-ſhips under his convoy, ſailed from the Nore to the Baltic, in order to protect the trade of his majeſty's ſubjects in thoſe ſeas. The violent proceedings of the king of Sweden in rejecting the treaty of neutrality concerted by England and Holland, and other members of the grand alliance, for preſerving the remains of his army under general Craſſau, and for the ſecurity of his German dominions, and in cauſing the ſhips of all nations whatſoever, without diſtinction, trading to the Baltic, to be ſeized and confiſcated, even ſome years before king George's acceſſion to the throne, obliged, at laſt, the king and the States-General, after having made proper inſtances for redreſs to no purpoſe, to uſe their fleets for the protection of their ſubjects in their navigation and commerce to thoſe parts. The Britiſh and Dutch miniſters had jointly, or ſeperately, made the inſtances in the moſt earneſt manner, by variety of memorials delivered yearly to the king or ſenate of Sweden, ſo long as from the year 1710, without

[i] About this time there was a petition preſented to the lords by mrs. Mary Forreſter, maid of honour to the late queen, and now to the princeſs of Wales, ſetting forth, that about thirteen years ago, when ſhe was but twelve years of age, ſhe had been married to ſir George Downing, then about fifteen. That, ſir George going then to travel, he did, upon his return, ſhew his diſlike to the match, which had prevented their cohabitation: and therefore they prayed, that they might be ſeparated, and at liberty to marry again. Several of the lords, and particularly the biſhops ſpoke againſt allowing a divorce; and, the matter being put off till the third of May, it was, upon debate, carried by fifty againſt forty-eight, to reject the petition, the biſhops being againſt the divorce, leſt it ſhould weaken the obligations of marriage.

being able to obtain the leaſt ſatisfaction. The laſt memorial of mr. Jackſon, the Engliſh reſident at the court of Sweden, before the Engliſh ſquadron was ſent, was preſented to the ſenate at Stockholm, January 14, 1714-15, complaining, that the loſs of the Engliſh merchants from the Swediſh cruiſers amounted to 65,449l. ſterling. The Swediſh regency returned an anſwer on the 8th of February, N. S. by which they referred him to the king of Sweden himſelf, who was then at Stralſund. In ſhort, though the Dutch, as well as the Britiſh miniſters, made repeated complaints of thoſe ſeizures, the king of Sweden was ſo far from regarding them, that he iſſued out new orders to his men of war and privateers, to ſeize and confiſcate all ſhips, that traded with any place conquered by his enemies; and theſe orders were ſo very ſtrict, and clogged with ſuch terms on merchant ſhips, as in a manner rendered the trade of the Baltic impracticable, without a ſufficient force to convoy the merchant-ſhips, that traded thither. [k]

On the 19th of May died Charles earl of Hallifax. He was deſcended from a younger branch of the Mancheſter family, and came into the world without any advantages of fortune. But uſeful parts, and ſeveral lucky opportunities of producing them, ſoon gave him a figure in life. He had the reputation of a fine taſte, and of being maſter of polite literature. His projects and his poetry have been aſcribed to others, who ſubmiſſively beſtowed on him their thoughts and labours. It is not worth controverting, whether he was the author or the adopter of ſchemes for the ſervice of the government; ſince his merit, in the proper application of them, is undeniable. Recoining the money, and exchequer bills, delivered the nation from diſtreſſes, which ſeemed to be attended with unavoidable ruin. Many, who envied a young man the natural reputation of ſuch performances, and many others, who were enemies to the government, encumbered him with all imaginable difficulties.

His ſkill as a ſpeaker and manager muſt be unqueſtionable, which enabled him to execute ſuch great deſigns. But, when his and the nation's enemies, aided by the perverſeneſs of the times, had gained the aſcendant, his vigour and ſpirit totally failed; and he implored in abject terms their mercy, whoſe rage and inſolence were confirmed by his applications.

When the ſtaff was taken from the duke of Shrewſbury, he was placed at the head of the treaſury, and had the garter, and an addition of title, but not the ſatisfaction, which might naturally have been expected from ſo many happy events. Not finding himſelf poſſeſſed of the fulneſs of power, and the poſt of high-treaſurer, which he imagined to be his due, he entered into meaſures with the authors of the fatal ceſſation of arms, and the deſtructive peace. And though it would have confirmed the diſguſts of our allies, and been the higheſt indignity to the king's affectionate and ſincere friends, had he ſucceeded, yet he purſued his deſigns of removing thoſe, who had been fellow-labourers and fellow-ſufferers with him. The perpetual enmity of his new friends to king William, who had raiſed him from the loweſt to the higheſt ſtation in life, the ignominy of an impeachment, and the cenſures and reproaches, with which they had purſued him for many years, were all forgotten. Such are the effects of boundleſs pride and ambition! But a violent diſtemper ſpeedily put an end to his life, and all his devices.

He left behind him the fame of being an encourager of men of parts and learning; and is ſaid to have ſhewn himſelf ſuch in an agreeable and liberal manner. His performances in poetry have had their full praiſe. A poetical turn infected his proſe. Far from finding the purity and ſtrength of lord Sommers's compoſitions, we have in many of his a perpetual affectation of figurative ornaments.

The commiſſioners, appointed for building the fifty new churches, preſented an addreſs to the king, wherein they ſet forth, that, ſeveral chapels and churches being almoſt ready, they found themſelves under a difficulty how to proceed for want of a due maintainance for the miniſters, without which no biſhop could regularly conſecrate a church, nor any patron be effectually treated with. The king told them he ſhould readily comply with their deſire, being reſolved to embrace all opportunities of encouraging a work in which the honour of the church of England was ſo much concerned.

This anſwer is one, among many other inſtances of the king's care for the church of England, though the danger of it under his adminiſtration was made a principal topic to excite the people to rebel, and to raiſe mobs and tumults almoſt on every public day; for the prevention of which, the juſtices of the peace of Weſtminſter and Middleſex publiſhed an excellent order, but with ſo little effect, that, on the king's birth-day, the mob inſulted the citizens, who ſhewed their joy by bonfires, and illuminations. The care of the magiſtrates in both London and Weſtminſter, and the orders that had been given the horſe-guards, kept them in ſome awe on that day. But the next, being the anniverſary of the reſtoration of king Charles the II, they made greater illuminations, and more bonfires, than were ſeen the day before, eſpecially in the city of London, where they broke the windows of ſuch houſes, as were not illuminated, and amongſt them thoſe of the lord-mayor. They inſulted four life-guards, who were patrolling, and obliged them to cry out, as they did, High-church and Ormond. In Smithfield they burnt a print of king William. This riot being unexpected, there was not force enough at hand to ſuppreſs it immediately; but, at laſt, ſome citizens and conſtables diſperſed them, when they came to Cheapſide, and about thirty of the mutineers were ſecured and committed to priſon. The ſame evening one Bournois, a French or Iriſh ſchoolmaſter, was by ſir Charles Peers ſent to Newgate, for high-treaſon, having proclaimed in the ſtreet, that king George had no right to the crown. He was afterwards tried for it, and whipped through the city, according to ſentence; and, his conſtitution being deſtroyed by the venereal diſeaſe, he died in a few days after. It appeared, he was a popiſh prieſt, and taught French for a colour.

During theſe commotions the following accident happened, which was made uſe of to increaſe the popular ferment. On the king's birth-day, new cloathing was delivered to the firſt regiment of foot-guards; but, ſo particularly coarſe were the ſhirts, that the ſoldiers were much offended at it. There being a great number of Iriſh papiſts, and other diſaffected perſons, than in the guards, their diſcontent was eaſily improved by the enemies of the government; ſo that ſome of the ſoldiers had the inſolence to throw their ſhirts into the king's and duke of Marlborough's garden at St James's; as a detachment marched from Whitehall, through the city, to relieve the guard in the tower, the ſoldiers pulled out their ſhirts, and ſhewed them to all ſhopkeepers and paſſengers, crying out, theſe are the Hanover ſhirts, &c. The court being informed of what had paſſed, and foreſeeing the conſequences, orders were immediately ſent to the guard at Whitehall, to burn thoſe new ſhirts; which was done that very evening. [l]

[k] After Steinbock and his army were taken priſoners, count Welling concluded a treaty with the adminiſtrator of Holſtein-Gottorp, by which it was agreed, that the towns of Stetin and Wiſmar ſhould be ſequeſtered into the hands of the king of Pruſſia, and the adminiſtrator to ſecure them as well as the reſt of the Swediſh Pomerania, from the northern allies, the Poles and Muſcovites. Count Meyerfeldt, governor of Pomerania, refuſing to comply with this treaty, the northern allies marched into Swediſh Pomerania, took the iſland of Rugen, and forced Stetin to capitulate; upon this Meyerfeldt accepted the ſequeſtration, which the king of Pruſſia was prevailed upon to take upon himſelf. As the Muſcovites and Poles demanded the expences of the ſiege of Stetin, the king of Pruſſia paid them for the king of Sweden 400,000 rixdollars. The king of Sweden, after his return from Turkey, refuſed to comply with the treaty of ſequeſtration, and inſiſted, that Stetin ſhould be forthwith reſtored to him without the repayment of the 400,000 rixdollars, nor would he depart from his deſign of invading Poland and Saxony, but was reſolved (as he ſaid himſelf) to chaſtiſe his falſe friends, as well as his open enemies. This was in effect a declaration of war againſt all who would not aſſiſt him in procuring a reſtitution of what he had loſt, or would not enter into a war againſt the States, then engaged in war againſt Sweden. King George, having certain information that the king of Sweden would not fail, upon the firſt opportunity, to invade his electorate of Brunſwick, reſolved to act in concert with the kings of Denmark and Pruſſia, for ſecuring the peace of the empire, and oppoſe the deſigns of the Swede. To this end a treaty was concluded between the kings of Great-Britain and Denmark, by the third article of which it was agreed, that the dutchies of Bremen and Verden ſhould be made over to his Brittannick majeſty, his heirs and poſterity, for ever, with this proviſo, that he ſhould, the moment he took poſſeſſion of them, declare war againſt Sweden. This treaty was ratified and exchanged the 17th of July, 1715, and the dutchies were delivered up the 15th of October following, on which day a declaration of war was publiſhed by king George, in his German dominions. Preſently after 6000 Hanoverians marched into Pomerania, to join the Danes and Pruſſians, who, after having taken the iſles of Rugen and Uledon, were then attacking Wiſmar and Stralſund. The king of Sweden was himſelf at Stralſund, and, finding it impoſſible to hinder the town from being taken, embarked on board a veſſel, and arrived at Schonen on the 26th of December, after having been almoſt ſixteen years abſent from his ancient dominions. Upon his arrival, he aſſembled what troops he could, in order to paſs the Sound over the ice, and attack Copenhagen, but was diſappointed by a ſudden thaw. Notwithſtanding the earneſt intreaties of his ſiſter and the ſenate of Sweden, he declined going to Stockholm, and remained at Carleſcroon, in order to haſten his fleet, and relieve Wiſmar. Thus ſtood affairs in Sweden, at the king's return out of Turkey.

[l] The duke of Marlborough's enemies laying hold of this occaſion, to reflect on him, as if he were to bear the blame of the injuſtice done to the ſoldiers of his regiment, the following advertiſement was made public in the news-papers: 'His grace the duke of Marlborough being informed, that the undertakers for the firſt regiment of foot-guards had delivered to the ſeveral companies their cloathing, no way anſwerable to the pattern agreed for; his grace, therefore, ordered the ſaid cloathing to be viſited, who finding the ſoldiers very much abuſed in their ſhirting, his grace immediately directed the

About the middle of May, there was an intercepted letter returned from Ireland, written by captain Wight, a reformed officer of Windſor's regiment, to his friend in that country, and, by a miſtake, carried to a perſon of the ſame name, in which were theſe expreſſions, 'The duke of Ormond has got the better of all his enemies; and I hope we ſhall be able, in a little time, to ſend George home to his own country again.' A warrant was iſſued from the ſecretary's office for apprehending captain Wight, who abſconding, a reward of 50l. was offered by the government to any, who ſhould diſcover him. Not many days after, mr. George Jeffreys was ſeized at Dublin, upon his arrival there from England; and, being examined before lords juſtices, a packet was found about him, directed to dr. Jonathan Swift, dean of St Patrick's. This packet Jeffreys owned he had received from the duke of Ormond's chaplain; and, ſeveral treaſonable papers being found in it they were tranſmitted to England. Jeffreys was obliged to give bail for his appearance; of which dr. Swift having notice, and that ſearch was made after him, he thought fit to abſcond.

The bill for regulating the forces having been ſent down to the commons by the lords, the amendments made to it were, after a debate, agreed to. Mr. Shippen, formerly a commiſſioner of public accounts, having, on this occaſion, reflected on the miniſtry, as if they deſigned to ſet up a ſtanding army, and inſinuated, aſif, after all the clamour, that had been raiſed, their ſecret committee would end in ſmoke; mr. Boſcawen, the late lord Falmouth, replied, 'That he could not forbear taking notice of the inſolence of a ſet of men, who, having committed the blackeſt crimes, had yet the aſſurance to dare the juſtice of the nation: but he hoped thoſe crimes would not long remain unpuniſhed. That the committee of ſecrecy were ready to make their report, and had directed their chairman to move the houſe, that a day might be appointed for receiving it; and, in the mean time, he might venture to aſſure the houſe, that they had found ſufficient matter to impeach of high-treaſon ſeveral lords, and ſome commons.' Mr. Robert Walpole likewiſe ſaid, 'That he wanted words to expreſs the villany of the laſt Frenchified miniſter;' and mr. ſecretary Stanhope added, 'He wondered, that men, who were guilty of ſuch enormous crimes, had ſtill the audaciouſneſs to appear in public.'

The ſame day there was a debate in the houſe of lords about a bill for continuing the impriſonment of the conſpirators againſt the life of the late king William. [1] A petition having been offered in their behalf, the lord North and Grey moved, that a day might be appointed to conſider of it; and was ſeconded by the lord Trevor. They were oppoſed by the lord Townſhend, who ſaid, he wondered any members of that Auguſt Aſſembly would ſpeak in favour of ſuch execrable wretches, who deſigned to have imbrued their hands in the blood of their ſovereign; and moved, that their petition be rejected. The lord Delawar repreſented, 'That, after the death of king William, the parliament left to the diſcretion of the late queen either the continuing in priſon, or enlarging of theſe criminals. That no body doubted her late majeſty's being a princeſs of great clemency; but, at the ſame time, ſhe had ſuch a reſpect for the memory of king William, ſuch a regard to the ſafety of crowned heads, and ſuch an abhorrence for the crimes, with which theſe priſoners ſtood charged, that ſhe did not think fit to releaſe them from their confinement. That all theſe reaſons and conſiderations were now inforced by the open diſaffection, which ſome people ſhewed to his majeſty's perſon and government; and that they ought to be ſo tender; of the preſervation of ſo precious a life as his majeſty's, that, in his opinion it were neceſſary to make the act in queſtion abſolute, and not leave the confinement of the criminals to his majeſty's diſcretion, leſt his natural clemency ſhould make him overlook his own ſecurity, 'He concluded with ſeconding the lord Townſhend's motion for rejecting the petition, which was carried without dividing.

The committee of ſecrecy having finiſhed their report which was drawn up with indefatigable pains by mr. Walpole, that gentleman, as chairman, on the 9th of June, acquainted the houſe, 'That he had a report to preſent, according to their order, but was commanded by the committee to make a motion before he read it. That there were in the report matters of the higheſt importance. That, although the committee had power to ſend for perſons, papers, and records, they did not think fit to make uſe thereof, believing it to be neceſſary, in order to bring offenders to juſtice, that ſome perſons ſhould be ſecure, before it is poſſible they ſhould know what they are to be examined to; and leſt they ſhould have notice, from what ſhould be read, to make their eſcape. He was commanded, according to former precedents to move, that a warrant may be iſſued by mr. ſpeaker to apprehend certain perſons, who ſhould be named to him by the chairman of the committee; and that no members may be permitted to go out of the houſe.' The warrant being ordered, and the doors locked, ſeveral perſons were named to the ſpeaker by mr. Walpole; particularly mr. Matthew Prior, and mr. Thomas Harley, who were taken into cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms. Then mr. Walpole read the report, which laſted from one o'clock till about ſix in the afternoon, when, a motion being made by the friends of the late miniſtry, that the further conſideration of it ſhould be adjourned till the next morning, it was carried in the negative by two hundred and eighty-two voices againſt one hundred and ſeventy-one; and ordered, that the report be now read: upon which, the clerk of the houſe having read till half an hour paſt eight, the further conſideration of it was adjourned to the next day. The report conſiſted of,

1. The clandeſtine negotiation with monſieur Meſnager, which produced two ſets of preliminary articles; the one private and ſpecial for Great-Britain only; the other general for all the Allies.

2. The extraordinary meaſures purſued to form the congreſs at Utrecht.

3. The trifling and amuſements of the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, by the connivance of the Britiſh miniſters.

4. The negotiations about the renunciation of the Spaniſh monarchy.

5. The fatal ſuſpenſion of arms.

6. The ſeizure of Ghent and Bruges, in order to diſtreſs the Allies, and favour the French.

7. The duke of Ormond's acting in concert with the French general.

8. The lord Bolingbroke's journey to France to negotiate a ſeparate peace.

9. Mr Prior's and the duke of Shrewſbury's negotiations in France.

10. The precipitate concluſion of the peace at Utrecht.

The committee alſo offered to the houſe what they found material in the papers referred to them concerning the Catalans and the pretender, and a letter from the earl of Oxford to the queen, with an account of public affairs from Auguſt the 8th, 1710, to June the 9th 1714; and they concluded with taking notice of ſeveral glaring inconſiſtencies, which are obvious by comparing the late queen's declarations with the meaſures, which her miniſters preſumed to take in carrying on thoſe important negotiations.

The reading of this report by the clerk of the houſe of commons took up the remainder of that day, and all the next till about four in the afternoon, when ſir Thomas Hanmer moved, that the conſideration of it be adjourned till Monday ſe'nnight, and was ſecconded by the leading men among the tories, who moved alſo, that the report ſhould be printed, in order to be peruſed by all the members of the houſe. Upon which mr. Walpole ſaid, 'He could not but wonder, that thoſe gentlemen, who had ſhewed ſo great impatience to have the report laid before the houſe, ſhould now preſs for adjourning the conſideration of it. As for the committee of ſecrecy, as they had not yet gone through all the branches of their inquiry, they could have wiſhed, that ſome longer time had been allowed them to peruſe and digeſt ſeveral important papers. In order to that, they would have deferred, three weeks or a month, the laying

ſhirts to be burnt, as well to puniſh as to deter ſuch undertakers from committing the like abuſes for the future; which was done accordingly, and the reſt of the cloathing has been compared with the pattern, that the ſoldiers may have juſtice done in all the other particulars. In the mean time his grace ordered two ſhirts to be made of good linen cloth for each ſoldier, in lieu of one, as likewiſe new waiſtcoats, inſtead of the waiſtcoats made by the undertakers of their old coats, and the old cloathing to remain to each ſoldier's own uſe.' And when the duke reviewed the firſt regiment of guards, on the 2d of June, he made them a ſpeech, expreſſing his concern for their juſt complaints, and his being entirely innocent of the grievance: adding, 'I have had the honour to ſerve with you a great many campaigns, and believe you will do me the juſtice to tell the world, that I never willingly wronged any of you; and, if I can be ſerviceable to any of you, you may very readily command it, and ſhall be glad of an opportunity for that purpoſe. I hope I ſhall now leave you good ſubjects to the beſt of kings, and every way entirely ſatisfied.' Upon which, the ſoldiers, with great acclamation, expreſſed their ſatisfaction.

Mr William Churchill, the contractor for the cloathing, laid the blame upon mr. Brookſbank, the woollen draper, who threw it on mr. Heron the linen-draper, by whom an advertiſement was alſo publiſhed in his own defence.

[1] Theſe were Blackburn, Caſſils, Bernardi, Meldrum, and Chambers, committed in 1696 for conſpiring againſt king William. Several acts had paſſed from time to time for continuing their impriſonment, but all of them expired at the queen's death.

their report before the houſe, but, that ſome gentlemen having reflected on the pretended ſlowneſs of the committee, ſince the report was now before them, muſt e'en go through with it.' Mr Stanhope added, 'That for his own part, he would readily agree to give thoſe gentlemen all the time they could deſire to conſider of the report; but that, ſince themſelves had precipitated this affair, he was of, opinion, they ought to proſecute it with vigour, leſt, by ſtopping on a ſudden, they ſhould fortify the nation, which the friends of the late miniſtry had, with great induſtry, propagated among the people, that the report of the committee of ſecrecy would vaniſh into ſmoke; the rather, becauſe theſe malicious inſinuations had raiſed the ſpirits and inſolence of the diſaffected, and were the principal cauſe of the preſent ferment among the giddy multitude. That he agreed with the member, who had moved the printing of the report, that not only the houſe, but the whole world might be convinced of the fairneſs and impartiality of their proceedings. But that the crimes of ſome perſons named in the report were ſo obvious to every body, that they ought, in oppinion, immediately to proceed to the impeaching of them.' The tories ſtill endeavoured to put it off, and ſome propoſed the adjourning of the debate till that day ſe'nnight; and others would have been contented to defer it for three days only. But the whigs were firm againſt all delays; and, the queſtion being put about ſeven o'clock in the evening on the motion made by ſir Thomas Hanmer, it was carried in the negative by two hundred and eighty againſt one hundred and ſixty. This point being gained, mr. Walpole ſaid, 'That he made no queſtion, that, after the report had been twice read, the whole houſe was fully convinced, that Henry lord viſcount Bolingbroke was guilty of high-treaſon, and other high crimes and miſdemeanors. That therefore he impeached him of thoſe crimes, But, if any member had any thing to ſay in his behalf, he doubted not but the houſe was ready to hear him.' After a ſilence of ſome minutes, mr. Hungerford roſe up and ſaid, 'That, in his opinion, nothing was mentioned in the report in relation to the lord Bolingbroke, that amounted to high-treaſon.' And general Roſs added, 'He wondered no body ſpoke in favour of my lord Bolingbroke: that, for his own part, he had nothing to ſay at preſent, but reſerved to himſelf to ſpeak in a proper time.' The reſolution for the impeachment then paſſed; and, candles being brought in, according to order, the lord Coningſby ſtood up, and ſaid, 'The worthy chairman of this committee has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head: he has impeached the clerk, and I the juſtice: he has impeached the ſcholar, and I the maſter. 'I impeach Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer of high-treaſon, and other high crimes and miſdemeanors.' Mr auditor Harley, brother to the earl, made a long ſpeech, wherein he endeavoured to juſtify his brother, as having done nothing but by the immediate commands of the late queen; urging, that the peace was a good one, and approved as ſuch by two parliaments; concluding, that the facts mentioned in the report, and which were charged on the earl, could not be conſtrued to amount to high-treaſon, but only, in ſtrict rigour, to miſdemeanors.' He was ſupported by mr. auditor Foley, the earl's brother-in-law, who complained of the hardſhip put upon that nobleman, in charging him with high-treaſon, before they had examined the report. But what was yet more favourable for the earl, was ſpoke by ſir Joſeph Jekyll, one of the committee of ſecrecy, who ſaid, 'That as to the lord Bolingbroke, they had more than ſufficient evidence to convict him of high-treaſon. But, as to the earl of Oxford, he doubted whether they had either ſufficient matter or evidence to impeach him of treaſon.' But another member of the committee of ſecrecy having aſſured the houſe, that, beſides what had appeared before them, and was mentioned in the report, they had other evidence, viva voce, it was likewiſe reſolved to impeach him without a diviſion. After which the further conſideration of the report was adjourned to that day ſe'nnight; and the report with the appendix were ordered to be printed, and copies to be ſent to the ſheriffs and returning officers of every city and borough.

The next morning the earl of Oxford went to the houſe of peers, and at firſt appeared undiſturbed; but, finding that moſt members avoided ſitting near him, and that even earl Powlet was ſhy of exchanging a few words with him, he retired out of the houſe.

It was moved by mr. Walpole, from the committee, that the perſons taken into cuſtody ſhould be examined in the moſt ſolemn manner. Accordingly, mr. Prior and mr. Harley were ordered to be examined by ſuch of the committee as were juſtices of the peace for Middleſex; and two days after, mr. Walpole told the houſe, that, during a long examination, there appeared matters of ſuch importance, that he was directed to move the houſe for mr. Prior's being cloſely confined, and no perſon ſuffered to come to him; which was agreed to.

This order occaſioned various reports: ſome affirmed, that the earl of Oxford, or ſome of his friends, had been in cloſe conference with mr. Prior, and ſo effectually tampered with him, that he was more reſerved in anſwering queſtions than he had been before. However that be, it is certain, mr. Prior did prevaricate.

After theſe impeachments, that of the duke of Ormond became the principal ſubject of diſcourſe. The high-church party made his name the ſignal for their tumults, threatening the government and parliament too, if they proceeded againſt him. His zeal for the church was their chief topic to exite the mobs to appear for him; and his noble birth, and the ſervices of his anceſtors, and of himſelf in Flanders during king William's reign, were inſiſted upon. Nor was his generoſity, or rather profuſe way of living, omitted, to prepoſſeſs the people in his favour; but all ſignified nothing; for though the king, at his firſt arrival, ſhewed more lenity and reſpect to him, than his conduct deſerved, and ſeemed willing to paſs by his miſcarriages, while general, as far as poſſible, the behaviour of the duke and his friends was ſuch, as made it impracticable; for inſtead of diſcouraging the mobs, who were taught to cry out, An Ormond, in oppoſition to king George, he plainly countenanced them, and took a great deal of pride to be the idol of the rabble. He affected to have people of quality appear at his levee, and frequent his houſe; and, inſtead of behaving himſelf ſubmiſſively, had the vanity to juſtify his conduct in a printed piece, which in reality expoſed him more to cenſure. About the middle of June, the following advertiſement was diſperſed with great induſtry: 'On Tueſday, the 7th of this month, her grace the ducheſs of Ormond, in her return from Richmond, was ſtopped in her coach, by three perſons, well mounted, and well armed, in diſguiſe, who inquired, if the duke was in the coach, and ſeemed to have a deſign upon his life, if he had been there. It has been obſerved, that many perſons, armed and diſguiſed in like manner, have been watching by day and by night upon that road, on each ſide of the water, and it is not to be doubted, with a deſign to aſſaſſinate him.'

This being evidently calculated to excite the fury of the populace againſt the duke's ſuppoſed enemies, the reſt of his conduct could not but alarm the government, and, perhaps provoked the houſe of commons to proceed againſt him ſooner, and with more vigour, than they would otherwiſe have done. On the 21ſt of June, the day appointed for the further conſideration of the report, mr. ſecretary Stanhope ſtood up, and ſaid, 'He wiſhed he were not obliged to break ſilence on that occaſion; but, as a member of the ſecret committee, and of that great aſſembly, which ought to do the nation juſtice, he thought it his duty to impeach James duke of Ormond of high-treaſon, and other high crimes and miſdemeanors.' He was ſeconded by mr. Boſcawen, but mr. Archibald Hutchinſon, one of the commiſſioners of trade, made a long ſpeech in behalf of the duke, wherein he ſet forth his noble birth and qualifications, and the great ſervices, which both he and his anceſtors had performed to the crown and nation; urged, that in the whole courſe of his late conduct he had but obeyed the late queen's commands; and concluded, that, if all, that was alledged againſt him in the report, could be made out, it would, in the rigour of the law, amount to no more than high miſdemeanors. This ſpeech made a great impreſſion on the houſe; and mr. Hutchinſon was ſeconded by general Lumley, who ſaid, among other things, 'That the duke of Ormond had, on all occaſions, given ſignal proofs both of his affection and love for his country, and of his perſonal bravery and courage, particularly at the battle of Landen, where he was wounded and taken priſoner; and that the late king William was extremely ſatisfied with his gallant behaviour. That he had generouſly expended the beſt part of his eſtate in the wars, living in a moſt noble and ſplendid manner, for the honour of his country. That therefore, in conſideration both of his great ſervices, and his illuſtrious relations, if he had of late been ſo unfortunate, as to fail in any part of his conduct, they ought not to proceed againſt him with the utmoſt rigour of the law; the rather, becauſe he ever meant well, and was drawn into ill meaſures by crafty miniſters.' Sir Joſeph Jekyll ſpoke likewiſe in his favour: he ſaid, 'That if there was room for mercy, he hoped it would be ſhewn to that noble, generous, and courageous peer, who, for many years, had exerted thoſe great accompliſhments

for the good and honour of his country. That, if of late he had the misfortune to deviate from his former conduct, the blame ought not, in justice and equity, to be laid to him, but to them principally, who, abusing his affection, loyalty, and zeal for the service of his royal mistress, had drawn him into pernicious counsels. That therefore, as the statute of 25 Edw. III, on which the charge of high-treason against him was to be grounded, had been mitigated by subsequent acts, the house ought not, in his opinion, to take advantage of that act against the duke, but only impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanors.' Sir Joseph added, in the course of this debate, 'That some persons endeavoured to aggravate the duke of Ormond's faults, by charging upon him the riots and tumults, which the populace committed daily in many places: but that he durst aver, that he did no ways countenance those disorders; and if the disaffected made use of his name, unknown to him, he ought not to suffer for it.' General Ross laid great stress upon sir Joseph Jekyll's opinion, and said all he could in his commendation, and the duke's defence. Sir William Wyndham, mr. Onslow, mr. Ward, mr. Hungerford, and some other members of both parties, spoke also on the same side. But mr. Lyddal, mr. Hampden, and mr. Thompson, recorder of London, strongly supported mr. Stanhope's motion; answered all that had been said in the duke's favour; and, among other things, represented, 'That his grace ever affected popularity: that he could not be ignorant of the tumults and riots, of which his name was the signal, and that since he did not publicly disown them, who made use of his name, his silence was a tacit approbation of their proceedings, and seemed to summon the people to a general insurrection.' Sir Edward Northey, attorney-general, did not disown, but that in the report of the committee of secrecy there were some matters, on which an impeachment of high-treason might be grounded against the duke of Ormond; but did not think it proper to explain himself further on that occasion.

Mr Lechmere, sollicitor-general, spoke plainer, and mentioned a case parallel to the duke's, which had been adjudged treason. The debate lasted till about half an hour after ten, when the question was put, and resolved by a majority of two hundred and thirty-four voices against one hundred and eighty-seven, 'That this house will impeach James duke of Ormond of high-treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors.'

It was the general opinion, that the rash unadvised behaviour of the duke's pretended friends, of whom bishop Atterbury was chief, greatly promoted this vote. It was said upon very good grounds, that a relation of the duke's had prevailed upon him at that time to write a submissive letter to the king, desiring a favourable interpretation of his former actions, and imploring his majesty's clemency; which had so good an effect, that he was to have been privately admitted to the king in his closet, to confirm what he had written. But, before the time came, bishop Atterbury had been with him, and the consequence was, that he left England abruptly, and never returned to it more.

The commons resuming the consideration of the report, mr. Aislaby took notice 'of the general concern, that had appeared the day before in the house, for the noble person, who was impeached, because they were persuaded, it was rather through weakness than malice, that he had followed pernicious counsels. But that, in his opinion, few, if any, would speak in favour of another lord, whom he was to impeach. That the person he meant was Thomas earl of Strafford, one of the plenipotentiaries of Great-Britain at the congress at Utrecht, whose conduct had been vastly different from that of his collegue, the present bishop of London. That this good and pious prelate seemed to have been put at the head of that negotiation, only to palliate the iniquity of it under the sacredness of his character; but was little more than a cypher in the absence of the earl of Strafford. That the bishop, not being in the secret, had acted with reserve and caution, and would do nothing without the queen's special commands; whereas the earl of Srafford not only was forward to venture and undertake any thing (as he expresses himself in one of his letters) to be the tool of a Frenchified ministry, but in many instances had gone beyond his instructions, and advised the most pernicious measures. That, having impartially weighed the different conduct of these two ministers, he was glad, that nothing could be charged upon the bishop, which gave them an opportunity to convince the world, that the church is not in danger; but moved, that Thomas earl of Strafford be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors. Mr Aislaby inlarged upon this charge, which he reduced to three principal heads, '1. The earl of Strafford's advising the fatal suspension of arms; which was soon after attended with several misfortunes, that befel the allies, and at last forced them to the necessity of submitting to the terms of an unsafe dishonourable peace. 2. Advising the seizing of Ghent and Bruges, in order to distress the allies, and favour the enemy. And, 3. The insolence and contempt, with which he had treated the most serene house of Hanover, and their generals and ministers.' Mr Baillie of Jerviswood having seconded mr. Aislaby, sir William Wyndham endeavoured to justify the earl of Strafford, as to the first head, by saying, 'That the peace, which was but the sequel and necessary consequence of the suspension of arms, had been approved as such by two successive parliaments, and declared advantageous, safe, and honourable.' Mr Shippen, mr. Ward, and mr. Snell spoke also in favour of the earl of Strafford, as did likewise mr. Hungerford, who, among other things, said, 'That, though the bishop of London had an equal share with the earl of Strafford in the negotiation of peace, he was, it seems, to have the benefit of the clergy.' General Ross having likewise said something to excuse the suspension of arms, general Cadogan answered him, and shewed, 'That, considering the situation of both armies, the confederates lost the fairest opportunity they ever had in Flanders to destroy the enemy's army, and to penetrate into the very heart of France.' But added, 'That nothing less could be expected from a princess and a ministry, who had entirely delivered themselves into the hands of France.' Sir James Campbel spoke also against the earl of Strafford; but the member, who distinguished himself most in this debate, was sir James Dalrymple, who, with great clearness and solidity, summed up what had been said on both sides; and having illustrated the present case by parallel instances, and proper observations, shewed, that, both by the civil and statute laws, the earl of Strafford was, at least, guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors. Upon this the question was put, and, by two hundred and sixty-eight against a hundred, it was resolved, 'That Thomas earl of Strafford be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors'

The articles of impeachment against the earl of Oxford being prepared by the committee of secrecy, they were read, on the 8th of July, before the house of commons, and the first ten were upon the question severally agreed to.[m] The eleventh article which was voted high-treason was to this effect:

Whereas the states-general were, in September or October 1712, in possession of Tournay, and the French king had (during the private, separate, and traiterous negotiation between the earl of Oxford and others, and the ministers of France) signified his consent that Tournay should remain to the states as part of their Barrier: And whereas the queen, in her instructions of Dec. 23, 1711, to her plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, had expresly directed them to

[m] The substance of the articles was: 1. He had entered into a negotiation with France without the allies, and agreed it should be kept secret. 2. He advised the queen to permit the coming of Mesnager, treated with him, and assumed, without authority, the royal power. 3. He had prepared preliminaries signed by Mesnager, and sent them to Holland, when a private treaty was by his advice concluded with France. 4. He had not regarded the representations of Buis, the Dutch minister, but declared the queen had made no such treaty, nor would do so without the consent of the states. 5. He had ordered the Bishop of London to insist upon Spain, though, by the preliminaries, the duke of Anjou was acknowledged as king, and though he had persuaded the queen not to insist upon the restitution of Spain. 6. He had not procured satisfaction for the allies, but acted in concert with France. 7. He had advised the queen to accept the duke of Anjou's renunciation, though Torci had declared it to be null and void by the fundamental laws of France. 8. He had with others advised, that the duke of Ormond should be ordered to engage in no battle or siege to the ruin of the affairs of the allies, and afterwards sent an order to the bishop of London, to declare, that the queen looked upon herself to be then under no obligations whatsoever to the states. 9. He had advised that the duke of Ormond, with all the troops in the queen's pay, should separate themselves from the army of the allies, and not to pay the arrears due to those that refused. 10. He had advised the fatal suspension of arms, and the sending of lord Bolingbroke to France to settle the terms. 11. He had treacherously advised the enemy how to gain Tournay. 12. He had advised and assisted in giving up Spain and the West-Indies to the duke of Anjou. 13. He had treacherously advised the 9th article of the treaty of commerce with France, and the giving to the French the liberty of fishing, and drying fish on Newfoundland. 14. He had taken Sicily from the house of Austria, and given it the duke of Savoy, without any application from the duke. 15. He had caused the queen to make several speeches and declarations to the parliament, wherein the terms of peace and commerce were falsely represented. 16. He had as far as in him lay destroyed the independency of the house of lords, by causing the queen to create twelve peers at once to serve his ends. To these were afterwards added the six following articles. 17. He had not (as prime minister) advised the queen against the destructive expedition to Canada. 18. He had procured a warrant for 13000l. for his own use. 19. He had procured a warrant for 5560l. to his relation Thomas Harley. 20. He had paid a large sum of money to king James's queen. 21. He had received Patrick Lilesh (alias) Lawless, an Irish papist, as a foreign minister, and caused several sums of money to be paid him. 22. He had with others caused the Catalans to be exposed to the fury of an enraged, revengeful prince, against whom the late queen had engaged then to take arms.

inſiſt with thoſe of France, that, towards forming a ſufficient barrier, Tournay ſhall remain to the ſtates, and did afterwards declare herſelf conformably thereto, in her ſpeech to both houſes on the 6th of June 1712: And whereas for ſeveral years before, and till the months of September and October, in 1711, there was open war between the late queen and the French king, the earl of Oxford, then high-treaſurer, did, during the war, falſely, maliciouſly, wickedly and traiterouſly aſſiſt and adhere to the French king, and did counſel and adviſe him in what manner Tournay might be gained from the ſtates, contrary to his allegiance, and the laws of the realm.

A great debate aroſe upon the queſtion, Whether this article was high-treaſon? Sir Robert Raymond, formerly ſollicitor-general, mr. Bromley, ſir William Wyndham, the auditors Harley and, Foley, mr. Ward and mr. Hungerford, (who had already ſpoke in favour of the earl of Oxford) maintained the negative, and were ſtrongly ſupported by ſir Joſeph Jekyll. Sir Joſeph ſaid, among other things; 'That it was ever his principle to do juſtice to every body from the higheſt to the loweſt, being perſuaded, that it was the duty of an honeſt man never to act by a ſpirit of party. That he hoped he might pretend to have ſome knowledge of the laws of the kingdom; and as, in the committee of ſecrecy, he had taken the liberty to differ from his collegues, he would not ſcruple to declare now to the whole houſe, that, in his judgment, the charge in queſtion did not amount to high-treaſon.' Moſt of the other members of the committee of ſecrecy were offended at this ſpeech, which both revealed and cenſured their proceedings; and mr. Walpole anſwered with ſome warmth, 'That there were both in and out of the committee of ſecrecy ſeveral perſons, who did not in the leaſt yield to the member, that ſpoke laſt, in point of honeſty; and who, without derogating from his merit, were ſuperior to him in the knowledge of the laws; but who, at the ſame time, were ſatisfied, that the charge ſpecified in the eleventh article amounted to treaſon.' Mr Walpole was ſeconded by mr. Stanhope, the lord Coningſby, general Cadogan, mr. Boſcawen, and mr. Aiſlaby: And, the article being amended, was agreed to by a majority of two hundred and forty-ſeven votes againſt one hundred and twenty-ſeven. Mr auditor Harley endeavoured to juſtify his brother, firſt, by urging, that he ever acted by the late queen's poſitive commands; to prove which he offered to produce two letters from her: and, ſecondly, the neceſſity of making a peace; and he having upon this occaſion advanced, that the Dutch prolonged the war, and that their deputies in the army had often prevented the giving the enemy a deciſive blow; general Cadogan anſwered him with great force, and ſhewed, 'that the Dutch were more concerned than any prince or ſtate in the grand alliance to put an end to the war; and undertook to prove, that there had not been any campaign in Flanders, except that, in which the duke of Ormond commanded, that was not marked and famous to all poſterity for ſome ſignal and glorious event, to the advantage of the common cauſe.' The reſt of the articles being agreed to, the lord Coningſby, attended by moſt of the members who voted for the impeachment, went up to the lords, and at the bar of the houſe impeached the earl of Oxford of high-treaſon. &c. The commons, at the end of the articles, prayed and demanded, that he might be ſequeſtered from parliament, and committed to ſafe cuſtody.

As ſoon as lord Coningſby and the members were withdrawn, a tory lord moved for adjourning the conſideration of the articles, and was ſeconded by ſeveral of the peers of that party, particularly by the biſhop of Rocheſter, who urged, 'That this accuſation was of ſo extraordinary a nature, and ſo very important, both in itſelf and its conſequences, that the houſe ought to proceed on it with the utmoſt caution and deliberation.' But he was anſwered by the duke of Argyle, who, among other things, ſaid, 'It was well known, that the prelate, who ſpoke laſt, had of late ſtudied politics more than divinity, and was thoroughly acquainted with the ſubject-matter of the articles, that lay before them; and therefore he did not doubt, but his lordſhip was now as ready to ſpeak to them, as he could ever be, if he had more time to conſider of them.' After a debate of about an hour and a half, the articles were voted to be read by a majority of eighty-ſix againſt fifty-four; which being done, a motion was made for conſulting the judges, whether the charge amounted to high-treaſon. The lords Trevor and Harcourt, the dukes of Shrewſbury and Leeds, Earl Powlet, the lord north and Grey, the biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſome other peers of the ſame ſide, were for conſulting the judges; but the lord-chancellor, the dukes of Argyle and Montroſe, the earls of Nottingham, Sunderland, Dorſet, and Ilay; the lord viſcount Townſhend, and ſome other lords ſpoke againſt it. The lord Trevor having gone ſo far, as to declare his opinion, that none of the articles amounted to high-treaſon, he was anſwered by the lord Cowper, who ſhewed the contrary, and challenged all the lawyers in England to diſprove his arguments. The other ſide ſtill inſiſting on conſulting the judges, the earl of Nottingham repreſented to them, 'That inſtead of favouring thereby the noble perſon, who had the misfortune to be impeached, as undoubtedly they meant it, they might, on the contrary, do him a great prejudice. For if, upon conſulting the judges, they declared the charge to amount to treaſon, he would ſtand prejudged, before he was brought to his trial.' After ſome other ſpeeches, the negative was carried by eighty-four voices againſt fifty-two. And then it was moved, that the earl of Oxford ſhould be committed to ſafe cuſtody; which occaſioned another debate; and the earl himſelf made a ſpeech, wherein he took notice of 'his having had the honour to be placed at the head of the late miniſtry; and muſt now, it ſeems, be made accountable for all the meaſures, that were then purſued. But that it was a very great comfort to him under this misfortune, that he had the honour to be a member of that auguſt aſſembly, which always ſquares their proceedings and judgments by the rules of honour, juſtice, and equity, and is not to be biaſſed by a ſpirit of party. That the whole accuſation might be reduced to the negotiation and concluſion of the peace. That the nation wanted a peace (ſays he) nobody will deny; and, I hope, it will be as eaſily made out, that the conditions of this peace are as good, as could be expected, conſidering the circumſtances, wherein it was made, and the backwardneſs and reluctancy, which ſome of the allies ſhewed to come into the queen's meaſures. This is certain, that this peace, as bad as it is now repreſented, was approved by two ſucceſſive parliaments. It is indeed ſuggeſted againſt this peace, that it was a ſeparate one. But I hope, my lords, it will be made appear, that it was general; and that it was France, and not Great-Britain, that made the firſt ſteps towards a negotiation. And, my lords, I will be bold to ſay, that, during my whole adminiſtration, the ſovereign upon the throne was loved at home, and feared abroad. As to the buſineſs of Tournay, which is made a capital charge, I can ſafely aver, that I had no manner of ſhare in it; and that the ſame was wholly tranſacted by that unfortunate nobleman, who thought fit to ſtep aſide. But I dare ſay in his behalf, that, if this charge could be proved, it would not amount to treaſon. For my own part, as I always acted by the immediate directions and commands of the late queen, and never offended againſt any known law, I am juſtified in my own conſcience, and unconcerned for the life of an inſignificant old man. But I cannot, without the higheſt ingratitude, be unconcerned for the beſt of queens; a queen, who heaped upon me honours and preferments, though I never aſked for them; and therefore I think myſelf under an obligation to vindicate her memory, and the meaſures ſhe purſued, to my dying breath. My lords, if miniſters of ſtate, acting by the immediate commands of their ſovereign, are afterwards to be made accountable for their proceedings, it may one day or other be the caſe of all the members of this auguſt aſſembly. I do not doubt, therefore, that, out of regard to yourſelves, your lordſhips will give me an equitable hearing; and I hope, that, in the proſecution of this inquiry, it will appear, that I have merited, not only the indulgence, but likewiſe the favour of this government. My lords, I am now to take my leave of your lordſhips, and of this honourable houſe, perhaps for ever! I ſhall lay down my life with pleaſure, in a cauſe favoured by my late dear royal miſtreſs. And when I conſider, that I am to be judged by the juſtice, honour, and virtue of my peers, I ſhall acquieſce, and retire with great content. And, my lords, God's will be done.'

Before the queſtion for committing him was put, the duke of Shrewſbury acquainted the houſe, that the earl was at preſent very much indiſpoſed with the gravel; and therefore he hoped they would not immediately ſend him to the tower, but ſuffer him to be two or three days in cuſtody of the black-rod, at his own houſe; which met with no oppoſition.

When the earl of Oxford went home, he was attended by a mob, that cried out high church Ormond, and Oxford

for ever. However of twenty biſhops, who were in the houſe that day, ſix only were for him. [o]

The earl of Oxford being brought the next day to the bar of the houſe, and having received a copy of the articles, he repreſented, 'That the ableſt men in the nation had been many weeks in drawing up thoſe long articles againſt him; and therefore he hoped the houſe would allow him a proportionable time to anſwer them.' He took that occaſion 'to thank them for their great humanity in not ſending him to the tower, and, as he ſtill laboured under the ſame indiſpoſition, he humbly deſired them to permit him to continue ſome few days more at his own houſe under the cuſtody of the black-rod.' The earl being withdrawn, the lords reſolved to allow him a month to anſwer the articles of impeachment; and dr. Mead one of his phyſicians, being conſulted, and having made a kind of affidavit, 'That if the earl was ſent to the tower, his life would be in danger;' a motion was made, 'That he might continue in his houſe till the monday following.' But this was oppoſed, and after a warm debate it was carried by eighty-one againſt fifty-five, that he ſhould be ſent to the tower on Saturday the 16th of july.

During the courſe of this debate, the earl of Angleſey having ſaid, 'That it was to be feared, theſe violent meaſures would make the Scepter ſhake in the king's hands;' moſt of the lords were offended at this ſuggeſtion, and ſome cried, to the tower, and others only to order. The earl of Sutherland ſtanding up ſaid, 'He trembled with indignation to hear ſuch words pronounced in that noble aſſembly. That, if they had been ſpoke any where elſe, he would call the perſon, that ſpoke them, to an account. But all he could do there was to move, that he might explain himſelf.' The earl of Sutherland was ſeconded by the duke of Roxburgh, who, among other things, ſaid, 'That the ſcepter was ſo well riveted in the king's hand, that, inſtead of ſhaking, it would cruſh all his majeſty's enemies.' Upon theſe, and ſome other ſpeeches, the earl of Angleſey ſaid, 'It was but too manifeſt by the riots, that were daily committed in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, that the nation in general was againſt theſe impeachments; for his own part, he was ſo far from approving thoſe tumultuous aſſemblies, and diſorders, that he rather wiſhed a ſtop might be put to them by exemplary puniſhments. He had on ſeveral occaſions, given ſufficient proofs of his zeal and affection for the revolution and the proteſtant ſucceſſion. What he had now advanced, was the reſult of the ſame zeal for the peace and proſperity of his majeſty's reign. However, if he had been ſo unhappy, as by any unguarded or paſſionate expreſſion to give offence to that auguſt aſſembly, he was very ſorry for it.' Notwithſtanding this apology, ſome members were inclined to have him ſent to the tower; but the very words, he had ſpoken, not having been taken down in writing his explanation was admitted. It is obſervable, that on this occaſion, beſides the ſix biſhops, before mentioned, thoſe of Bath and Wells, and St David's voted for the earl of Oxford; and that the earl was by many blamed for putting off his going to the tower, which, they ſaid, did not correſpond with that firmneſs he had hitherto ſhewn. It is certain, as he came in his own coach to the houſe of lords, he might with as much eaſe have been carried to the tower, either by water, or in a ſedan, and have had there the ſame attendance of his friends and phyſicians. The houſe having met on Friday, the 15th of July, they adjourned to the Monday following, to avoid, as it was generally ſurmiſed, any freſh motion, which the earl of Oxford's friends might make for deferring his being ſent to the tower, where he was carried by the black rod on the day appointed about eight o'clock in the evening in his chariot, attended by two hackney-coaches, in which were his lady, his ſon the lord Harley, and ſome other of the earl's relations and ſervants. Though theſe three coaches went from his houſe near St James's palace up St James's ſtreet, and then through Piccadilly, Gerard-ſtreet, Monmouth-ſtreet, and Holbourn, with deſign to avoid a crowd yet were they attended by a great many of the common people, whoſe numbers being much increaſed in their return from the tower, they raiſed a tumult in the ſtreets, with their cry of high church, Ormond and Oxford for ever, upon which three or four of the mutineers were by the conſtables carried to the round houſe.

Theſe riots and tumults were not confined to London, but were ſpread through the kingdom. The day before the earl of Oxford was ſent to the tower, the houſe of commons received information of their tumultuous proceedings in Staffordſhire, where ſeveral meeting-houſes had been pulled down by the mob. Upon this the commons unanimouſly reſolved to addreſs the king, that the laws might be put in a ſpeedy and moſt vigorous execution againſt the rioters, and an account be taken of ſuch juſtices, as failed in the diſcharge of their duty; and that the ſufferers, by theſe riots, may have a full compenſation for their damages, which they would inable his majeſty to make good, out of the next aids granted by parliament. The king, in his anſwer, promiſed an immediate compliance with their requeſt, and hoped, by their ſeaſonable aſſiſtance, to ſuppreſs the ſpirit of rebellion, and eſtabliſh peace and proſperity.

For the more effectual prevention of riots, the king came to the houſe of peers on the 20th of July, and, among others, gave the royal aſſent to the proclamation-act, as it is commonly called, by which act, if any perſons, to the number of twelve, being unlawfully aſſembled, to the diſturbance of the peace, and being required by a juſtice of peace or other officer, by proclamation in the king's name, to diſperſe themſelves, ſhall riotouſly continue together one hour after the proclamation, it ſhall be felony without benefit of the clergy [p]. After paſſing this and the reſt of the acts, the chancellor read the following ſpeech delivered into his hands by the king:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'The zeal you have ſhewn for preſerving the peace of my kingdoms, and your wiſdom in providing ſo good a law to prevent all riotous and tumultuous proceedings, give me great ſatisfaction. But I am ſorry to find, that ſuch a ſpirit of rebellion has diſcovered itſelf, as leaves no room to doubt but theſe diſorders are ſet on foot and encouraged by perſons diſaffected to my government, in expectation of being ſupported from abroad.'

'The preſervation of our excellent conſtitution, and the ſecurity of our holy religion, has been, and always ſhall be my chief care; and I cannot queſtion but your concern for theſe invaluable bleſſings is ſo great, as not to let them be expoſed to ſuch attempts, as I have certain advice are preparing by the pretender from abroad, and carrying on at home by a reſtleſs party in his favour.'

Gentlemen of the houſe of Commons,

'In theſe circumſtances I think it proper to aſk your aſſiſtance, and make no doubt but you will ſo far conſult your own ſecurity, as not to leave the nation under a rebellion actually begun at home, and threatened with an invaſion from abroad, in a defenceleſs condition. And I ſhall look upon the proviſion you ſhall make for the ſafety of my people, as the beſt mark of your affection to me.'

The king, as appears by this ſpeech, had received ſome intelligence of the rebellion forming againſt him. Though the diſaffected in England vented their fury in riots, and tumults, in breaking windows, and demoliſhing meeting-houſes, the caſe was very different in Scotland, where the deſigns of the jacobites were carried on with more ſecrecy and order, and very probably would have ſucceeded, had they been ſupported by their friends in England as will hereafter appear.

The commons in their addreſs of thanks aſſure the king, that they will, with their lives and fortunes, ſtand by and ſupport him againſt all his open and ſecret enemies; and deſire him immediately to give directions for fitting out ſuch a number of ſhips, as may effectually guard the coaſts, and to iſſue out commiſſions for augmenting his forces by land; promiſing, without loſs of time, effectually to enable him to raiſe and maintain ſuch a number of forces, both by ſea and land, as ſhall be neceſſary for the defence of his ſacred perſon, and for the ſecurity of his kingdoms.' [q]

An addreſs with the offer of their lives and fortunes was

[o] Sir William Dawes, archbiſhop of York,
Dr John Robinſon, biſhop of London,
Dr Francis Atterbury, biſhop of Rocheſter,
Dr George Smalridge, biſhop of Briſtol,
Dr Francis Gaſtrel, biſhop of Cheſter,
Dr Nathaniel Crew, biſhop of Durham,

[p] The proclamation muſt be in theſe words:
Our ſovereign lord the king chargeth and commandeth all perſons, being aſſembled, immediately to diſperſe themſelves, and peaceably depart to their habitations, or to their lawful buſineſs, upon the pains contained in the act made in the firſt year of king George, for preventing tumults and riotous aſſemblies.

This act is to be read at every ſeſſions and leet.

Other acts paſſed at this time were: 1. For continuing the impriſonment of the conſpirators againſt king William. 2. For the quakers affirmation inſtead of their oath. 3. An act for regulating the forces. 4. The malt-tax. Laſtly, An act to explain the act of 12 Will. III, for the further limitation of the crown, &c.

[q] When the motion was made for this addreſs, the lord Guernſey, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Ayleſbury, ſaid, 'It was well known he had, on ſeveral oc-

alſo preſented by the lords. The ſame day the convocation waited on the king with an addreſs, wherein, having thanked him for his meſſage to the commons, about the maintenance for the miniſters of the fifty new churches, they proceed: 'After all the declarations your majeſty has been pleaſed to make in favour of our eſtabliſhed church, and the real proofs you have given for the concern of its intereſt; we hope, that none will be found ſo unjuſt, as to doubt of your affection to it. And we do moſt humbly aſſure your majeſty, that we will take all opportunities to inſtil into thoſe, who are under our care, the ſame grateful ſenſe, that we ourſelves have of your majeſty's goodneſs; and that at this time more eſpecially, when the quiet of your realms is diſturbed by inſurrections at home, and the nation threatened with an invaſion from abroad, we will put them in mind of thoſe ſtrict obligations of conſcience, whereby they are engaged to defend and ſupport your majeſty's government; and will earneſtly exhort them to exemplify, by a ſuitable practice, thoſe principles of obedience and loyalty, which the church of England has always thought it her duty to profeſs.' All theſe addreſſes met with a very gracious reception.

The parliament paſſed an act to impower the king to ſecure ſuſpected perſons, and to ſuſpend the Habeas Corpus act in that time of danger. A clauſe was added to a money-bill for the reward of 100,000l. to ſuch as ſhould ſeize the pretender dead or alive. Upon a motion of mr. Walpole, the commons ordered an addreſs for giving full pay to ſuch half-pay officers as were not provided for. Sir George Byng ſet out for the Downs to take upon him the command of the fleet, and general Erle went to his government of Portſmouth to put that place in a poſture of defence. General Cadogan marked out a camp in Hyde-Park for the foot-guards. Lord Irwin was made governor of Hull, in the room of brigadier Sutton, who with the generals Roſs, Webb, and Stewart, the lord Windſor, colonel Deſcanay, and other officers were either diſmiſſed the ſervice or ordered to ſell.

Purſuant to the commons addreſs, the king ordered thirteen regiments of dragoons, conſiſting of three thouſand men, and eight of foot, conſiſting of four thouſand, to be raiſed. He left the nomination of the officers to the dukes of Marlborough and Argyle, and the generals Stanhope and Cadogan. [r] The trained-bands were alſo ordered to be in a readineſs to ſuppreſs riots and tumults. Upon this, the ſeveral bodies concerned in theſe orders came to court with addreſſes, expreſſing their abhorrence of all ſeditious and tumultuous aſſemblies, and their reſolution to do their duty in preſerving the public peace, and to ſtand by and aſſiſt his majeſty with their perſons and eſtates. Theſe addreſſes were from the common council of the city of London, [t] from the lieutenancy of the ſame city, and from the earl of Clare, who was lord-lieutenant of the county of Middleſex, with the deputy-lieutenants and juſtices of the peace. Theſe were followed by ſeveral others, particularly from the biſhop of London and his clergy; the univerſity of Cambridge, the diſſenting miniſters of London and Weſtminſter, the commiſſion of the general aſſembly of the kirk of Scotland, and the univerſity of Oxford; but the members of that univerſity, when they preſented their addreſs, were told, 'That, as they had ſhewn an open diſreſpect to his majeſty's perſon and government in their late conduct, his majeſty expected they ſhould ſatisfy him better of their loyalty by their future behaviour, before they attempted it by words.' Nor was it a ſmall part of the reaſon of the public diſpleaſure, and of the repulſe, which the univerſity of Oxford met with on that occaſion, that at the very time it was to be preſented, an account came to court by expreſs, that ſome of the king's officers, who, were beating up for volunteers for a new regiment of dragoons, were attaced by ſome of the ſcholars, and hardly eſcaped being killed.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, the commons added ſix articles more againſt the earl of Oxford; and, two days after, the articles of impeachment againſt the lord Bolingbroke were agreed to, and delivered by mr. Walpole at the bar of the houſe of lords, where he impeached him. The next day, the articles againſt the duke of Ormond being read, there aroſe a warm debate, in which ſeveral remarkable ſpeeches were made. Among the reſt, a member of a conſiderable eſtate, and who had all along voted with the tories, ſaid, That the report of the committee of ſecrecy had begun to open his eyes; and that the duke of Ormond's flight had fully convinced him, that the heads of the tory party were a ſet of knaves and villains, who deſigned to have ruined their country, and made it a province to France.' The lord Stanhope, the eldeſt ſon of the earl of Cheſterfield, who ſpoke for the firſt time on this occaſion, ſaid, 'He never wiſhed to ſpill the blood of any of his countrymen, much leſs of any nobleman: but that he was perſuaded, that the ſafety of his country required, that examples ſhould be made of thoſe, who betrayed it in ſo infamous a manner.' The lord Finch, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Nottingham, ſpoke alſo on the ſame ſide; and, after ſome other ſpeeches, the firſt article was agreed to by a majority of a hundred and ſeventy-ſeven voices againſt ſeventy-eight; and then the other articles alſo were ſeverally agreed to by the houſe. The firſt article charged the duke with correſponding with marſhal Villars, the French general, while he commanded the Britiſh army in Flanders. The ſecond, That he wicedly promiſed and engaged, that he would not attac the French army, nor engage in any ſiege againſt France. The third, That he did falſly, maliciouſly, wicedly, and traiterouſly adhere to the French king; and in purſuance of a wiced promiſe he had ſecretly made with the marſhal de Villars, he endeavoured to perſuade the generals of the confederate army to raiſe the ſiege of Queſnoy; and, when he could not prevail, marched off with the queen's troops, and gave the enemy's general advice of it. The other articles are in effect his conduct in Flanders reduced into a charge. And, both he and the lord Bolingbroke having fled from juſtice, bills were brought in to ſummon them to render themſelves by the 10th of September, and, in default thereof, to attaint them of high-treaſon; which paſſed both houſes, and recieved the royal aſſent.

On the 8th of Auguſt, the houſe of commons was called over, and among ſeveral abſent members, who were not excuſed, ſir Michael Wharton, mr. Corbet Kynaſton, and mr. Lewis Pryſe were ordered into cuſtody. The two former were immediately diſcharged; but mr. Pryſe declining to take the oaths, and having never attended the houſe, for that and other reaſons, and being not found by the meſſengers, was afterwards expelled.

On the 31ſt of Auguſt the articles againſt the earl of Strafford were agreed to by the commons, and carried by mr. Aiſlaby to the lords. The articles being read in the houſe of lords, the earl of Strafford made a long ſpeech, wherein, among other things, he complained of the hardſhips which had been put upon him by ſeizing his papers in an unprecedented manner; that he deſigned to have drawn up and printed an account of all his negotiations; whereby he did not doubt he ſhould have made it appear to all the world, that he had done nothing but in diſcharge of his duty, and of the truſt repoſed in him. That if, either in his letters or diſcourſes, while he had the honour to repreſent the crown of Great-Britain, he had dropped any unguarded expreſſions againſt ſome foreign miniſters, he hoped the ſame would not be accounted a crime by a Britiſh houſe of peers. He concluded with deſiring, that a competent time might be allowed him to anſwer the articles now brought againſt him; and that he might have duplicates of all the papers, that either had been laid before the committee of ſecrecy, or were ſtill in the hands of the government, which might be for his juſtification.' The lord Townſhend ſaid, 'That his complaint about the taking his papers from him was altogether groundleſs and unjuſt: that infinite inſtances of the like proceedings might be produced: that no ſtate could be ſafe without it; and, in ſhort, that extraordinary caſes juſtify extraordinary methods. As to the earl's demand to have duplicates of all the papers, that had been laid before the commons, he (the lord Townſhend) thought it unreaſonable, and made with no other deſign than to gain time, and make the commons loſe the opportunity of bringing him to his trial. That thoſe papers were ſo voluminous (conſiſting of thirteen or fourteen volumes in folio) that they could not be copied out in many weeks; and as the earl might have had

caſions, differed from ſome members in that houſe; but being now convinced, that our liberty, religion, and all that is dear to Engliſhmen, were aimed at, he would (laying his hand on his ſword) rather die with his ſword in his hand, than ſurvive the pretender's coming in, though he were to enjoy the greateſt honours and preferments under him.'

[r] The thirteen colonels of the dragoons were:

Wynne,	Honeywood,
Pepper,	Bowles,
Gore,	Munden,
Dormer.	Rich,
Newton,	Moleſworth,
Churchill,	Stanhope,
Tyrrel.	

The eight colonels of the foot were:

Stanwix,	Pocock,
Hotham,	Lucas,
Grant,	Chudley,
Dubourgay,	Handaſyde.

[t] The common-council in their addreſs tell the king, 'They fear the intended invaſion has been too much encouraged by perſons of antimonarchial and republican principles.'

acceſs to them, ever ſince they were laid before the parliament, ſo he was ſtill at liberty to peruſe them, and extract out of them what he thought proper for his own defence.' The duke of Devonſhire and the lord-chancellor Cowper ſeconded the lord Townſhend; on the other hand, the late lord chancellor Harcourt and the biſhop of Rocheſter ſpoke for the earl of Strafford; but what availed the latter moſt, was ſaid by the earl of Ilay, who repreſented, 'That, in all civilized nations, all courts of judicature, except the inquiſition, allowed the perſons arraigned all that was neceſſary for their juſtification; and that the houſe of peers of Great-Britain ought not, in this caſe, to do any thing contrary to that honour and equity, for which they are ſo juſtly renowned throughout all Europe.' Upon this it was reſolved, 'That the earl of Strafford ſhould have copies of all ſuch papers, as were in the ſecretary's and other offices, which he ſhould think proper for his defence: that he ſhould have free acceſs to the papers, that had been laid before the commons: and that a month's time be allowed him, to anſwer the articles of impeachment againſt him.'

On the 3d of September the earl of Oxford cauſed his anſwer to the common's impeachment to be delivered to the houſe of lords, who tranſmitted it to the commons, where it occaſioned a ſmall debate. Mr Walpole, among other things, ſaid, 'he had not yet had time to examine that anſwer; but he now heard it read with a great deal of attention and in his opinion, it contained little more than what had been ſuggeſted in vindication of the late meaſures, in a pamphlet intitled, The conduct of the allies, and repeated over and over in the papers called the Examiner. That the main drift of this anſwer ſeemed to prove theſe two aſſertions: Firſt, that the earl of Oxford had no ſhare in the adviſing and managing the matters mentioned in the articles againſt him; but that the late queen did every thing: And, ſecondly, that the late queen was a wiſe, good, and pious princeſs. That, if the ſecond propoſition were not better grounded than the firſt, the reputation of that excellent princeſs would be very precarious; but as every body muſt own her to have been a good and pious queen; ſo it was notorious, that the earl of Oxford, as prime miniſter, was the chief adviſer, promoter, and manager of the matters charged upon him in the articles. And therefore his anſwer was a falſe and malicious libel, laying upon his royal miſtreſs the blame of all the pernicious meaſures he had led her into againſt her own honour, and the good of his country. That he hoped the earl's endeavouring to ſcreen himſelf behind the queen's name would avail him nothing: That it is indeed a fundamental maxim of our conſtution. That kings can do no wrong; but, at the ſame time, it is no leſs certain That miniſters of ſtate are accountable for their actions: Otherwiſe a parliament would be but an empty name; the the commons would have no buſineſs in that place; and the government would be abſolute and arbitrary. That though the earl had the aſſurance to aver, that he had no ſhare in the management of affairs, that were tranſacted, while he was at the helm, yet he pretended to juſtify the late meaſures. And therefore, in that reſpect, his anſwer ought to be looked upon as a libel on the proceedings of the commons, ſince he endeavoured to clear thoſe perſons, who had already confeſſed their guilt by flight.' Mr Shippen, a creature of the earl of Oxford, ſaid, It would not become him to defend the earl's anſwer, ſince, as a member of that honourable aſſembly, he was become one of his accuſers; but he could not forbear wiſhing, this proſecution might be dropped, and that the houſe would be ſatisfied with the two late acts of attainder. That this wiſh of his was the ſtronger, becauſe one of the principal reaſons, that induced the commons to impeach the earl of Oxford, ſubſiſted no longer than the affairs of Europe having received a ſudden turn from the death of the French king, whereby the renunciation of king Philip began to take place in the advancement of the duke of Orleans to the abſolute regency of France.' Mr Aiſlaby anſwered, 'He hoped it was to little purpoſe, that the gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, endeavoured to move the pity and compaſſion of the houſe, and perſuade them to drop this proſecution. That this was not a proper time to examine and reply to the earl of Oxford's anſwer; and therefore he would content himſelf with ſaying in general, that it was a contexture of the ſhifts, evaſions, and falſe repreſentations containing in the three parts of the hiſtory of the white ſtaff. As to what had been ſuggeſted concerning the event, which ſeemed to have ſtrengthened the renunciation, he did not deny, there might be ſomething in it, which was manifeſt from the great joy the well-affected to the government had ſhewn on this occaſion, and from the mortification and deſpair, that appeared in the faces of a certain party. But, after all, it could not yet be aſcertained that the renunciation was in force: That there was a vaſt difference between the regency and the crown; that time only could decide that matter; but even ſuppoſing, that, by the concurrence of unforeſeen events, king Phillip's renunciation ſhould at laſt take place, yet the ſame would not juſtify the miniſters, who propoſed and laid it as the foundation of the late peace, ſince they, with whom they treated were ſo frank and ſo ſincere as to tell them, that it could never be valid by the fundamental laws of France.' After ſome other ſpeeches, it was ordered, 1. That the anſwer of Robert earl of Oxford be referred to the committee appointed to draw up articles of impeachment, and prepare evidence againſt the impeached lords. 2. That the committee prepare a replication to the anſwer. Accordingly a replication was prepared, and being agreed to was ſent to the lords.

The next day, a report from the ſame committee, concerning the ſtate and circumſtances of mr. Prior's commitment, was made to the houſe in the following manner:

That, in the peruſal and examination of the ſeveral books and papers referred to the committee of ſecrecy, mr. Prior appeared, through the whole progreſs of the ſeperate and pernicious negotiations, carried on between the miniſters of Great-Britain and France, to have been principally concerned as an agent and inſtrument of thoſe evil and traiterous counſellors, ſome of which are already attainted, and others ſtand impeached of high-treaſon, and other high crimes and miſdemeanors: And the committee conceiving there were matters contained in the firſt general report, from which crimes of a very high nature ought to be juſtly charged and imputed to mr. Prior, whenever the houſe ſhould think proper to enter into that conſideration; as likewiſe that mr. Prior, was able to give great lights into all thoſe dark and ſecret tranſactions, when he ſhould be called upon by the great council of the nation or any committee appointed by them, to give an account of the negotiations, in which he was concerned as a public miniſter; the houſe, upon a motion from the committee for that purpoſe, was pleaſed to order, before the report was made that mr. Prior ſhould be taken into cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms, to prevent his making his eſcape, upon notice of what was contained in the report.

That this method of confining mr. Prior not only agreeable to former precedents upon the like occaſions but neceſſary and eſſential to that great duty and privilege of the houſe of commons, of redreſſing grievances, and bringing great offenders to juſtice.

That the committee did, ſome time after, purſuant to the powers given them by the houſe, proceed to examine mr. Prior concerning ſeveral matters, of which there can be no doubt but he was fully appriſed and acquainted with; in which examination mr. Prior did behave himſelf with ſuch contempt of the authority of parliament, and prevaricate in ſo groſs a manner, as moſt juſtly to deſerve the higheſt diſpleaſure of the houſe.

But finding at laſt, after an examination of ſeveral hours, that it was impoſſible for him to diſguiſe or conceal ſome facts, that were before the committee, he was induced to declare upon oath ſome truths, which will be very material evidence upon the trials of the impeached lords.

And the committee having notice, that mr. Prior had, during his firſt confinement, met and conferred with the earl of Oxford, and his neareſt relations and dependants, which mr. Prior confeſſed to be true, thought it their duty to move the houſe, that mr. Prior might be committed to cloſer cuſtody.

From this ſhort ſtate of the proceedings relating to mr. Prior, the committee ſubmits it to the wiſdom of the houſe, whether his behaviour has ſo far merited the favour and mercy of the houſe, as to make that confinement more eaſy to him, which his contempt of the commons of Great-Britain, and his notorious prevarication, moſt juſtly brought him into. And it ſeems worthy of conſideration, how far it may be thought adviſeable for the houſe of commons to ſet at liberty a perſon in their cuſtody, and committed according to the antient methods and practice of parliament; who is a material evidence againſt high offenders, under proſecution of the commons of Great-Britain, and who, there is reaſon to apprehend, would immediately withdraw himſelf, and, as far as in him lay, defeat the juſtice of the nation.'

After the reading of this report, the commons ordered, 'That the committee be empowered to ſit, notwithſtanding any adjournment of the houſe.'

The time for the duke of Ormond and the lord viſcount

Bolingbroke to render themſelves being expired, the houſe of lords ordered the earl Marſhal to raze out of the liſt of peers their names and coats of arms. Inventories were likewiſe directed to be taken of their perſonal eſtates; and the atchievement of the duke, as knight of the garter, to be taken down from St George's chapel at Windſor.

On the 30th of Auguſt, an act received the royal aſſent, for encouraging loyalty in Scotland. By this act every vaſſal that holds lands of any ſuperior guilty of high-treaſon, by abetting the pretender, and continues peaceable, ſhall be inveſted with the ſaid lands in fee and heritage for ever. In like manner, if any ſubject of Great-Britain, holding lands of a ſuperior in Scotland, ſhall be guilty of ſuch high-treaſon, his lands ſhall return into the hands of the ſuperior, and be conſolidated with the ſuperiority. All entails and ſettlements of eſtates, ſince the 1ſt of Auguſt 1714, in favour of children, with a fraudulent intent to avoid the puniſhment of the law due to the offence of high-treaſon, by abetting the pretender, ſhall be null and void. Beſides theſe and other particulars, this act had a clauſe in it, for ſummoning any ſuſpected perſon in Scotland to appear at Edingburgh, or where it ſhould be judged expedient, to find bail for his good behaviour, with certification, that, if they did not appear at the time appointed, they would be denounced rebels. Purſuant to this clauſe, all the heads of the jacobite clans, and other ſuſpected perſons, were ſoon after ſummoned to appear at Edingburgh, and not obeying the ſummons, they were declared rebels.

By this time the court had received certain information, that an open rebellion was broke out in Scotland, under the direction of the earl of Mar, which was to be ſupported by a great conſpiracy in England. The earl of Mar, at the death of queen Anne, was ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, and had been one of the firſt who made profeſſions of their loyalty and affection to king George, as appears by a letter he wrote the king before his arrival. [t] The earl had alſo taken the oaths of allegiance and abjuration. But, not meeting the encouragement he expected, the earl, about the 8th of Auguſt 1715, embarked with major-general Hamilton colonel Hay, and two ſervants, at Graveſend, on board a collier, and, arriving at Newcaſtle, hired a veſſel belonging to one Spence of Leith, which in eight days landed them at Elie in Fife. They immediately went to the houſe of John Bethune of Balfour, where they ſtaid all night, and from thence rode to the lord Kinnoul's. The next day they proceed to Craigie-Hall; and colonel Hay conveyed the earl of Mar about three miles, and went to the lord Nairn's; and the earl and general Hamilton proceeded to the Laird of Invercald's at the Brae of Mar. Colonel Hay, the lord John Drummond, the marquis of Tullibardine, Strowen Robertſon, and ſeveral other Highland gentlemen, and particulary the Lairds of Glenbuket, Glenderule, Abergeldy, Dalmere, Auchindrain, and John Paterſon, who had been a clerk in the ſecretary's office, came to the earl of Mar; who, having ſtaid at Invercald's, houſe about eight days, went to Glenbucket's, and from thence to Aboyne, where he held a conſultation with the marquiſſes of Huntley and Tullibardine, the earls of Southeſk and Mareſchal, the Lairds of Glenderule, Glengary, Glenbucket, Tutor of Aboyne, general Hamilton, and general Gordon; but Invercald and Abergeldy, who were at Aboyne, were not admitted to the conſultation. The earl of Mar, the marquis of Tullibardine, general Hamilton, and mr. Paterſon returned to Invercald, where they ſtaid about eight days; during which the earl ſent ſeveral letters, and received others; and in that time there were gathered together about five hundred of his own men, three hundred of whom, being well armed, went to Caſtletoun with him and general Hamilton; and Innerey (who came to Invercald the day before) and the remaining two hundred went a way, till they ſhould be provided with better arms, and then were to follow under the command of Innerey. At Caſtletoun they proclaimed the pretender; whoſe ſtandard was ſet up by the earl of Mar at Brae-Mar, on the 6th of September.

Upon the news of the earl's being in the Highlands, and the report of his having drawn together a body of men, orders were immediately diſpatched to Edingburgh, for apprehending ſeveral ſuſpected perſons; purſuant to which, the earls of Hume, Wigtoun, and Kinnoul, and the lord Deſkford. Mr Lockhart of Carnwath, and mr. Hume of Whitefield, were committed priſoners to the caſtle. Orders were alſo ſent to major-general Whetham, commander in chief in Scotland, forthwith to march with all the regular troops, that could be ſpared, to form a camp near Sterling, to ſecure the bridge over the forth, and to quarter the half-pay officers in ſuch a manner, that they might be in a readineſs to command the militia. About this time, the court received intelligence of ſeveral veſſels ready to ſail for Scotland, from the port of Havre de Grace, laden with arms and ammunition for the uſe of the pretender; and, notwithſtanding all the precauſions uſed by the government, on the 29th of Auguſt, the lord juſtice clerk had advice from Montroſe, that one of thoſe ſhips was arrived at Arboth in the North, where ſhe was immediately unladen by the Highlanders, ſent thither for that purpoſe, who carried the arms and ammunition to the country of Brae-Mar. A few days after, another ſhip landed ſeveral officers, who went to join the earl of Mar, and gave him, and the lords with him aſſurences, that the pretender would ſoon be in perſon amongſt them. But the news of the death Lewis XIV of France, on the 1ſt of September, N. S. ſo alarmed the rebels, and ſtruck ſuch a general damp upon their ſpirits, that their chiefs held a conſultation, whether they ſhould ſtand out any longer, in expectation of the pretender's coming according to his promiſe, or whether they ſhould give over their enterprize. They divided upon the queſtion; ſome were for going home, and not ſtirring till the pretender landed; but the majority, depending upon a general inſurrection in England, were for perſiſting, at leaſt, till they had news from the pretender; to whom they all agreed to ſend meſſengers immediately, to preſs his coming over. Purſuant to this reſolution, the earl of Mar aſſumed the title of lieutenant-general of the pretender's forces, and as ſuch publiſhed a declaration, which he ſent, with a letter, to the baillie of Kildrummie, to exhort the people to take arms. [u] A few days after, a manifeſto was alſo publiſhed, ſetting forth the reaſons of their

[t] The earl of Mar's letter was as follows:

SIR,

'Having the happineſs to be your majeſty's ſubject, and alſo the honour of being one of your ſervants, as one of your ſecretaries of ſtate, I beg leave by this to kiſs your majeſty's hand, and congratulate your happy acceſſion to the throne; which I would have done myſelf the honour of doing ſooner, had I not hoped to have had the honour of doing it perſonally e're now. I am afraid I may have had the misfortune of being miſrepreſented to your majeſty; and my reaſon for thinking ſo is, becauſe I was, I believe, the only one of the late queen's ſervants, whom your miniſters did not viſit, which I mentioned to mr. Harley, and the earl of Clarendon, when they went from hence to wait on your majeſty: and your miniſters carrying ſo to me was the occaſion of my receiving ſuch orders, as deprived me of the honour and ſatisfaction of waiting on them, and being known to them. I ſuppoſe, I had been miſrepreſented to them by ſome here upon account of party, or to ingratiate themſelves by aſperſing others, as our parties here too often occaſion; but I hope your majeſty will be ſo juſt, as not to give credit to ſuch miſrepreſentations. The part I acted in the bringing about and making the union, when the ſucceſſion of the crown was ſettled for Scotland on your majeſty's family, where I had the honour to ſerve as ſecretary of ſtate for that kingdom, doth, I hope, put my ſincerity and faithfulneſs to your majeſty out of diſpute. My family hath had the honour, for a great tract of years, to be faithful ſervants to the crown, and have had the care of the king's children (when kings of Scotland) intruſted to them. A predeceſſor of mine was honoured with the care of your majeſty's grandmother, when young, and ſhe was pleaſed afterwards to expreſs ſome concern for our family in letters, which I ſtill have under her own hand. I have had the honour to ſerve her late majeſty, in one capacity or other, ever ſince her acceſſion to the crown. I was happy in a good miſtreſs, and ſhe was pleaſed to have ſome confidence in me, and regard for my ſervices. And ſince your majeſty's happy acceſſion to the crown, I hope, you will find, that I have not been wanting in my duty, in being inſtrumental in keeping things quiet and peaceable in the country, to which I belong, and have ſome intereſt in. Your majeſty ſhall ever find me as faithful and dutiful a ſubject and ſervant, as ever any of my family have been to the crown, or as I have been to my late miſtreſs, the queen. And I beg your majeſty may be ſo good not to believe any miſrepreſentation of me, which nothing but party hatred, and my zeal for the intereſt of the crown doth occaſion; and I hope I may preſume to lay claim to your royal favour and protection. As your acceſſion to the crown hath been quiet and peaceable, may your majeſty's reign be long and proſperous, and that your people may ſoon have the happineſs and ſatisfaction of your preſence among them, is the earneſt and fervent wiſhes of him, who is, with the humbleſt duty and reſpect,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's moſt faithful,
Moſt dutiful, and moſt obedient,
Subject and ſervant.

Whitehall, Auguſt 30, 1714. MAR.

[u] The declaration ran thus:

'Our rightful and natural king James VIII, by the grace of God, who is now coming to relieve us from our oppreſſions, having been pleaſed to intruſt me with the direction of his affairs, and the command of his forces in this his ancient kingdom of Scotland; and ſome of his faithful ſubjects and ſervants met at Aboyne, viz. the lord Huntley; the lord Tullibardine, the earl Marſhal, the earl of Southeſk, Glangary from the clans, Glanderule from the earl of Broadalbin, and gentlemen of Argyleſhire, mr. Patrick Lyon of Auchterhouſe, the laird of Auldbair, lieutenant-general George Hamilton, major-general Gordon, and myſelf, having taken into our conſideration his majeſty's laſt and late orders to us, that as this is now the time, that he ordered us to appear openly in arms for him; ſo it ſeems to us abſolutely neceſſary for his majeſty's ſervice, and the relieving of our native country from all its hardſhips, that all his faithful and loving ſubjects and lovers of their country, ſhould, with all poſſible ſpeed, put themſelves into arms.

Theſe are therefore, in his majeſty's name and authority, and by virtue of the power aforeſaid, and by the king's ſpecial order to me thereunto, to require and impower you forthwith to raiſe your fencible men, with their beſt arms; and you are immediately to march them to join me, and ſome other

proceedings, the grievances the nation lay under, with assurances of redressing them. [v]

Besides these measures, a conspiracy was formed at Edingburgh to surprize the castle, on the 8th of September, between eleven and twelve at night; which, by the care and vigilance of sir Adam Cockburn, the lord justice Clerk, who had early notice of it, was prevented. The design was to mount the wall by the West-side of the castle, by rope-ladders provided for that purpose, which were to be pulled up by lines let down from within by some soldiers belonging to the garrison, who had been corrupted. The conspirators came to the castle-wall at the time appointed; and a rope was let down and fixed to one of the ladders. But, the lord justice Clerk having sent intimation of this design to colonel Stuart, lieutenant-governor of the castle, he ordered the officers under him to double their guards, and to make diligent rounds. As lieutenant Lindsey was going the round in obedience to these orders, he found one of the soldiers, who had been corrupted, drawing up the ladder, in order to fix it to the top of the wall; and commanded the centinel next him to fire, which giving the alarm, the conspirators dispersed. But a party of the town guard, which, at the request of the lord justice Clerk, the provost had sent out to patrol, with some resolute Volunteers, coming up, found captain Maclean, formerly an officer under the lord Dundee, lying on the ground, bruised with a fall from the wall, whom they secured, with three others of his accomplices. They likewise found the ladders and about a dozen of firelocks and carbines, which the conspirators had left behind. One serjeant, one corporal, and two private soldiers of the garrison were also secured; and, by the confessions of the persons seized, it appeared, that the numbers engaged in this attempt were about eighty, of whom one half were Highlanders: that one mr. Arthur, formerly an ensign in the castle, engaged the soldiers in this conspiracy, by promising the serjeant a lieutenant's commission; the corporal an ensign's; and by giving one of the soldiers eight guineas, and the other four; that the lord Drummond was to be governor of the castle, as being the contriver of the design: and that, upon the success of it, the conspirators were to fire three rounds of the artillery in the castle; which by the communication of fires to be kindled at convenient distances, was to be a signal to the earl of Mar, immediately to march towards Edingburgh with his forces, to improve the consternation, and heighten the terror, which such an accident would have caused in the city.

The Duke of Argyle, being appointed commanded in chief of the forces in Scotland, set out on the 9th of September for that kingdom; and, about the same time, the earl of Sutherland offered his service to go and raise the highland clans in the most northern counties of Scotland, which was readily accepted; and the Queenborough man of war was appointed to transport him thither. Several other Scots peers, particularly the duke of Roxburgh, the marquisses of Annandale and Tweedale, the earls of Selkirk, Loudoun, Rothes, Haddington, and Forfar, the lords Torpichen and Belhaven, &c. readily embraced this opportunity to shew their loyalty to king George, and their zeal for their country.

By this time a dangerous conspiracy was discovered and prevented in England. On the 2d of September, lieutenant-colonel Paul, who had a company in the first regiment of foot-guards, was secured, and the next day committed prisoner to the gate-house, being charged with inlisting men for the pretender's service, and other treasonable practices. The titular Duke of Powis, a Roman catholic, was committed to the tower for high-treason; and the lords Lansdown and Dupplin were also taken into custody; and a warrant issued out to apprehend the earl of Jersey. At the same time, mr. secretary Stanhope acquainted the commons, 'That he was commanded by the king to communicate to them, that his majesty, having just cause to suspect that sir William Wyndham, sir John Packington, mr. Edward Harvey, senior of Combe, mr. Thomas Forster, junior, Mr John Anstis, and mr. Corbet Kynaston, were engaged in a design to support the intended invasion of this kingdom, had given orders for apprehending them: And desired the consent of the house, to his causing them to be committed and detained, if he should judge it necessary so to do;' which was unanimously agreed to by an address to that purpose.

Upon this, warrants were issued out for apprehending the six members, two of whom, Harvey an Anstis, happening to be in town, were immediately secured. Mr Harvey stabbed himself some few days after with a knife, in two or three places of his breast; but the wounds proved not mortal. As to the rest, mr. Forster stood out in defiance of justice, and with two Romish lords raised a rebellion in Northum-

of the king's forces at the Inver of Brae-Mar, on Monday next, in order to proceed in our march to attend the king's standard, with his other forces.

The king intending, that his forces shall be paid from the time of their setting out, he expects, as he positively orders, that they behave themselves civilly, and commit no plundering, nor other disorders, upon the highest penalties, and his displeasure; which it is expected you will see observed.

Now is the time for all good men to shew their zeal for his majesty's service, whose cause is so deeply concerned, and the relief of our native country from oppression, and a foreign yoke too heavy for us and our posterity to bear; and to endeavour the restoring, not only of our rightful and native king, but also our country to its ancient, free, and independent constitution under him; whose ancestors have reigned over us for so many generations.

In so honourable, good, and just a cause, we cannot doubt of the assistance, direction, and blessing of Almighty God, who has so often rescued the royal family of Stuart, and our country, from sinking under oppression.

Your punctual observance of these orders is expected: for the doing of all which this shall be to you, and all you employ in the execution of them, a sufficient warrant. Given at Brae-Mar the 9th of September, 1715.

To the Baillie and the rest of the
Gentlemen of the Lordship of
Kildrummie. MAR.

The Earl's letter to the Baillie was in these terms:

Jockie, Invercald, Sept. 9. at night, 1715.

'Ye was in the right not to come with the hundred men ye sent up to night, when I expected four times the number. It is a pretty thing, when all the highlands of Scotland are now rising upon their king and country's account, as I have accounts from them since they were with me, and the gentlemen in most of our neighbouring Lowlands expecting us down to join them, that my men should be only refractory. Is not this the thing we are now about, which they have been wishing these six and twenty years? And now when it is come, and the king and country's cause at stake, will they for ever sit still, and see all perish? I have used gentle means too long, and so I shall be forced to put other orders I have in execution. I have sent you inclosed an order for the lordship of Kildrummie, which you are immediately to intimate to all my vassals. If they give ready obedience, it will make some amends; and if not, ye may tell them from me, that it will not be in my power to save them (were I willing) from being treated as enemies by those, who are ready soon to join me: and they may depend on it, that I will be the first to propose and order their being so. Particularly, let my own tenants in Kildrummie know, that, if they come not forth with their best arms, I will send a party immediately to burn what they shall miss taking from them: and they may believe this not only a threat, but by all that is sacred I will put it in execution, let my loss be what it will that it may be an example to others. You are to tell the gentlemen, that I will expect them in their best accoutrements on horseback, and no excuse to be accepted of. Go about this with all diligence, and come yourself, and let me know your having done so. All this is not only as you will be answerable to me, but to your king and country.

Your assured friend and servant,

To John Forbes of Increran,
Baillie of Kildrummie. MAR.

[v] Manifesto and declaration by the noblemen, gentlemen, and others, who dutifully appear at this time in asserting the undoubted right of their lawful sovereign James the VIIIth, by the grace of God, king of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. and for relieving this his ancient kingdom of Scotland from the oppression and grievances it lies under.

'His majesty's right of blood to the crown of these realms is undoubted, and has never been disputed nor arraigned by the least circumstance of authority whatsoever.

By the laws of God, by the ancient constitution of these nations, and by the positive unrepealed laws of the land, we are bound to pay his majesty the duty of faithful subjects. Nothing can absolve us from this our duty of subjection and obedience. The laws of God require our allegiance to our rightful king: the laws of the land secure our religion, and other interests; and his majesty, giving up himself to the support of his protestant subjects, puts the means of securing to us our concerns religious and civil into our own hands.

Our fundamental constitution has been entirely altered and sunk amidst the various shocks of unstable faction, which, in searching out new experiments pretended for our security, has produced nothing but daily disappointments, and has brought us and our posterity under a precarious dependance upon foreign counsels and interests, and the power of foreign troops.

The late unhappy union, which was brought about by the mistaken notions of some, and by the ruinous and selfish designs of others, has proved so far from lessening and healing the differences betwixt his majesty's subjects of Scotland, and England, that it has widened and increased them; and appears by experience so inconsistent with the rights, interests, and privileges of us, and our good neighbours and fellow-subjects of England, that the continuance of it must inevitably ruin us, and hurt them: nor can any way be found to relieve us, and restore our ancient independent constitution, but by restoring our rightful and natural king, who has the only undoubted right to reign over us. Neither can we hope that that party, who chiefly contributed to bring us into bondage, will at any time endeavour to work our relief, since it is known how strenuously they opposed in two late instances the efforts, that were made by all Scotsmen but themselves, and supported by the best and wisest of the English, towards so desirable an end, as they will not adventure openly to disown a dissolution of the union to be.

Our substance has been wasted in the late ruinous wars; and we see an unavoidable prospect of having wars continued on us and our posterity, so long as the possession of the crown is not in the right line.

The hereditary rights of the subjects, though confirmed by conventions and parliaments, are now treated as of no value nor force; and past services to the crown and royal family are now looked upon as grounds of suspicion.

A packed assembly, who call themselves a British parliament, have, so far as in them lies, inhumanly murdered their own and our sovereign, by promising a great sum of money as the reward of so execrable a crime. They have proscribed, by unaccountable and groundless impeachments and attainders, the worthiest patriots of Edgland; for their honourable and successful endeavours to restore trade, plenty, and peace to these nations. They have broke in upon the sacred laws of both countries, by which the liberties of our persons were secured. They have impowered a foreign prince (who, notwithstanding his expectations of the crown for fifteen years, is still unacquainted with our manners, customs, and language) to make an absolute

berland. Sir John Packington was brought up to London from his houſe in Worceſterſhire, and being examined before the council, and nothing appearing againſt him, was honourably diſcharged. Mr Kynaſton made his eſcape, and colonel Huſke, a captain in the foot-guards, was ſent down with a meſſenger to apprehend ſir William Wyndham, at his houſe in Somerſetſhire. where they arrived between four and five in the morning. The door being opened, they appeared to be in haſte to ſee ſir William; but the porter told them, he was in bed, and could not yet be ſpoke with. The colonel told him, he came expreſs, and the perſon with him had a pacet of letters of ſuch conſequence that his maſter muſt needs be immediately informed of it This convinced the man, and ſir william preſently leaped out of bed, and came in his gown to the colonel, who told him he was his priſoner, the meſſenger, at the ſame time, ſhewing the badge of his office. Sir William ſaid, he frighten his lady, who was with child. Then they entered a chamber, where the colonel ſeeing ſir William's coat and waiſtcoat lie, told him, he had orders to ſeize all his papers; and that he muſt take leave to ſearch his pockets, wherein he found a bundle of papers, which he ſecured. Sir William would have diverted him, by offering him very frankly the keys of his eſcrutore, to ſearch; but the colonel happened to ſecure the moſt important papers, as he had reaſon to gueſs, by the great diſorder and confuſion in ſir William's looks, when he took the bundle out of his waiſtcoat pocket. Sir William deſired the colonel to ſtay till ſeven o'clock, and he would order his own coach and ſix horſes to be ready, which would carry them all; telling the colonel, he would only go in, and put on his cloaths, and take leave of his lady, and then would wait on him. Out of deference to that lady's noble relations, who, beſides their high rank, had deſerved it by their zeal and affection for the preſent government, the colonel had particular directions to uſe him with decorum, and readily complied with his requeſt, looking on it as his parole to return: But he ſoon found himſelf miſtaken in the perſon, whoſe honour he had truſted to; for, tho' the colonel had cauſed two doors of ſir William's bed-chamber to be ſecured, yet, there being a third, he made his eſcape through it. The colonel, having directed the meſſenger to ſtay at the houſe till further orders, returned with ſpeed to London, to acquaint the government with what had paſſed; whereupon the king in council thought fit to ſign a proclamation, with a reward of a thouſand pounds, for apprehending ſir William.

One of the papers found in ſir William's pocket was ſaid to be a liſt of the principal perſons, who had joined in an aſſociation to favour an invaſion, and to advance the pretender to the throne; which aſſociation was tranſmitted to him by the lord Lanſdown. Be that as it will, it is certain a great many notorious jacobites, who by this time had got together at Bath, in order to head the intended inſurrection in Somerſetſhire, were extremely alarmed at the coming down of the king's meſſengers, and left that place with great precipitation, in a very ſtormy night. Sir William Wyndham, being purſued by the proclamation, and ſeveral meſſengers, thought a clergyman's habit the beſt diſguiſe, and ordered one of his ſervants to write a letter to a gentleman in Surrey, deſiring him to give his maſter refuge in his houſe; or, if he would not venture ſo far, to get him a lodging in the miniſter's houſe, where he would come in a habit, that would beſpeak him reſpect from a clergyman. This letter being brought to the gentleman's houſe while he was abroad, his lady opened it; and being frightened with the thought of the danger, which her huſband might incur in harbouring a perſon charged with treaſon, ſhe thought fit to ſend it to the earl of Aylesford, who failed not immediately to communicate it to the government. Sir William rightly judging, by the miſcarriage of the letter, that he could hardly eſcape, thought it prudent to ſurrender himſelf. In order to which, having croſſed the Thames near Thiſtleworth, he went firſt to Sion-houſe belonging to the duke of Somerſet, his father-in-law, and, coming from thence to London the 3d of October, he put himſelf into the hands of the earl of Hertford his brother-in-law, captain of one of the troops of life-guards; who having given notice of it to mr. ſecretary Stanhope, a meſſenger was ſent to take ſir William into cuſtody. Three days after, he was examined at the council board, where he flatly denied he knew any thing of a plot. However, an order was made for his commitment to the tower. It was then ſtrongly reported, the duke of Somerſet offered to be his bail; which the council did not think fit to accept. But whether the duke bore this denial impatiently, and expreſſed ſome reſentment upon it too warmly, it is certain, he was removed from his place of maſter of the horſe.

While theſe things were tranſacting, the king came, on the 21ſt of September, to the houſe of lords, and, having paſſed the bills that were ready, ordered the lord chancellor to deliver the following ſpeech to both houſes. [w]

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I AM perſuaded you are all by this time very deſirous of ſome receſs, and that it cannot be deferred longer without great inconvenience to your private affairs.

But, before I can part with you, I muſt return you my moſt ſincere thanks, for your having finiſhed, with ſo much wiſdom and unanimity, what I recommended to your care; and particularly I thank you gentlemen of the houſe of commons, for the proviſions you have made, as well for the ſupport of the honour and dignity of the crown, as for the other neceſſary occaſions of the public; eſpecially for your having done it by means ſo little burdenſome to my people; which, I aſſure you, recommends the ſupplies to me above any other circumſtance whatſoever.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The open and declared rebellion, which is now actually begun in Scotland, muſt convince all, who do not wiſh to ſee us given up into the hands of a popiſh pretender, of the conqueſt, if not timely prevented, of the three kingdoms, by inveſting him with an unlimited power, not only of raiſing unneceſſary forces at home, but alſo of calling in foreign troops, ready to promote his uncontroulable deſigns. Nor can we be very hopeful of its being otherwiſe, in the way it is in at preſent, for ſome generations to come; and the conſequences of theſe unexampled proceedings has been already ſo fatal to great numbers of our kinſmen, friends, and fellow-ſubjects of both kingdoms, that they have been conſtrained to abandon their country, houſes, wives, and children, or to give themſelves up priſoners, and perhaps victims to be ſacrificed at the pleaſure of foreigners, and a few hot-headed men of a reſtleſs faction, whom they employ. Our troops abroad, notwithſtanding their long and remarkable good ſervice have been treated ſince the peace with neglect and contempt; as particularly in Holland: and it is not now the officers long ſervice, merit, and blood they have loſt, but money and favour, by which they can obtain juſtice in their preferments.

So that it is evident, that the ſafety of his majeſty's perſon and loyal ſubjects, the rights of his people, and independency of his kingdoms call loudly for immediate relief and defence.

The conſideration of theſe unhappy circumſtances, with the due regard we have to common juſtice, the peace and quiet of us and our poſterity, our duty to his majeſty, and his commands, are the powerful motives, which have engaged us in our preſent undertaking, which we are firmly and heartily reſolved to puſh to the utmoſt, and ſtand by one another to the laſt extremity, as the only ſolid and effectual means of putting an end to ſo dreadful a proſpect, as by our preſent ſituation we have before our eyes, and with faithful hearts, true to our only rightful king, our country, and our neighbours. We earneſtly beſeech and expect (as his majaſty commands) the aſſiſtance of all our true fellow-ſubjects to ſecond theſe our juſt attempts, declaring hereby our ſincere intentions:

That we will promote and concur in all lawful means for ſettling a laſting peace to theſe lands under the auſpicious government of our native-born rightful ſovereign, the direction of our own domeſtic counſels, and the protection of our own native force and troops.

That we will in the ſame manner concur and endeavour to have our laws, liberties, and properties, ſecured by free parliaments of both kingdoms.

That, by the wiſdom of ſuch parliaments, we will endeavour to have ſuch laws enacted, as ſhall give an abſolute ſecurity to us, and future ages, for the true proteſtant religion, againſt all efforts of arbitrary power, popery, and all its other enemies. Nor have we any reaſon to be diſtruſtful of the goodneſs of God, the ſolitude of our holy religion, or the known excellency of his majeſty's judgement, as not to hope, that in due time, good example, and converſation with our learned divines, will remove theſe prejudices, which we know that his education in a popiſh country has not riveted in his royal diſcerning mind: And we are ſure, that, as juſtice is a virtue of all religious profeſſions, the doing of it to him will not leſſen his good opinion of ours.

That, as the king is willing to give his royal indemnity for all that is paſt, ſo we will chearfully concur in paſſing general acts of oblivion, that our fellow ſubjects, who have been miſled, may have a fair opportunity of living with us in the ſame friendly manner we deſign to live with them.

That we will uſe our endeavours for redreſſing the bad uſage of our troops abroad, and bringing the troops at home to be on the ſame foot and eſtabliſhment of pay as thoſe in England.

The peace of theſe nations being thus ſettled, and we thus freed from foreign dangers, we will uſe our endeavours to have the army reduced to the uſual number of guards and garriſons, and will concur in ſuch laws and methods, as ſhall relieve us of the heavy taxes and debts now lying upon us, and, at the ſame time, will ſupport the public credit in all its parts.

And we hereby faithfully promiſe and engage, that every officer, who joins with us in our king and country's cauſe, ſhall not only enjoy the ſame poſt he now does, but ſhall be advanced and preferred according to his rank and ſtation, and the number of men he brings off with him to us: and each foot ſoldier ſo joining us, ſhall have twenty ſhillings ſterling gratuity, beſides his pay; and each trooper or dragoon, who brings his horſe and accoutrements along with him, the ſum of twelve pounds ſterling.

And, in general, we will concur with all our fellow-ſubjects in ſuch meaſures, as ſhall make us flouriſh at home, and be formidable abroad, under our rightful ſovereign, and the peaceable harmony of our ancient fundamental conſtitution, undiſturbed by pretenders intereſts, counſels from abroad, or by reſtleſs factions at home.

In ſo honourable, good, and juſt a cauſe, we doubt not of the aſſiſtance, direction, and bleſſing of Almighty God, who has ſo often reſcued the royal family of Stuart and our country from ſinking under oppreſſion.'

dangers to which we have been and are ſtill expoſed.

I thought it incumbent on me to give you the earlieſt notice of the deſigns of our enemies; and I cannot ſufficiently commend the zeal and diſpatch, with which you impowered me, at a time when the nation was in ſo naked and defeneeleſs a condition, to make ſuch preparations, as I ſhould think neceſſary for our ſecurity. You ſhall have no reaſon to repent of the truſt and confidence you repoſe in me, which I ſhall never uſe to any other end than for the protection and welfare of my people.

It was ſcarce to be imagined, that any of my proteſtant ſubjects, who have known and enjoyed the benifits of our excellent conſtitution, and have heard of the great dangers they were wonderfully delivered from by the happy revolution, ſhould by any arts and management be drawn into meaſures, that muſt at once deſtroy their religion and liberties, and ſubject them to popery and arbitrary power. But ſuch has been our misfortune, that too many of my people have been deluded, and made inſtrumental to the pretender's deſigns, who had never dared to think of invading us, or raiſing a rebellion, had he not been encouraged by the ſucceſs his emiſſaries and adherents have already had in ſtirring up riots and tumults, and by the further hopes they entertain of raiſing inſurrections, in many parts of my kingdoms.

The endeavouring to perſuade my people, that the church of England is in danger under my government, has been the main artifice employed in carrying on this wiced and traiterous deſign. This inſinuation, after the ſolemn aſſurances I have given, and my having laid hold on all opportunities to do every thing that may tend to the advantage of the church of England is both unjuſt and ungrateful. Nor can I believe ſo groundleſs and malicious a calumny can make any impreſſion upon the minds of my faithful ſubjects, or that they can be ſo far miſled, as to think the church of England is to be ſecured, by ſetting a popiſh pretender on the throne.

My Lords and Gentlemen.

The proofs this parliament has given of their unſhaken duty and affection to me, and of their love and zeal for the intereſt of their country, will recommend you to the good opinion and eſteem of all, who have their religion and liberty truly at heart, and has laid a laſting obligation upon me; and I queſtion not, but by your further aſſiſtance in the ſeveral countries, to which you are going, with the bleſſing of Almighty God, who has ſo frequently interpoſed in favour of this nation, I ſhall be able to diſappoint and defeat the deſign of our enemies.

Our meeting again to do buſineſs, early in the next winter, will be uſeful on many accounts, particularly, that the ſitting of parliaments may be again brought into that ſeaſon of the year, which is moſt convenient; and that as little delay may be given as is poſſible to your judicial proceedings; and I ſhall at preſent give ſuch orders to my lord chancellor, as may not put it long out of my power to meet you on any ſudden occaſion.'

When the king's ſpeech was ended, the parliament adjourned to the 6th of October, and afterwards, by ſeveral adjournments, to the 9th of January.

Purſuant to the king's ſpeech, orders from the privy-council, with a letter from the ſecretary of ſtate, were ſent to all the lords-lieutenants of the counties in England, to cauſe the militia to be put in ſuch a poſture, as to be ready to march when required; and alſo to give the neceſſary directions to the proper officers, to ſeize the perſons and arms of all papiſts, nonjurors, and others, whom they ſhould have reaſon to ſuſpect.

The deſigned inſurrection in the Weſtern counties was ſo deeply concerted, and the conſpirators ſo potent and numerous, that the jacobites at Bath, depending on their majority, openly talked, that the affair of Scotland was only a diverſion to draw the king's troops that way; but that the effectual attempt would be made in the Weſt very ſpeedily. But the government having received information of the ſecret proceedings of the diſaffected, took ſuch meaſures, as defeated all their deſigns. And firſt, to prevent the intended ſurprizal of Briſtol, in order to make it a place of arms, the earl of Berkeley, lord lieutenant of the county, and governor of that city, repaired thither with all ſpeed, and took all neceſſary precautions to ſecure that important place. Several perſons were apprehended, and, amongſt the reſt, mr. Hart, a merchant, who was charged with having collected great quantities of warlike ſtores for the uſe of the conſpirators. beſides part of Lumley's regiment of horſe, and the two battalions of Stanwix and Pocock who were already in Briſtol, colonel Chudleigh's regiment of foot marched thither, about the beginning of October. At the ſame time, the lord Windſor's regiment of horſe, and Rich's dragoons, under the command of major-general Wade, marched to Bath, which place was both the rendezvous, and one of the arſenals of the conſpirators. Upon ſtrict ſearch, the king's officers found and ſeized there eleven cheſts of fire-arms, a hogſhead full of baſket-hilt ſwords, and another of cartouches, and three pieces of cannon, one mortar, and moulds to caſt cannon, which had been buried under ground. There were about two hundred horſes ſeized; and the following perſons, were apprehended, captain Lanſdon, captain Doyle, captain Sinclair, ſir George Brown, mr. Mackarty, mr. Dun, mr. Macdonnel, and William Hibbort. They were all brought to London by a party of brigadier Bowles's regiment, on the 18th of October.

The behaviour of the univerſity of Oxford gave likewiſe reaſon to ſuſpect them. They had lately choſe the earl of Arran their chancellor, in the room of his brother the duke of Ormond, by a great majority over the earl of Pembroke, who was put up in competition with him. On the 26th of September, the earl of Arran was ſworn and inſtalled into that office with the uſual ſolemnity; and the vice-chancellor made a long ſpeech, 'wherein he enumerated and extolled the eminent virtues of the family of Butler, and took notice of the great obligations they had at different times laid on that ſeminary of learning; ſuggeſting withal, that, the duke of Ormond having, before his withdrawing beyond ſea, thought fit to reſign the place of chancellor of that univerſity, they could not better expreſs their gratitude, both to his grace and his noble anceſtors, than by chuſing his brother, the earl of Arran, in his grace's room.' The univerſity concluded this demonſtration of their diſaffection, by conferring the degrees of doctor of laws on ſir John Everard, a nonjuror, and on ſir William Gifford, late governor of Greenwich Hoſpital. Not many days after, a letter from a young gentleman at Oxford to his friend in London falling into other hands, by reaſon of a ſimilitude of names, the following particulars were found in it: 'I think myſelf very happy in being ſettled in this ſo loyal a place, and only want your good company to complete it; for here we fear nothing, but drink James's health every day. The prince thought to have been made chancellor, and by that to have been a biſhop, but, thank God, he was diſappointed.'

The government being informed of all that paſſed at Oxford, and in particular, that colonel Owen, with ſome other broken officers, Iriſh papiſts, and ſeveral notorious jacobites, having taken ſanctuary in that place, fomented the ſpirit of rebellion, drinking publicly and uncontrolled the pretender's health; and it being juſtly ſuſpected, that they deſigned an inſurrection, in order to act in conjunction with the diſaffected at Briſtol and Bath, with whom they held intelligence, it was reſolved to ſecure their perſons. Major-general Pepper, being charged with this commiſſion, ſent one of his officers, diſguiſed in a countryman's habit, to Oxford, to get intelligence and view the avenues and principal poſts in the town; and then began to move himſelf, with his own regiment of dragoons and a detachment of Tyrrel's, bending his march towards Bath and Briſtol. But, on the 5th of October, being come within ſeven or eight miles of Oxford, inſtead of reſting, he marched all night, and entered the city very early in the morning.

* When the ſpeaker preſented the three bills for ſettling a revenue on the princeſs of Wales, for enlarging the capital ſtock of the South-Sea company, and for making proviſion for the miniſters of the fifty new churches, he made a ſpeech with great ſpirit and eloquence, wherein, among others, were the following paſſages.

'Your commons could not ſee, without the utmoſt indignation, the glories of her late majeſty's reign tarniſhed by a treacherous ceſſation of arms; the faith of treaties violated; that ancient probity, for which the Engliſh nation had been juſtly renowned throughout all ages, expoſed to ſcorn and contempt, and the trade of the kingdom given up by inſidious and precarious treaties of commerce, whilſt the people, amuſed with new worlds explored, were contented to ſee the moſt advantageous branches of their commerce in Europe loſt or betrayed.

Such was the condition of this kingdom, when it pleaſed the Divine Providence to call your majeſty to the throne of your anceſtors, under whoſe auſpicious reign, your commons, with pleaſure, behold the glory of the Plantagenets, your majeſty's royal anceſtors, revive, and have an unbounded proſpect of the continuance of this happineſs even to the lateſt poſterity, in a race of princes lineally deſcended from your majeſty.

And that nothing may be wanting on the part of your commons, to eſtabliſh your majeſty's throne on ſolid and laſting foundations, they have applied themſelves with unwearied diligence to vindicate the honour of the Britiſh nation, and to reſtore a mutual confidence between this kingdom and its ancient and faithful allies, by detecting the authors of thoſe pernicious counſels, and the actors in thoſe treacherous deſigns, in order to bring them to juſtice, by the judgment of their peers, according to the law of the land, and the uſage of parliament, &c.'

Having cauſed his men to alight, and fix their bayonets in the muzzles of their fuzees, he immediately ſecured all the avenues and the gates of every inn and public houſe; and then ſent one of his officers to the vice-chancellor and the mayor of the town, to deſire to ſpeak with them. They having readily obeyed the ſummons, general Pepper delivered to them a letter from mr. ſecretary Stanhope, and, in a few words, acquainted them with his orders to ſeize ſixteen or eighteen ſuſpected perſons; adding, 'That their concurring aſſiſtance would be very acceptable to the government; otherwiſe, that he muſt be obliged to proceed to ſuch methods, as ſhould beſt execute his orders.' The vice-chancellor and the mayor, ſurprized at this unexpected ſight of ſoldiers, readily promiſed the general all the aſſiſtance in their power, and offered to provide him quarters for his men; which was not accepted, becauſe their ſtay was to be very ſhort. The vice-chancellor in particular, who ſome days before had boldly delivered a long oration in praiſe of a nobleman attainted by act of parliament, now trembling, and in the utmoſt confuſion, made large profeſſions of loyalty and affection to his majeſty. General Pepper told him, the only proof of thoſe profeſſions, which he deſired at preſent, was, that he ſhould keep the fellows and ſcholars quiet in their colleges; declaring to him, at the ſame time, that if any diſturbance happened, or if any perſons aſſembled in the ſtreets, above the number allowed by the act of parliament againſt riots, he would cauſe his men to fire upon them. The vice-chancellor promiſed all, and even more than was deſired; ſo the officers appointed by general Pepper began to ſearch for the men, whom they had orders to apprehend. But the chief of them, colonel Owen, who lay that night at the Grey-hound inn having timely notice from the oſtler of the arrival of the king's troops, leaped over a wall in his night-gown, and got into Magdalen-College, where general Pepper did not think proper to ſearch for him, rightly judging, it would be in vain. Of the other ſuſpected perſons, ten or eleven were taken; the principal of whom were mr. Gordon, mr. Ker, mr. Dorrel, mr. Wilſon, captain Halſtead, mr. Spelman of Norfolk, Lloyd, the famous jacobite coffee-man at Charing-Croſs, (who had formerly followed the ſame employment at Dublin) and one, who pretended to be a poſtman, in the lining of whoſe coat were found letters, which he was bringing from the conſpirators at Bath to their correſpondents at Oxford. They alſo ſeized two horſes, with fine furniture, belonging to colonel Owen, which were ſaid to have formerly been the duke of Ormond's; as likewiſe the horſes and warlike accoutrements of ſeveral others. As ſoon as the officers had made what ſearch they thought proper, and refreſhed their men, general Pepper cauſed them to mount, and marched out of town with his priſoners towards Abingdon. It might have been expected, that the univerſity and city of Oxford would have taken warning from this ſhort military viſit; but upon information, that the diſaffected there perſiſted in their diſreſpectful behaviour towards the king's perſon and government, and even that a traiterous deſign was carrying on to ſeize that city for the pretender, for which purpoſe a regiment was to be formed of the young ſtudents, under proper officers, who ſecretly reſorted to Oxford; the court thought fit to order Handaſyde's regiment of foot to be quartered there. Accordingly, they marched thither on the 28th of October; and their arrival was the more ſeaſonable, as, the very night before, the rabble had the inſolence to proclaim the pretender, and to commit ſeveral outrages againſt the well-affected.

The deſign upon Briſtol having miſcarried, a project was laid to ſeize on Plymouth. But this was alſo prevented by timely ſecuring ſeveral ſuſpected perſons, particulary ſir Richard Vivian, who was brought to London the 8th of October in cuſtody of a meſſenger.

The common people in Cornwall were at this time ſo ripe for rebellion, that ſix or ſeven of them ventured to proclaim the pretender at St Colombe, two of whom were ſeized, and a reward of 100l. each was offerred by the government for apprehending the reſt. However, by the great care and vigilance of mr. Boſcawen, comptroller of the houſhold, all things were kept quiet in thoſe parts.

The diſaffected in the North of England were more ſucceſful than their brethren in the Weſt. There had been meaſures concerted at London by the pretender's friends ſome time before the inſurrection in Northumberland broke out; which received great aſſiſtance from captain John Shaftoe, an half-pay officer, afterwards executed at Preſton, and captain John Hunter, of North Tyne in Northumberland, who had a commiſſion from queen Anne to raiſe an independent company, but did not. Beſides theſe, there was one captain Robert Talbot, an Iriſhman, and a papiſt, formerly in the French ſervice, who, being acquainted with the deſign in Auguſt, 1715, took ſhipping at London, and went to Newcaſtle. By Talbot the reſolutions, taken at London, were firſt communicated to their friends in the North of England, and means uſed to perſuade and prepare thoſe, who had been engaged by them, to be ready to riſe upon warning given.

A correſpondence and intelligence were now ſettled with all the conſpirators in the ſeveral parts of Britain. But, as this was a correſpondence of too much importance to be carried on by the ordinary conveyance of letters, there were ſeveral gentlemen from ſundry parts in the kingdom riding from place to place as travellers, under pretence of ſeeing the country, and thereby carrying intelligence, diſcourſing with perſons, and ſetling and appointing their buſineſs. The principal men intruſted with theſe negotiations were colonel Oxburgh, mr. Nicholas Wogan, mr. Charles Wogan, and mr. James Talbot, all Iriſh papiſts. A ſecond claſs of agents conſiſted of mr. Clifton, brother of ſir Gervaſe Clifton, and mr. Beaumont, both gentlemen of Nottinghamſhire, and mr. Buxton, a clergyman of Derbyſhire. All theſe rid like gentlemen, with ſervants and attendants, and were armed with ſwords and piſtols. They kept always moving, and travelled from place to place, till things ripened for action. The firſt ſtep towards appearing in arms was, when, about the latter end of September, the earl of Derwentwater had notice, that there was a warrant out from the ſecretary of ſtate to apprehend him, and that the meſſengers were come to Durham, who were to take him. The earl went to the houſe of one mr. B——n in his neighbourhood, a juſtice of the peace, who, if he had been well-affected to the government, or had regarded that lord's real intereſt, might have honourably enough taken him, or at leaſt perſuaded him to ſurrender; which, it is preſumed, would not have been a difficult matter. Hence the earl is ſuppoſed to have gone to the houſe of one Richard Lambert, which was thought more private, and leſs ſuſpected. Mr Thomas Forſter junior, knight of the ſhire for Northumberland, againſt whom a warrant was likewiſe iſſued out, having notice of it, went from place to place, till at laſt he came to the houſe of mr. Fenwick of Bywell. The meſſenger in purſuit of him was come within half a mile of that place; but, ſtaying to call for a conſtable to his aid, mr. Forſter found time to eſcape. Upon this there was a full meeting of the parties concerned in Northumberland; where conſidering all the circumſtances of their friends, and of the intereſt they were imbarked in, they judged that, as there was no longer any ſafety in ſhifting from place to place, in a few days they ſhould all be ſecured and confined in priſons, or conveyed to London; that, as they ſhould be ſeparately confined, ſo they ſhould be ſeparately examined, and none could ſay what the other ſhould anſwer; ſo that, for fear of betraying one another they ſhould be really brought to do it; that now was the time to ſhew their loyalty to their king, ſince, if this opportunity were loſt, they had no room to hope for another; and therefore they boldly reſolved immediately to appear in arms. Purſuant to this reſolution an appointment was made, and notice of it ſent to all their friends, to meet the next morning, at a place called Green-rig. Accordingly mr. Forſter, with ſeveral gentlemen, in number at firſt about twenty, met at the rendezvous, but made no ſtay, thinking the place inconvenient, but rode immediately to the top of a hill called the Waterfalls; from whence they might diſcover any, that came either to join, or oppoſe them. They quicly diſcovered the earl of Derwentwater, who came that morning from his ſeat at Diliton, with ſome friends, and all his ſervants, mounted upon his coach horſes, and all very well armed. In coming from Dilſton-Hall, they all drew their ſwords as they marched along Corbridge. They halted at the ſeat of mr. Errington, where ſeveral other gentlemen according to appointment came to the lord Derwentwater. When they had joined mr. Forſter and his company, they were in all about ſixty horſe, moſt gentlemen and their attendants. They called a ſhort council, and it was concluded to march towards the river Coquett, to a place called Plainfield, here they were joined by others, and, having made ſome ſtay, they reſolved to go that night to Rothbury, a ſmall market-town. They ſtaid there all night; and next morning, being the 7th of October, their number ſtill increaſing, they marched to Warkworth, another market-town upon the ſea coaſt, of a ſtrong ſituation. Here they continued till Monday, during which time, nothing material happened, except that on Sunday morning mr. Forſter, who now ſtiled himſelf general, ſent mr. Buxton their chaplain to mr. Ion, the miniſter of the pariſh, with orders for him, 'to pray for the pretender as king, and in the litany, for Mary queen-mother, and

all the dutiful branches of the royal family;' which mr. Ion declining, mr. Buxton took poſſeſſion of the church, read prayers, and preached. In the mean while mr. Ion went to Newcaſtle to conſult his own ſafety, and acquaint the government with what had happened. The next thing they did, was openly to proclaim the pretender as king of Great-Britain, &c. It was done by mr. Forſter in diſguiſe, and by ſound of trumpet, and all the formality, that the circumſtances and place would admit. On Monday the 10th of October they marched to Morpeth, having been joined at Felton-Bridge by ſeventy Scots horſe, or rather gentlemen from the borders. They had been conſiderably increaſed before, in their march from Warkworth, at Alnwick, and other places, ſo that, at their entering Morpeth, they were three hundred ſtrong, all horſe, for they would entertain no foot; otherwiſe their number would have been very large: but, as they neither had nor could provide arms for thoſe they had mounted, they gave the common people good words, and told them, they ſhould ſoon be furniſhed with arms and ammunition, and then they would liſt regiments to form an army. This was upon the expectation of ſurprizing Newcaſtle, in which caſe they did not queſtion to have as many foot as they pleaſed. Here mr. Forſter received an account, that mr. Lancelot Errington and ſome others had ſurprized the caſtle in Holy Iſland, which is a ſmall fort guarded by a few ſoldiers ſent weekly from the garriſon at Berwick. Errington undiſcovered took boat and went to ſea, and with his companions landed under the cover of the wall, and got into the fort by ſurprize; though he kept the poſſeſſion but a very ſhort time, for the governor of Berwick, having an immediate account of the action, and reſolving, if poſſible, to recover the place before Errington could be ſupplied with men and proviſions, detached a party of thirty men of his garriſon, with about fifty volunteers of the inhabitants, who, marching over the ſands at low-water-mark, attaced the fort, and took it ſword in hand: Errington himſelf attempting to make his eſcape, was wounded and taken priſoner, with ſeveral others; but he with his brother afterwards eſcaped out of Berwick in diſguiſe. The deſign of taking this fort was to give ſignals to any ſhips, that ſeemed to make to the coaſt to land ſoldiers; for, by the aſſurances they had from their friends beyond ſea, they expected them to land on that coaſt with ſupplies of arms and officers; but they came not till they were gone for Scotland; and then two ſhips appeared off at ſea, and made their ſignal, but, having no anſwer from the ſhore, they ſailed northward.

The rebellion was now formed, and they were all in a body at Morpeth, promiſing themſelves great things at Newcaſtle. Several Gentlemen joined them, and ſome of the country people offered to liſt; but they ſtill refuſed them, and prepared to march to newcaſtle. Before they went on, mr. Buxton the Clergyman, taking on himſelf the office of a herald, proclaimed the pretender. Having ſent a party to ſeize Felton Bridge, they marched towards Newcaſtle, and to their great diſappointment found the gates ſhut againſt them. Upon this, they turned to the weſtward, and marched to Hexham, where they were joined by ſome more Scots horſe. From Hexham they all went three miles diſtant, to a heath or moor adjoining to Diliton, the earl of Derwentwater's ſeat, and there made an halt, with deſign, as it was thought, to go and ſurpriſe Newcaſtle; but they ſoon returned to their former quarters, having certain intelligence from their friends in Newcaſtle, that, even before any regular forces entered the town, the magiſtrates and deputy-lieutenants, having had firſt ſome ſuſpicion, and ſoon after poſitive intelligence of the deſign of the rebels, had affectually prevented a ſurprize, and taken all imaginable precaution for their ſecurity, raiſing immediately what men they could, ſeizing all papiſts and ſuſpected perſons, arming the inhabitants for their own defence; and taking into the town the militia, who, about that time, were ordered to muſter at Killingworth. The earl of Scarborough, lord-lieutenant of Northumberland, repaired likewiſe with his friends to Newcaſtle and the gentry of thoſe parts, after his example, mounted their neighbours and tenants; ſo that the town was full of horſes and men, both townſmen and countrymen unanimouſly declaring for king George. However, the chiefs of the rebels having great intereſt in that place, the inhabitants were not altogether without fear; nor were the high-party in the town without the folly of diſcovering their affection for the rebels at Hexham, and even uſing ſome threatening expreſſions. This was, perhaps, partly the occaſion of laying aſide the former diviſions and prejudices between the well-affected inhabitants as church-men and diſſenters. The latter chearfully offering, and the former freely accepting the offer, an aſſociation was entered into by both, for the mutual defence of their lives and eſtates; and a body of ſeven hundred volunteers were armed by the town for their immediate guard without diſtinction. The keelmen, being moſtly diſſenters, offered a body of ſeven hundred more, to be always ready at half an hour's warning; which was alſo accepted. In the midſt of this hurry, a battalion of foot, and part of a regiment of dragoons, having been ordered out of Yorkſhire for the ſecurity of the town, came to Newcaſtle; and then all the fears of the inhabitants vanquiſhed. A few days after, lieutenant-general carpenter having been ſent by the government in purſuit of the rebels with Hotham's regiment of foot, and Cobham's, Moleſworth's and Churchill's dragoons, arrived alſo at Newcaſtle the 18th of October, and began to prepare for attacing the rebels at Hexham. In the mean time the the rebels, who ſtaid but three days at Hexham, ſeized all the arms and horſes they could meet with, and, the night before they left the town, they all drew up round the croſs in the market-place, and proclaimed the pretender. They had received advice, that the lord viſcount Kenmure, the earls of Nithiſdale, Carnwarth, and Wintoun, who had taken arms in Nithiſdale, Dumfries-ſhire, and other places in the Weſt of Scotland, were entered England to join them, and were come to Rothbury. The lord kenmure, the only nobleman in that part of Scotland capable of commanding, was ſollicited by the earl of Mar to take up arms for the pretender, and to command ſuch forces, as would join him on that ſide the Forth. He at firſt refuſed this offer, but, being importuned by the jacobites in that country, was at laſt prevailed with to ſet up the pretender's ſtandard at Moffat in Annandale on the 12th of October. The next day the body, who joined him, marched towards Dumfries, with deſign to ſurprize that town; but the marquis of Annandale, whom they had followed the day before, having none but his ſervants with him, entered the town, and conſerted ſuch meaſures, as diſappointed their deſign. This obliged the rebels to alter their route, and after great diſputes they agreed at laſt to march to Loughmaben, were they ſet up their ſtandard, and proclaimed the pretender. On the 14th they marched to Achelfechen, and on their march, being in all near two hundred horſe, they were formed into a regiment, divided into two ſquadrons, the chief command remaining with the lord Kenmure, and each ſquadron under the earls of Wintoun and Carnwarth. Hence they marched regularly, and ſent their quarter-maſter-general mr. Calderwood to take up quarters for them. Next day they came to Langholm, and ſo on to Hawick, their numbers increaſing in the way. At this place they were alarmed; which raiſed ſome diſputes, whether they ſhould proceed. They agreed at laſt to return; but receiving an expreſs from mr. Forſter about two miles from Hawick towards Langholm, inviting the lord Kenmure and his followers to meet him at Rothbury, they faced about, and marched that night to Jedburgh. Here they received intelligence of Mackintoſh's croſſing the forth, and the duke of Argyle's reſolution to attac them. In their march to Jedburgh, they were extremely alarmed; for, being late, their advance guard was ſurprized by the ſhouts, of one, who called out, that the grey horſe were ready to fall upon them, and cut the quarter-maſter, and thoſe with him, to pieces. They, who were acquainted with the quarter-maſter, aſſuring the lord Kenmure, he would by no means be ſo eaſily enſnared, they continued their march, and entered the town without oppoſition. Here, as in moſt others towns they proclaimed the pretender; and the next day proceeded to Rothbury; and from thence diſpatched mr. Burnet of Carlips to Hexham to mr. Forſter, to know, whether he would come towards them, or they ſhould advance? Forſter returned an expreſs, that he would join them. Upon this, and the news that general Carpenter was preparing to attac them, the Northumberland rebels marched out of Hexham on the 19th of October, and making a long march joined the Scots that night, and all of them next day marched to Wooller. Being informed there by mr. Errington, that the Highlanders, who had croſſed the forth under Mackintoſh, were coming to join them, they marched to Kelſo in Scotland.

During theſe proceedings of the Engliſh rebels the principal perſons, who were either in rebellion with the earl of Mar, or juſtly ſuſpected of being diſaffected to the government, were, purſuant to the late act, ordered, as has been ſaid, to appear at Edingburgh, and ſur-

render themſelves. [x] Of all that were ſummoned, only two ſurrendered themſelves; ſir Alexander Erſkine and ſir Patrick Murray, who were both ſecured in the caſtle of Edingburgh. The reſt not appearing were denounced rebels. The duke of Argyle arrived at Edingburgh the 14th of September. He went, the next day, and viewed the caſtle, and appointed Brigadier Grant to command it, till the arrival of Brigadier Preſton the deputy-governor.

The earl of Mar and his party, after having proclaimed the pretender at Kirk-Michael, on the 9th of September, continued there four or five days, and then proceeded to Moulin, another ſmall market-town in Perthſhire, where they likewiſe proclaimed the pretender, and reſted fourteen days, conſiderably increaſing their numbers. From hence they marched to Logaret, another market-town, where they were reckoned to be a thouſand men well armed. From Logaret they marched to Dunkeld, which they made their head-quarters; and here their numbers greatly increaſed again, for they were joined by two thouſand men from the Highlands, by the marquis of Tullibardine, by the earl of Broadalbin's men, and ſeveral others. Finding themſelves thus ſtrengthened, they reſolved to extend their quarters; and the earl of Mar having intelligence, that the earl of Rothes and the Gentlemen of Fife (who were up in arms for the king) were advancing to poſſeſs themſelves of Perth, which commands the paſſage over the Tay, reſolved to prevent them; and detached mr. John Hay, brother to the earl of Kinnoul, with a ſtrong party, with orders to poſſeſs himſelf of that place, which he performed effectually. As this was a great diſappointment to the king's troops, ſo it was a very great advantage to the earl of Mar, as it gave him the command of all Fife, the moſt fruitful, rich, and, for the convenience of the ſea-coaſt, the moſt commodious to him of any Shire in that part of Scotland; and as it gave a conſiderable reputation both to his conduct and to his party, who, upon this ſucceſs, made preparations in all parts to join him. And now they began to have the face of a formidable army, making this city their chief garriſon and head-quarters. A great many lords, chiefs of Clans, and other gentlemen from all quarters flocked to them, with their followers, and ſome of them in very good order, and well armed, particularly the marquis of Huntley, the earl of Seaforth, the Mackintoſhes, the earl Mariſchal, and with them ſo many, that their number was ſaid to be about twelve thouſand men, very well appointed, both horſe and foot.

From thence extending their quarters, they performed an exploit at Brunt-Iſland, which ſtill added to their reputation. They not only ſurprized the town, being ſtrong by ſituation, and a ſea-port on the Firth of Forth, in view of the city of Edingburgh; but, manning out ſome boats in the harbour, they ſeized a ſhip loaden with arms, ammunition, and other warlike ſtores, which lay in the Firth, bound to the north, for the uſe of the earl of Sutherland.

After this, they made themſelves maſters of all the towns upon the coaſt, even to the mouth of the Firth, the earl of Rothes, and the gentlemen with him, being obliged to ſeparate, or retire to Stirling, to the king's army.

The rebellion being come to this height, the earl of Mar reſolved, in conſert with his confederates (who began by this time to appear likewiſe in other places) to make an attempt upon the ſouth parts of Scotland, by a method, which at that time was thought almoſt impracticable. He ſent a ſtrong detachment to croſs the Firth of Forth, and land on the Lothian ſide, in order to be joined by their friends, whom they expected to riſe about Haddington, and on the borders of England. On their march to the ſea-coaſt they were covered by ſome horſe under the command of ſir John Areſkin of Alva, the maſter of Sinclair and ſir James Sharp, grandſon to archbiſhop Sharp, who, was murdered in his coach by the old cameronians. This body was commanded by the laird of Barlum, better known by the name of brigadier Makintoſh, and conſiſted of two thouſand five hundred men well armed. Orders had been given for all the boats on that ſide to be ready to carry them over. The king's ſhips in the Firth either ſeeing them, or having notice of the deſign, prepared to intercept them, if they ſhould attempt the paſſage; but the rebels made ſeveral countermarches to amuſe them till night came on; when, drawing down to the ſhore, ſeveral imbarked that night, and others the next, making directly over to the ſouth ſhore, the men of war not being able to prevent them. However one boat was taken with fifty men. Others were forced back to Fife again; among whom lord Strathmore, and his lieutenant-colonel Walkinſhaw of Barrowfield, and many were driven into the Iſle of May. Of the two thouſand five hundred deſigned for this deſcent upon the Lothians, only one thouſand five hundred of them landed; for the men of war being come down made it impracticable for the reſt to paſs; ſo they were obliged to ſtay till the next night, and then return to Criel on the ſhore of Fife. The others landed at North-Berwick, Aberlady, and other places on that coaſt, and quartered at Haddington, and Tranent the firſt night. This was certainly a bold attempt, for men in open boats to croſs an arm of the ſea ſixteen or ſeventeen miles broad, in ſight, and in defiance of three men of war, among whom they fell, but received no damage from them, but rather an advantage; for the lights of the ſhips, ſhewed them how to row to the ſhore. On the other hand, the government omitted nothing, that might prevent this attempt; no care was wanting to diſappoint them of veſſels for the undertaking: the magiſtrates of Edingburgh, and of the other towns on the Edith, having had notice from the duke of Argyle of this deſign, had cauſed all the boats that could be got, to be brought to Leith; and beſides the three ſhips of war, that lay in the road, ordered three cuſtom-houſe ſmacks, either to burn or bring over from Fife all the boats and veſſels they could find, to prevent the rebels coming over. But all theſe precautions proved ineffectual: the rebels, being maſters of all the ſea-ſhore from Cromarty to the Forth of Edingburgh, eaſily found means to get boats for their purpoſe; nor did they fail of all neceſſary policy in the management of the deſign; for, whilſt ſome of them amuſed the kings ſhips about Brunt-Iſland, as if they would paſs above Leith-Road, their main body embarked on the other ſide, under the conduct of brigadier Mackintoſh, quite out of ſight of the ſhips; and by that means came ſafe aſhore.

While this deſign was executing, the earl of Mar made a feigned march from Perth towards Dumblain, as if he intended to croſs the Forth at Stirling-Bridge, in order to divert the duke of Argyle from falling upon thoſe, who had croſſed the Firth. Nor did this prove ineffectual; for it obliged the duke of Argyle to return to ſtirling with the utmoſt expedition.

The Highlanders, who had thus croſſed the Firth, having refreſhed themſelves but one night at Haddington, marched directly towards Edingburgh, where they cauſed more terror than there was real danger; for, unleſs their number had been greater, it was impoſſible for them to force that city. It was indeed ſuppoſed, they expected to be joined by the rabble, and ſome tumult would be raiſed in their favour. In the mean time the duke of Argyle received letters from all hands, that, if he did not ſend a detachment of troops to Edingburgh, the town would certainly fall into the enemies hands. And therefore, though it had always been entirely againſt his opinion to divide the ſmall number of troops he had with him, he was obliged to comply, and went himſelf with a detachment of three hundred dragoons, and two hundred foot, mounted on country horſes for expedition, and arrived at Edingburgh in the night. The rebels who were then within four miles of the city, hearing of the arrival of this detachment, altered their reſolution of going directly to Edingburgh (which they would have infallibly taken) and marched into the citadel of Leith. [y] The next morning the duke of Argyle inveſted the town with the cavalry, and marched his two hundred foot with three hundred and fifty volunteers from Edingburgh, and the like number of lord Polwarth's militia, down to the ſea-ſhore, where, at a large breach in the old

[x] The perſons ſummoned were:

The marquis of Huntley, eldeſt ſon to the duke of Gordon; the earls of Seaforth, Wintoun, Carnwarth, Southeſk, Nithſdale, Linlithgow, Mar, Kinnoul, Panmure, Mariſchal, Broadalbin; the viſcounts of Kenmure, Stormount, Kilſyth, Kingſton, Strathallen; the lords Ogilvie, Rollo, Drummond, Nairn, Glenorchy; ſir James Campbel of Auchenbrech, ſir Duncan Campbel of Lochnel, ſir Donald Macdonald, ſir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre, ſir Hugh Paterſon of Bonnokburn, ſir Alexander Erſkine, lord Lyon, ſir John Maclean; lieutenant-general George Hamilton; the maſter of Stormount, the maſter of Nairn, mr. Alexander Mackenzie of Fraſerdale, James Stirling of Keir, Robert Stuart of Appin, John Campbel of Aſtrabalder, William Murray, junior of Auchtertyre, Alexander Robinſon of Strowan; the lairds of Mackinnan, Clanronold, Glenghary, Keppoch, William Drummond, ſervant to the lord Drummond, mr. Seaton of Touch, lieutenant Allen Cameron, Rob Roy, alias Mac-Gregor, mr. Stuart of Ard, mr. Francis Stuart, brother to the earl of Murray, John Cameron of Lochiell, mr. John Fullerton of Greenhall, Mackintoſh, junior of Borlam, James Malcolm, mr. Henry Maul, brother to the earl of Panmure, John Walkingſhaw of Barrowfield, Colin Campbel of Clenderule, ——Graham of Bucklivy, George Hume of Whitfield, mr. John Drummond, brother to the lord Drummond, Lyon of Auchterhouſe, colonel Balfour, the maſter of Balfour, and Bethune of Balfour.

rampart, he judged it eaſy to enter; but, taking a near view of the place, he found, that, to come at the breach, the men muſt march at leaſt five hundred paces under a flank-fire; that the rebels had made a barricade along the breach; and that a garden-wall on the inſide flanked it. Theſe things made the duke unwilling to expoſe his few regular troops, though they ſhewed a great eagerneſs to aſſault. The rebels, in the citadel were about one thouſand two hundred; and the reſt, that paſſed the river, been in Eaſt Lothian, the duke thought fit to delay any attempt, and conſider of ſome proper method to diſlodge them. But in the middle of the night they abandoned the place, and retired into Seaton-houſe, a large, old, and ſtrong caſtle, ſeven miles from Edingburgh, leaving behind them ſome baggage and ammunition. Thirty-ſix of their men, and two officers, were taken by a detachment under colonel Dubourgay.

Whilſt the rebels were in Seaton-houſe, ſeveral of the king's forces, joined by the well-affected gentlemen of the country, came from Edingburgh, and appeared near Preſton-Pans; which gave an alarm to the Highlanders; upon which a party marched out, and formed themſelves in order to receive thoſe, who appeared againſt them. But thoſe from Edingburgh, having made a halt, retired; and the rebels returned into their garriſon at Seaton-houſe. The next day, the earl of Rothes, with three hundred gentlemen volunteers, and the lord Torpichen with two hundred dragoons, left by the duke of Argyle, marched to Seaton-Houſe; but found the rebels ſo ſtrongly poſted, that it was impoſſible to diſlodge them without artillery. This animated the rebels; and, a good body of them advancing, ſome ſhot were exchanged, but at too great a diſtance to do any harm on either ſide; and the king's troops, ſeeing nothing could be done, retired.

The duke of Argyle having received intelligence from Stirling, that the earl of Mar, and the rebels under his command, were marching from Perth, he returned to Stirling to obſerve their motions, leaving a party to protect the people of Edingburgh from the inſults of the rabble. This was a feigned march of the earl of Mar, to draw the duke of Argyle from attempting any thing upon the Highlanders, who had croſſed the Forth. He gave out, that he would paſs the Forth with his whole army, either at Stirling, or at the bridge of Down. They began their march in the night of October the 17th, and advanced in three bodies; but upon notice, that the duke of Argyle was returned from purſuing the enemy, he marched back to Perth. All this was an amuſement, which indeed ſucceeded; for he broke the meaſures of the duke, who had reſolved to attac Seaton-houſe. But the earl was determined not to croſs the Forth till he had drawn all the clans together, and reduced the earl of Sutherland, whom if he ſhould leave in his rear, it might prove fatal to his deſigns, and expoſe all he had gained without oppoſition to be recovered by that lord.

The Highlanders ſtill continued at Seaton-Houſe, and ſent out parties to bring in proviſions, of which they procured great plenty, as cows, ſheep, meal, &c. They gave out, they reſolved to fortify themſelves, and make the houſe a magazine, while they raiſed an army, as well from the adjacent country and from Edingburgh, and from other friends to their deſign in the Weſt part of Scotland, who were preparing to join them, as from the borders of England, where by this time numbers were riſen in Northumberland.

While they ſtaid here, they diſcovered aboat at ſea, making towards the ſhore from the Fife-ſide of the Forth. The men of war fired very briſkly at her; but, the boat keeping to the windward at a diſtance, ſhe got ſafe to ſhore. This boat had been ſent by the rebels from Leith to the earl of Mar, and now brought back news concerning the proceedings of their friends at Perth, and orders to march towards England, to join the Northumbrians. Immediately after the receiving of theſe orders, two gentlemen brought them an account of the inſurrection in Northumberland under the command of mr. Forſter, and of the Southern Scots gentlemen under the lord Kenmure. Upon this they altered their reſolution of continuing at Seaton-Houſe; and having alſo received an expreſs from mr. Forſter, inviting them to meet him at Kelſo on the borders, they reſolved to march the next day towards him. Accordingly they ſet out in the morning for Lonformachus, a ſmall town ſeventeen miles from Seaton-Houſe. During this day's march, ſeveral of the Highlanders deſerted. As ſoon as major-general Wightman received intelligence of their motion, he marched from Edingburgh with eighty dragoons, fifty of the militia, and ſome volunteers, to attac their rear; but returned in the evening without ſucceſs, having only taken ſome of the deſerters, whom he made priſoners, and left fifty foot in Seaton-Houſe, where they had left a great deal of their ſpoil, Mackintoſh and his men marched from Lonformachus, towards another ſmall town in the Mers called Dunſe, where they drew up in order of battle, whilſt the pretender was proclaimed, retiring afterwards to their quarters in that town. The next morning they marched towards Kelſo, where the Engliſh and Scots horſe from Northumberland and Nithiſdale entered the ſame evening. The next day they proclaimed the pretender, and continued there till the 27th of October. [z] It will now be proper to ſee what was doing in other parts of Scotland.

The ſynods of Glaſgow, Air, Perth, Stirling, Merſe,

[y] This citadel is a ſquare fort, with four demi-baſtions, built in Oliver Cromwell's time, with a large dry ditch about it, never entirely demoliſhed.

[z] Mr Patten gives the following account of the ſtate of the rebels, at their junction at Kelſo.

The lord viſcount Kenmure had the chief command whilſt in Scotland. He was a grave, full-aged gentleman, of a very ancient family, and of great experience in political buſineſs, but of little or none in military affairs. He was of a ſingular good temper, but too mild and calm for ſuch a poſt. He had a troop of gentlemen with him, which, as he was general, was called the firſt troop, the command of which he gave to the honourable Bazil Hamilton of Beldoun, ſon to the lord Bazil Hamilton, brother to the late duke Hamilton, a very promiſing youth, and who behaved himſelf with a great deal of courage in the action at Preſton, though but very young.

The ſecond troop was called the Merſe troop, commanded by the honourable James Hume, eſq. brother to the earl of Hume, who, at that time, was priſoner in Edinburgh caſtle. This youth is of a good temper, but not very capable of having the command of a troop, as well on account of his age, as other incapacities. He was tried at the Marſhalſey, and found guilty.

The third troop, called the earl of Wintoun's troop, and commanded by himſelf. This earl is of a very ancient family, wants no courage, and has more capacity than his friends find it for his intereſt to ſuggeſt, as appears by the counſel he gave. He oppoſed the ſcheme of the Northumbrian gentlemen to march into England, and preſſed them to leave Edingburgh and Stirling to their fate, and go and join the Weſtern clans, attacing in their way the towns of Dumfries and Glaſgow, and then to open a communication with the earl of Mar. Had this advice been followed, it would, very probably, have proved very advantageous. The command of his troop he aſſigned, under himſelf, to captain James Dalziel, brother to the earl of Carnwarth, who had been in king George's ſervice formerly, and continued an half-pay officer for ſome time; but, upon engaging in the rebellion, he threw up his commiſſion; which piece of policy was the ſaving of his life, and prevented his being ſhot to death at Preſton, by ſentence of the court-martial, among the half-pay officers. He was a very bold and brave young gentleman, and ſhewed it upon all occaſions.

The fourth troop belonged to Robert Dalziel, earl of Carnwarth: this nobleman was brought up under the tuition of one, who made it his ſtudied care to inſtil the principles of hereditary-right, paſſive-obedience, and non-reſiſtance, into his mind. He ſtudied ſome time at Cambridge, and there ſucked in an entire affection for the liturgy and worſhip in uſe of the church of England, of which he was a ſincere devotee. He is ſingularly good in his temper, and of an agreeable affability, and delivers himſelf very handſomely in his diſcourſe. The command of this troop he gave over to his uncle James Dalziel, eſq. This gentleman had a very good character, and gave ſufficient demonſtrations of his affections to the pretender's intereſt, by his courage and conduct.

The fifth troop was under the command of captain Lockhart, brother to mr. Lockhart of Carnwarth; he was a half-pay officer in the lord Mark Ker's regiment, and as ſuch tried at Preſton, by a court-martial; by which being found guilty of deſertion, he, with three more, were ſhot to death there.

Theſe troops were well manned, and indifferently armed; but many of their horſes ſmall: beſides theſe, there were many volunteers, who were not formed into any regular troop.

The ſix regiments deſigned to croſs the Forth were:

Firſt, the earl of Strathmore's; but he and his lieutenant-colonel Walkinſhaw of Barrowfield were forced back in their paſſage by the king's men of war, with ſeveral others, and obliged to go on ſhore in the iſle of May. This regiment was not in Highland-dreſs, as the others were. This lord was a hearty friend of the pretender's, and had ſome time before this rebellion broke out, given it under his hand, that he would be ready, the firſt opportunity, to riſe and aſſiſt to eſtabliſh him upon the throne. This paper, which was ſigned by ſeveral others, was lodged in the hands of colonel Hookes, to be by him tranſported into France.

The ſecond regiment was the earl of Mar's, which came not entire over the Forth; for only major Forbes, with three captains and three lieutenants, were taken at Preſton, the reſt were driven back by the men of war.

The third, Logie Drummond's. This regiment came not entire over the Forth, being driven back on the Fife ſide, with many more; for, of the two thouſand five hundred deſigned to croſs the Firth, the better half were prevented. He that had the command of this regiment was one of thoſe that ſigned an anſwer to monſieur de Torcy's queſtions, which gave a diſtinct reſolution to each query, containing a full account of the ſtate of affairs; particularly an account of the inclinations of the people, to venture all for the chevalier's ſervice: this was when the people of Scotland were diſſatisfied about the union, in the year 1707. This paper was likewiſe lodged in the hands of colonel Hookes, to be by him tranſported into France.

The fourth, lord Nairn's, brother to the duke of Athal; but by marrying an heireſs, according to the cuſtom of Scotland, changed his own name for her's: he came over the Forth with a good many of his men. He is a gentleman well beloved in his country, and by all that had the advantage to be acquainted with him: he had formerly been at ſea, and gave ſignal inſtances of his bravery: he was a mighty ſtickler againſt the union. His ſon, who was lieutenant-colonel to lord Charles, took a great deal of pains to encourage the Highlanders by his own experience, in their hard marches, and always went with them on foot through the worſt and deepeſt ways, and in Highland-dreſs.

and Tiviotdale had very early publiſhed earneſt admonitions to perſons of all ranks, to animate them to the defence of king George and the conſtitution.

On the 28th of September, mr. James Murray, ſecond ſon of the lord viſcount Stourmont arrived incognito at Edingburgh from France, by way of England, croſſing the Firth at Newhaven above Leith, got undiſcovered into Fife, and ſo to the earl of Mar at Perth. He gave the rebels large promiſes of aſſiſtance both from France and England, and came with the character of Secretary of ſtate to the pretender for Scotland.

About this time a ſtrong party of the Macdonalds, Macleans, and Camerons, attempted to ſurprize the fortreſs of Inverlochy, and ſucceeded ſo far, as to take three redoubts at ſome diſtance from it; in one of which there was an officer with twenty men, and in another a ſerjeant with five; but, the main garriſon being on their guard, the rebels were diſappointed, and marched towards Argyleſhire.

On the 20th of October, an account was brought from the North to Edingburgh, that the earl of Sutherland, with the lord Rea and mr. Monzoe of Foulis, having drawn together about eighteen hundred men, advanced, on the 18th, to Alneſs, in order to attac the earl of Seaforth, who had aſſembled the clans of the Mackenzies, Macleods, and others; but that, upon a near view of the rebels, they appeared to be much ſuperior in number; and therefore it was judged proper for the earl of Sutherland to retire, which he did in good order, and without any loſs, to his own ſhire, where he was augmenting his forces, and preparing to come forward again, being aſſured of aſſiſtance from the Grants and Roſſes of Culraick, and other parts, and from ſome of the Fraſers.

Theſe motions of the earl of Sutherland kept the earl of Seaforth from joining the earl of Mar; the rebels under whom committed great ravages and diſorders in Fife. A party coming to Leſly, the chief ſeat of the earl of Rothes, after ſearching the houſe for arms, they forced open the church-doors, and, finding no arms there, broke into the burial-place of the family of Rothes, and, diging up the ground, tore open the coffins in a moſt ſhocking manner.

On the 20th of October a body of Weſtern Highlanders, conſiſting of two thouſand three hundred men, commanded by general Gordon, came before Inverary, the chief town in Argyleſhire; and, having that night viewed the place, marched back to a mill about half a mile from the town. Next day being reinforced by three hundred of the earl of Brodalbin's men, they viewed the town a ſecond time, and again returned to their former quarters. On the 22d they drew up a third time, and ſent detachments to cut faſcines, as if they deſigned to attac the town; but finding, that the earl of Ilay, who commanded in it, was ready to receive them, they thought fit once more to retreat to their quarters; and on the 24th left the place, and marched through Glenorches, in their way to join the earl of Mar. This preſervation of the town of Inverary was, at that juncture, a very conſiderable ſervice; for, had the rebels been maſters of that paſs, they might have poured in their men, either towards Glaſcow, or into the ſhire of Air, and ſo have joined the rebels in the North of England.

On the 23d of October the duke of Argyle received advice, that a party of rebels, conſiſting of two hundred foot, and one hundred horſe, were marching by Caſtle Campbel towards Dumferling; upon which he ſent away a detachment of dragoons under the command of colonel Cathcart, who came up with the rebels on the 24th at five in the morning; and, after having killed and wounded ſeveral of them, took ſeventeen priſoners, and amongſt them the following gentlemen, mr. Murray, brother to the laird of Aberkernie; mr. Hay, ſon to Arbath; mr. Patrick Gordon, Aberlour's eldeſt ſon; Alexander Forbes, ſon to Buſlie; William Robertſon, brother to Donſhils; mr. Kenlock, a phyſician; Alexander Smith; mr. Alexander Gordon; Francis Gordon, of Craig; mr. Hamilton, of Gibſtown in Strabogie; and George Gordon, of the mill of Kincardine. The ſame evening colonel Cathcart returned to the camp at Stirling with his priſoners, having had only one of his dragoons wounded.

About this time the earl of Mar received three letters, which had been intercepted by mr. Forſter one from lord Townſhend to the duke of Argyle; one from the earl of Nottingham to the duke of Roxburgh; and one from the prince of Wales to the duke of Argyle; of which we have an account in the following letter of the earl of Mar to the earl of Brodalbin, which gives a view of the ſtate of the rebels affairs at that time:

The fifth regiment was commanded by lord Charles Murray, a younger ſon of the duke of Athol: he had been a cornet of horſe beyond ſea, and had gained a mighty good character for his bravery, even temper, and graceful deportment. Upon all the marches, he could never be prevailed with to ride, but kept at the head of his regiment on foot, in his Highland-dreſs, without breeches: he would ſcarce accept of a horſe to croſs the rivers, which his men, in that ſeaſon of the year, forded above mid thigh deep in water. When the rebels ſurrendered at Preſton, he was tried for a deſerter, being a half-pay officer, and ſhot.

The ſixth regiment was called Mackintoſh's battalion, a relation of the brigadier's, who is chief of that clan. He is of an ancient family, deſcended from the old Thanes of Fife. His name, in the Iriſh, or Highland language, diſcovers his deſcent; for Toſh ſignifies Thane, and Mac ſon. His motto to his coat of arms is comical as well as remarkable, Touch not the cat without your glove; which coat of arms is ſupported by two wild cats, and has a cat for the creſt. The earl of Weems is deſcended from the ſame Thane of Fife; and it is diſputed whether he or mackintoſh are elder, though certain it is, that the earl of Weems retains a conſiderable part of Thane's eſtate. Whether Mackintoſh be elder or younger, he left Fife, and made a purchaſe in the North, where his ſucceſſors have lived for ſeveral hundreds of years in a handſome and ſplendid manner, and married the heireſs of Clancattau, whereof Mackintoſh became the head and chief; which has a great many tribes or followers, viz. the Macphersons, the Farquarſons of Brae-Mar, the Macgilwroys, the Shaws, Macbeans, Macqueens, Smiths and Clarks, &c. which joined together, make a numerous clan. The Macphersons would not on this occaſion follow their chief, but formed a ſeparate body for the pretender. This regiment came entire over the Firth. Mackintoſh is a gentleman that few people expected in the rebellion, having always appeared on the other ſide; but the perſuaſions of the brigadier prevailed with him. He is a handſome brave young gentleman, of a very conſiderable intereſt in his own country; for he can bring into the field upon any occaſion one thouſand ſtout, hardy, and well armed men.

The Engliſh were not ſo well regulated, or ſo well armed as the Scots. The troops were: Firſt, the earl of Derwentwater's, commanded by his brother Charles Radcliffe, eſq. and captain John Shaftoe. That earl being a papiſt, and a relation of the pretender's, having it ſeems had the opportunity of being perſonally acquainted with him, all theſe circumſtances unhappily concurred to draw him into this ſnare, to his deſtruction, and the utter ruin of the moſt flouriſhing family in that part of Britain.

It was thought, however, that this lord did not join either ſo heartily or ſo premeditately in this affair as was expected; for there is no doubt but he might have brought far greater numbers of men into the field than he did; the great eſtate he poſſeſſed, the money he could command, his intereſt among the gentlemen, and which is above all, his being ſo well beloved as he was, could not have failed to have procured him many hundreds of followers more than he had, if he had thought fit; for his concerns in the lead-mines in Alſtone-Moor are very conſiderable, where ſeveral hundreds of men are employed under him, and get their bread from him, whom, there is no doubt, he might eaſily have engaged: beſides this, the ſweetneſs of his temper and diſpoſition, in which he had few equals, had ſo ſecured him the affection of all his tenants, neighbours, and dependants, that multitudes would have lived and died with him: the truth is, he was a man formed by nature to be generally beloved; for he was of ſo univerſal a benificence, that he ſeemed to live for others, as he lived among his own people, there he ſpent his eſtate, and continually did offices of kindneſs and good neighbourhood to every body, as opportunity offered. He kept a houſe of generous hoſpitality and noble entertainment, which few in that country do, and none come up to. He was very charitable to poor and diſtreſſed families on all occaſions, whether known to him or not, and whether papiſt or proteſtant. His fate will be ſenſibly felt by a great many, who had no kindneſs for the cauſe he died in, and who heartily wiſh he had not forwarded his ruin, and their loſs, by his indiſcretion in joining this mad as well as wicked undertaking. If the warrant from the ſecretary's office for apprehending him had been made a greater ſecret than it was, he might have been taken, and ſo his ruin have been prevented. His brother is young and bold, but too forward: He has a great deal of courage, which wants a few more years, and a better cauſe to improve it; there is room to hope he will never employ it in ſuch an adventure again.

The ſecond troop was the lord Widdrington's commanded by mr. Thomas Errington of Beaufront. This Errington is a gentleman of a very antient family in Northumberland, a younger brother of the family of Errington: He has very good natural parts, and had been formerly an officer in the French ſervice, where he had got the reputation of a good ſoldier. It is believed he would not have engaged in this rebellion, had not the many obligations he lay under to the earl of Derwentwater prevailed with him.

The third troop was commanded by captain John Hunter, born upon the river North-Tyne in the county of Northumberland: He had obtained a commiſſion in the latter end of queen Anne's reign to raiſe an independent company, but never received any pay, nor liſted any men, but when he made uſe of that commiſſion now in the rebellion. He was famous for running uncuſtomed goods out of Scotland into England. He behaved with great vigour and obſtinacy in the action at Preſton, where he took poſſeſſion of ſome houſes during the attac, and galled that brave regiment of brigadier Preſton's, making a great ſlaughter out of the windows: He has ſince made his eſcape out of Cheſter-Caſtle, and, as is ſaid, got over into Ireland, and from thence to France.

The fourth troop was commanded by Robert Douglas, brother to the laird of Finland in Scotland: He ſignalized himſelf upon ſeveral accounts; for going ſo often, ſo privately, and expeditiouſly betwixt England and the earl of Mar. He was the man who brought mr. Forſter his commiſſion, and the manifeſtoes and declarations of the pretender. He was indefatigable in ſearching for arms and horſes, a trade, ſome were pleaſed to ſay, he had followed out of the rebellion as well as in it. He was alſo very vigorous in the action at Preſton; where he with his men were poſſeſſed of ſeveral houſes, and did a great deal of harm to his majeſty's forces from the windows. He alſo made his eſcape when a priſoner, either at Liverpool or Cheſter.

The fifth troop was commanded by captain Nicholas Wogan, an Iriſh gentleman, but deſcended from an antient family of that name in Wales; he joined the rebels at their firſt meeting. He is a gentleman of a moſt generous mind, and a great deal of bravery, unwearied to forward the good of his cauſe: His bravery was made known by ſeveral inſtances in the action at Preſton: His generoſity, as well as courage, was moſt remarkable in bringing off priſoner captain Preſton, of Preſton's regiment of foot, who was mortally wounded through the body by a bullet from the rebels, and juſt at the point of being cut in pieces; he hazarded his life among his own men, if poſſible, to ſave that gentleman, though an enemy, and was wounded in doing it. Beſides theſe there were many volunteers not formed into any troop, and the whole amounted to about two thouſand horſe and foot.

My dear Lord,

'I had the pleaſure of your lordſhips of the 13th laſt night. I have now ſent one hundred bolls of meal, and what quantity of ammunition we could ſpare, for the uſe of the army under general Gordon; all which is ſent under an eſcort of forty men to Taymouth, and from thence your lordſhip will take care to tranſport it to your army.

You aſk for news, and I can tell you a good deal pretty agreeable. Moſt of our Fife detachment are got over to the other ſide, and proclaimed the king yeſterday at Haddington. I have now a letter from mr. Forſter, with three letters they had intercepted; one from lord Townſhend to duke of Argyle; one from lord Nottingham to duke of Roxburgh, and one from prince Hopeful to duke of Argyle, of which I ſend your lordſhip a copy, and by that you will judge pretty well of the ſituation of our enemies. By Hopeful's letter it will ſeem, that the duke of Ormond is in England by this time. Mr. Forſter's letter is three days after his laſt to me. He was then three hundred horſe, and was to be joined next day by all the border, and go ſtrait to New-caſtle, which they were ſure of, and of getting good numbers of the beſt foot in the North of England to join them. By them and our men on the South ſide, all correſpondence betwixt London and the duke of Argyle will be ſtopped. I have heard nothing yet of theſe four battalions, and if Evans's dragoons from Ireland to duke Argyle be come: but, if the news we had of the commotions in that country be not true, they will certainly be with him ſoon; and by that your lordſhip will eaſily ſee the neceſſity of Gordon's finiſhing his buſineſs in Argyleſhire without delay, and marching Weſt. Tom. Forſter thinks and preſſes my attacing duke of Argyle before that enforcement join him; which I wiſh heartily to do; but that muſt be as things happen. The affair of Argyleſhire being finiſhed by your lordſhip and Gordon, is of great conſequence to this, as well as other things. Therefore I am ſure your lordſhip and he will loſe no time in it.

By lord Nottingham's to duke of Roxburgh, I perceive your lordſhip has had the honour of a letter from his grace; to which I have no doubt of your giving a ſuitable anſwer. The paragraph of the letter is this; Not having time to ſend you the whole; and beſide, it ſignifies little. Though what you writ to my lord Brodalbin was in itſelf very proper; yet, I doubt it will have little effect upon him, unleſs he were convinced of the folly of this attempt, from ſome aſſurance, that not only the preparations againſt them would be ſufficient to ſuppreſs them; and that all their expectation of aſſiſtance from abroad, or by an inſurrection in England, would certainly fail them.

Theſe are the words of the letter; and it is dated the 3d of this month. That of Hopeful to duke of Argyle is of the 7th, by which they then knew of duke Ormond's leaving Paris, which they had not when Nottingham wrote his letter. And, now that they muſt know of the inſurrection in England being far from failing us, I leave your lordſhip to judge what they are not thinking at London of their condition. I have read moſt of Hopeful's letter to the company here: What I have not read is the firſt paragraph; and that I think your lordſhip had beſt not ſhew to any body ſave to general Gordon.

I juſt now hear from Monteith, that the earls Ilay and Bute are certainly in Argyleſhire; and that there are two men of war come into Clyde, who were ſending their long-boats to retake the boats on Lochlomond, which Glyngill has ſeized. I wiſh, with all my heart, this could be prevented, and that theſe folks were driven from Inverary, which I am ſure your lordſhip and general Gordon will loſe no time in doing. I am ſorry for more in that country's following Lawer's example; and particularly, I am ſurprized exceedingly with Lochnell's behaviour, which I knew ſome days ago; but I hear they have uſed him as he deſerves. One near Stirling wrote to me two days ago, that the duke of Argyle had ſent him priſoner to Edingburgh, which, I wiſh, may be true. I hope it will not be in the power of thoſe rogues to do us much hurt, eſpecially when your lordſhip's being heartily in the cauſe of your king and country is known to them: and I aſſure your lordſhip, thoſe vaſſals of your's, who miſbehave, ſhall be uſed as you deſire.

I have ſent to Aberdeen for the printing-preſs, and we have lawyers here, with whom I adviſe as your lordſhip recommends.

Theſe men of Glenlyon's, you mentioned, were in Fife, and are gone over: So I have ſent a party of Macphersons with the meal and ammunition to Taymouth, who are to return from that; and your lordſhip will take care of it from thence. I have recommended it to your doers there, in caſe of your abſence; and I ſend this by an expreſs, that you may have it ſooner than that party can march.

I'll long to hear from your lordſhip, and that you will ſend me ſome good news from your parts in return for all this.

The thing I am moſt in pain about is our friends, who are gone over to the other ſide, becauſe of mr. Forſter's marching towards Newcaſtle; and nothing could ſo much prevent the duke of Argyle's ſending a detachment that way, as your clearing Argyleſhire ſoon, and marching Weſtwards, as Gordon has orders.

I am, my dear Lord,
Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient
and moſt humble ſervant,

From the camp of Perth,
Oct. 14, 1715. MAR.

Soon after, two letters from the earl of Mar were intercepted, and the pretender cauſed a declaration to be drawn up. [a]

The rebellion being thus kindled as well in England as Scotland, it was thought proper to demand in form of the ſtates-general the ſix thouſand men, which by the treaty of guarantee they were engaged to ſend over when required. The ſtates immediately complied with the demand, and preparations were made for tranſporting them. At the ſame time, general Cadogan repreſented to the ſtates, that the king, having received advice that the pretender, James Butler late duke of Ormond, Henry St John late viſcount Boling-

[a] The letters and declaration were as follow

To the Lord Viſcount Kenmure.

My Lord,

'I long extremely to hear from you, you may be ſure, ſince I have not had the leaſt accounts almoſt of your motions, ſince I ſent the detachment over. I hope all is pretty right again; but it was an unlucky miſtake of brigadier Mackintoſh in marching from Haddington to Leith. I cannot but ſay though, that it was odd your lordſhip ſent no orders or intelligence to him, when you had reaſon to expect that party's coming over every day. His retreat he made from Leith, and now from Seaton, with the help of the movement I made from this, makes ſome amends for that miſtake; and I hope that party of men with him will be of great uſe to you, and the cauſe. I wiſh you may find a way of ſending the incloſed to mr. Forſter, which I leave open for your lordſhip to read; and I have little further to ſay to you, than what you will find in it. I know ſo little of the ſituation of your affairs, that I muſt leave to yourſelve what is fit for you to do, as will moſt conduce to the ſervice; and I know you will take good advice.

My humble ſervice to all friends with you, particularly brigadier Mackintoſh, lord Nairn, lord Charles Murray, and Mackintoſh, who, I hope, are joined you long e'er now; and indeed they all deſerve praiſe for their gallant behaviour. I muſt not forget Kinackin, who I hear ſpoke ſo reſolutely to the duke of Argyle from the citadel; and I hope Innereal and all my men with him are well; and their countrymen long to be at them, which I hope they and we ſhall ſoon. I have ſent another copy of the incloſed to mr. Forſter by ſea; ſo it will be hard, if none of them come to his hands.

I know your lordſhip will endeavour to let me hear from you as ſoon as poſſible, which I long impatiently for; and I hope you will find a way of ſending it ſafe. In one of my former either to your lordſhip, or to ſome body to ſhew you, I told, that a part of the army would be about Dumbarton. But now you would not rely on that, for, till I hear from general Gordon, I am uncertain, if they hold that way. I have ſent your lordſhip a copy of my new commiſſion, which perhaps you have not ſeen before. I have named the ſeveral general officers, and your lordſhip has the rank of a brigadier of the horſe.

I am told earl Wintoun has been very uſeful to our men we ſent over. I ſuppoſe he is now with your lordſhip, and I beg you may make my compliments to his lordſhip; and I hope the king will ſoon thank him himſelf.

I will trouble your lordſhip no farther now; but all ſucceſs attend you and may we ſoon have a merry meeting. I am with all reſpect,

My Lord,
Your moſt obedient
From the camp at and moſt humble ſervant,
Perth, October
21, 1715. MAR.'

To Mr. Forſter General of the King's forces in Northumberland.

Sir,

'I wrote to you of the 17th from Auchterardre: which I hope you got. I marched the ſame night the horſe to Dumblain, within four miles of Stirling, and the foot ſome miles ſhort of that place. Next morning I had certain intelligence of the duke of Argyle's returning from Edinburgh with moſt of the troops he had carried there, and was on their march towards Stirling. I alſo had account of Evans's regiment landing in the weſt of Scotland from Ireland, and were on their way to Stirling. I had come away from Perth before the proviſions were ready to go with us; and I found all the country about Sterling, where we were to paſs the Forth, was entirely exhauſted by the enemy, ſo that there was nothing for us to ſubſiſt on there. I had no account from general Gordon, as I expected; and the ſooneſt I could expect him at the heads of Forth was two days after that; and I could not think of paſſing Forth till I had been joined by him. Under thoſe difficulties, and having got one of the things I deſigned by my march, the duke of Argyle's withdrawing from our friends in Lothian, I thought fit to march back to Auchterardre, which was a better quarter, though not a good one neither. Next morning I got intelligence of the duke of Argyle's being come to Stirling the night before, and that he had ſent an expreſs to Evans's dragoons to haſten up. I had a letter alſo that morning from general Gordon, telling me, that ſome things had kept him longer than he expected that it would be that day e'er he could be at Inverary; and that he could not poſſibly join me this week. Upon this I thought it better to return here, which is a good quarter, and wait his coming up, and the lord Seaforth's, than continue at Auchterardre, ſince it would not a bit retard my paſſing the Forth, when I ſhould be in a condition to do it; and in the mean

broke, and other traitors, deſigned to paſs through their dominions in order to go to Great-Britain and join the rebels, deſired them to give orders to all the governors of the places under their dominion, to ſtop and examine all the king's ſubjects that ſhould paſs out of Germany, Lorrain, or France, and alſo to all the captains of ſhips not to take any ſuch on board. This memorial was readily agreed to, and orders were iſſued accordingly.

As it would be ſome time before the Dutch could be embarked, Pitt's regiment of horſe, and Sabine's, Preſton's, and Vane's of foot, had been ſent for from Ireland, and had landed at Cheſter the beginning of October. Aſſociations were alſo entered into throughout the kingdom, for the defence of the king's perſon and government; and the lords-lieutenants of the counties were empowered to form into troops or companies ſuch as ſhould be willing to aſſociate, and to grant commiſſions to them in the king's name.

The archbiſhop publiſhed a declaration, ſigned by himſelf and thirteen of his ſuffragans, teſtifying their abhorrence of the rebellion. But dr. Atterbury biſhop of Rocheſter, and dr. Smalridge biſhop of Briſtol, refuſed to ſign this declaration; and, a few days after, Smalridge was removed from the poſt of lord Almoner to the king, in which he was ſucceeded by dr. Wake biſhop of Lincoln.

On the 25th of October, lieutenant-general Carpenter, who was appointed to go againſt the Northumberland rebels, ſet out from Newcaſtle with Hotham's regiment of foot, Cobham's, Moleſworth's, and Churchill's dragoons; and,

time I could be getting proviſions ready to carry along with me in my march, which as I have been told, are abſolutely neceſſary about the heads of Forth: So I came home laſt night.

I very much regret my being obliged to this for many reaſons, particularly becauſe of its keeping me ſo much the longer from joining you; but you eaſily ſee it was not in my power to help it. However, I hope my ſtay here ſhall be very ſhort, and you may depend upon its being no longer than it neceſſarily muſt. The paſſage over the Forth is now ſo extreme difficult, that it is ſcarce poſſible to ſend any letters that way; and within theſe two days there were two boats coming over with letters to me, that were ſo hard purſued, that they were obliged to throw the letters into the ſea; ſo that I know very little of our friends on that ſide, and leſs of you, which is no ſmall loſs to me. I heard to day by word of mouth, that the detachment I ſent over are marched and joined our friends in the ſouth of Scotland; ſo I hope they may be yet uſeful; but I hope you know more of them than I do. I have now writ to lord Kenmure, but it is ten to one, if it comes to his hands. I know not what he is doing, where he is, or what way he intends to diſpoſe of his people; whether he is to march into England, or towards Stirling, to wait my paſſing Forth; and, in the ignorance I am in of your affairs beſouth the river, I ſcarce know what to adviſe him. If you be in need of his aſſiſtance in England, I doubt not but you have called him there; but if not, certainly his being in the rear of the enemy when I paſs Forth, or now that the duke of Argyle is reinforced, ſhould he march towards me before I am, it would be of great ſervice. I amforced in a great meaſure, to leave it to himſelf to do as he finds moſt expedient.

I am afraid the duke of Ormond is not as yet come to England; elſe I ſhould have had the certainty of it one way or other before now. I cannot conceive what detains him, nor the king from coming here. However, I am ſure it is non of their fault; and I hope they will both ſurprize us agreeably very ſoon.

I believe I told you in my laſt of the lord Strathmore, and two hundred of the detachment, that were going over Forth, and drove into the Iſland of May by three men of war, being got ſafe aſhore on this ſide, and are now joined us again. There were but two of all the boats taken; and I hear ſome of the men, that were in them, who were made priſoners in Leith, were relieved by our men, when they came there; but that their officers were ſent to Edingburgh-caſtle; ſo I want ſome repriſals for them, which I hope to have e're long.

Though brigadier Mackintoſh's miſtake in going to Leith was like to be unlucky to us and them, yet it has given the duke of Argyle no little trouble; and our march obliging him to let them ſlip, has, I am apt to believe, vexed him.

I beg you will find ſome way to let me hear from you. Ever ſince my detachment were in Fife, all the men of war, that cruiſed on the North coaſt, betwixt Peterhead and the Firth, have been in the Firth, and, I believe, will continue there to prevent my ſending more over that way; ſo that all that coaſt is clear, which I wiſh to God the king knew; and you may eaſily ſend a boat here any where with letters from England. I hear there is one of the regiments of foot come from Ireland to Stirling.

When you write to me, if by ſea, pray ſend me ſome news-papers, that I may know what the world is a doing; for we know little of it here theſe eight days. Succeſs attend you: and I am, with all truth and eſteem,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient
Humble ſervant,
MAR.'

From the camp at Perth, October 12, 1715.

'The pretender's declaration was in the following terms:

James R.

'James VIII, by the grace of God, of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c. to all our loving ſubjects of what degree or quality ſoever greeting. As we are firmly reſolved never to omit any opportunity of aſſerting our undoubted title to the imperial crown of theſe realms, and of endeavouring to put ourſelf into the poſſeſſion of that right, which is devolved upon us by the laws of God and man; ſo muſt we, in juſtice to the ſentiments of our own heart, declare, that nothing in this world can give us ſo great ſatisfaction, as to owe, to the endeavours of our loyal ſubjects, both our and their reſtoration to that happy ſettlement, which can alone deliver this church and nation from the calamities, which they lie at preſent under, and from thoſe future miſeries, which muſt be the conſequences of the preſent uſurpation. During the life of our dear ſiſter of glorious memory, the happineſs, which our people enjoyed, ſoftened in ſome degree the hardſhip of our own fate: and we muſt further confeſs, that when we reflected on the goodneſs of her nature, and her inclinations to juſtice, we could not but perſuade ourſelf, that ſhe intended to eſtabliſh and perpetuate the peace, which ſhe had given to theſe kingdoms, by deſtroying for ever all competition to the ſucceſſion of the crown, and by ſecuring to us at laſt the enjoyment of that inheritance, out of which we had been ſo long kept, which her conſcience muſt inform her was our due, and which her principles muſt lead her to deſire, that we might obtain.

But, ſince the time when it pleaſed Almighty God to put a period to her life, and not to ſuffer us to throw ourſelf, as we then fully purpoſed to have done, upon our people, we have not been able to look on the preſent condition of our kingdoms, or to conſider their future proſpect, without all the horror and indignation, which ought to fill the breaſt of every Scotſman.

We have beheld a foreign family, aliens to our country, diſtant in blood, and ſtrangers even to our language, aſcend the throne.

We have ſeen the reins of government put into the hands of a faction; and that authority, which was deſigned for the protection of all, exerciſed by a few of the worſt, to the oppreſſion of the beſt and greateſt number of our ſubjects. Our ſiſter has not been left at reſt in her grave; her name has been ſcurrilouſly abuſed; her glory, as far as in theſe people lay, inſolently defaced, and her faithful ſervants inhumanly perſecuted. A parliament has been procured by the moſt unwarrantable influences, and by the groſſeſt corruption, to ſerve the vileſt ends. And they, who ought to be the guardians of the liberties of the people, are become the inſtruments of tyranny. Whilſt the principal powers engaged in the late wars enjoy the bleſſings of peace, and are attentive to diſcharge their debts, and eaſe their people; Great-Britain, in the midſt of peace, feels all the load of a war. New debts are contracted; new armies are raiſed at home; Dutch forces are brought into theſe kingdoms; and by taking poſſeſſion of the duchy of Bremen, in violation of the public faith, a door is opened by the uſurper to let in an inundation of foreigners from abroad, and to reduce theſe nations to the ſtate of a province, to one of the moſt inconſiderable provinces of the empire.

Theſe are ſome few of the many real evils, into which theſe kingdoms have been betrayed, under pretence of being reſcued and ſecured from dangers purely imaginary. And theſe are the conſequences of abandoning the old conſtitution, as we perſuade ourſelves, very many of thoſe, who promoted the preſent unjuſt and illegal ſettlement, never intended.

We obſerve, with the utmoſt ſatisfaction, that the generality of our ſubjects are awakened with a juſt ſenſe of their danger; and that they ſhew themſelves diſpoſed to take ſuch meaſures, as may effectually reſcue them from that bondage, which has, by the artifice of a few deſigning men, and by the concurrence of many unhappy cauſes, been brought upon them.

We adore the wiſdom of the Divine Providence, which has opened a way to our reſtoration, by the ſucceſs of thoſe very meaſures, that were laid to diſappoint us for ever. And we moſt earneſtly conjure all our loving ſubjects, not to ſuffer that ſpirit to faint or die away, which has been ſo miraculouſly raiſed in all parts of the kingdom; but to purſue, with all the vigour and hopes of ſucceſs, which ſo juſt and righteous a cauſe ought to inſpire, thoſe methods, which the finger of God ſeems to point out to them.

We are come to take our part in all the dangers and difficulties, to which any of our ſubjects, from the greateſt down to the meaneſt, may be expoſed on this important occaſion, to relieve our ſubjects of Scotland from the hardſhips they groan under on account of the late unhappy union, and to reſtore the kingdom to its ancient, free, and independant ſtate.

We have before our eyes the example of our royal grandfather, who fell a ſacrifice to rebellion; and of our royal uncle, who, by a train of miracles, eſcaped the rage of the barbarous and blood-thirſty rebels, and lived to exerciſe his clemency towards thoſe, who had waged war againſt his father and himſelf; who had driven him to ſeek ſhelter in foreign lands, and who had even ſet a price upon his head.

We ſee the ſame inſtance of cruelty renewed againſt us by men of the ſame principles, without any other reaſon than the conſciouſneſs of their own guilt, and the implacable malice of their own hearts. For, in the account of ſuch men, it is a crime ſufficient to be born their king. But God forbid, that we ſhould tread in theſe ſteps, or that the cauſe of a lawful prince and an injured people ſhould be carried on like that of uſurpation and tyranny, and owe its ſupport to aſſaſſins. We ſhall copy after the patterns abovementioned, and be ready, with the former of our royal Anceſtors, to ſeal the cauſe of our country, if ſuch be the will of Heaven, with our blood. But we hope for better things: We hope, with the latter, to ſee our juſt rights, and thoſe of the church and people of Scotland, once more ſettled in a free, independent Scots parliament, on their antient foundation. To ſuch a parliament (which we will immediately call) ſhall we entirely refer both our and their intereſts, being ſenſible, that theſe intereſts, rightly underſtood, are always the ſame. Let the civil as well as religious rights of all our ſubjects receive their confirmation in ſuch a parliament. Let conſciences truly tender be indulged. Let property of every kind be better than ever ſecured. Let an act of general grace and amneſty extinguiſh the fears even of the moſt guilty. If poſſible, let the very remembrance of all, which have proceeded this happy moment, be utterly blotted out, that our ſubjects may be united to us, and to each other, in the ſtricteſt bonds of affection as well as intereſt.

And that nothing may be ommitted, which is in our power to contribute to this deſirable end, we do, by theſe preſents, abſolutely and effectually, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, pardon, remit, and diſcharge all crimes of high-treaſon, miſpriſion of treaſon, and all other crimes and offences whatſoever, done or committed againſt us, or our royal father, of bleſſed memory, by any of our ſubjects, of what degree or quality ſoever, who ſhall, at or after our landing, and before they engage in any action againſt us, or our forces, from that time, lay hold of mercy, and return to that duty and allegiance, which they owe to us, their only rightful and lawful ſovereign.

By the joint endeavours of us and of our parliament, urged by theſe motives, and directly by theſe views, we may hope to ſee the peace and flouriſhing eſtate of this kingdom in a ſhort time reſtored; and we ſhall be equally forward to concert with our parliament ſuch further meaſures, as may be thought neceſſary for leaving the ſame to future generations.

And we hereby require all ſheriffs of Shires, ſtewarts of ſtewarties, or their deputies, and magiſtrates of burghs, to publiſh this our declaration, immediately after it ſhall come to their hands, in the uſual places and manner, under pain of being proceeded againſt for failure thereof, and forfeiting the benefit of our general pardon.'

Given under our ſign manual and privy ſignet, at our court of Commercy, the 25th day of October, and in the fifteenth year of our reign.

J. R.

on the 27th, lay at Wooller, intending, the next day, to face Kelſo, where the rebels were. The lord Kenmure, who commanded them while on the South-ſide of the Tweed, having notice of this, called immediately a council of war, wherein it was conſidered what courſe they ſhould take. The lord Wintoun preſſed them earneſtly to march into the Weſt of Scotland; but the Engliſh oppoſed, and prevailed againſt that opinion. Then it was propoſed to paſs the Tweed, and attac the king's troops, taking advantage of the weakneſs and wearineſs of general Carpenter's men, who were indeed extremely fatigued, and not above nine hundred men in number, whereof two regiments of dragoons were new raiſed, and had never ſeen any ſervice. But this advice was alſo rejected, and the rebels decamped from Kelſo, and, taking a little to the right, marched to Jedburgh. Upon this march they were all alarmed, by miſtaking a party of their own men for ſome of general Carpenter's forces. The party appearing at a diſtance, Captain Wogan, deſirous to know who they were, went off towards the river's ſide, which parted them, and left mr. Patten to ſtand at a convenient diſtance from him, whilſt he rid up to make a diſcovery. If they proved enemies, he was to fire a piſtol; if friends, to toſs up his hat. At the ſame time ſome of the party, wanting to know who he was, and, galloping towards him, he fired a piſtol; ſo the alarm was taken; but the diſorder was not great, the matter being ſoon diſcovered. Then they continued their march towards Jedburgh. The horſe having entered the town, word was brought them, that general Carpenter had fallen upon the foot, who had not as yet reached the town. This put them into the utmoſt conſternation. However, not being diſcouraged ſo as to abandon their fellows, they all mounted their horſes, and marched out to relieve their friends. This miſtake was likewiſe occaſioned by another party of their own men, who had taken a different route; and, this being alſo diſcovered, they all returned to their quarters, and ſtaid at Jedburgh two days.

As they had now a fair opportunity to ſlip general Carpenter, who was ſome marches behind them, it was reſolved, purſuant to the advice of the Engliſh, to croſs the mountains, and march into England. Accordingly, captain Hunter, who was well acquainted with the country, was ordered, with his troops, to go in the North Tynedale, and there provide quarters for them, who would follow. But here began a mutiny; the Highlanders could not be perſuaded to paſs the borders: and, though many perſuaſions were uſed with them, they would not ſtir. Upon this, the firſt reſolution was altered, and orders were ſent after captain Hunter to countermand him. They were joined in this town by mr. Ainſley of Blackhill, and ſome others. From Jedburgh they marched to Hawick, a ſmall market-town, belonging to the ducheſs of Bucclugh, at whoſe houſe the Engliſh lords, with their relations, and mr. Forſter, took up their quarters. The Highlanders ſtill ſuppoſing, that the march for England was reſolved on, ſeparated themſelves in diſguſt, and went to the top of a riſing ground on Hawich moor, and, reſting their arms declared, they would fight, if they were led on to the enemy; but would not go into England; adhering to lord Wintoun's advice, that they would go through the weſt of Scotland, join the clans there, and either croſs the Forth ſome miles above Stirling, or ſend word to the earl of Mar, that they would fall upon the duke of Argyle's rear, whilſt he fell on his front. Whilſt they were in this humour, they would allow none to come and ſpeak with them but the earl of Wintoun, who had tutored them in this project, by aſſuring them, if they went to England, they would be all cut to pieces, or taken and ſold for ſlaves. [b] After a diſpute oftwo hours they were at laſt brought to this, that they would keep together as long as they ſtaid in Scotland; but upon any motion of going for England, they would return back: So they continued their march to Hawick, where they were extremely ſtraitened for quarters. Here the Highlanders, who had always the guard, and did all the duty after they joined the horſe, diſcovered from their advanced guard a party of horſe (who were patroling in their front) and, taking them for enemies, gave the alarm at midnight; and all ran immediately to arms. The moon ſhone, and the night was very clear; ſo the whole body formed themſelves in very good order to oppoſe any attac, that ſhould be made. But in the end this proved another falſe alarm; and they all returned to their quarters. It was ſaid, that this alarm was deſigned to try the Highlanders, and to ſee how they would behave, and whether they would ſtand chearfully to their arms, if an enemy appeared.

The next day, they marched to Langholme, another ſmall market-town, belonging to the ducheſs of Bucclugh. From hence there was a ſtrong detachment of horſe ſent in the night to Ecclefechan, with orders to block up Dumfries, till they ſhould come up and attac it. Dumfries is a rich town, ſituated very commodiouſly upon the mouth of a navigable river on the Iriſh ſea, and maintains a conſiderable trade with England and the weſt of Scotland. Had the rebels been ſteady in their reſolutions, they might very eaſily have made themelves maſters of that town, there being no regular forces in it, but only train-bands, militia, and townſmen, who would not have been able to hold out, nor any fortifications to aſſiſt them in the defence of it. Here the rebels alſo might have furniſhed themſelves with arms, money, and ammunition, which were much wanted, and opened a paſſage to Glaſgow, one of the beſt towns in Scotland. Here likewiſe they might have joined the Highland clans, from the weſt, beſides a great many country gentlemen, who, on ſuch an appearance, would have come in to them; by which means they might have ſoon formed a conſiderable army, and have received ſuccours from France and Ireland, no men of war being in all thoſe ſeas at that time. They were, moreover, aſſured, that in Glaſgow there were a great many arms in the talbooth ready for all occaſions, and a conſiderable quantity of gun-powder in the tron-ſteeple. As to the duke of Argyle, he was in no condition to have diſturbed them; but, on the contrary, would have ſcarce thought himſelf ſafe in Stirling, his troops not exceeding two thouſand men; for he had not then been reinforced by the troops from Ireland, nor the Dutch from England. But all theſe arguments were in vain; the Engliſh gentlemen were poſitive for an attempt upon their own country, pretending to have letters from their friends in Lancaſhire, inviting them thither, and aſſuring them, that there would be a general inſurrection upon their appearing; and that twenty thouſand men would immediately join them. Whether they had any ſuch letters or no, is ſtill a queſtion; but they affirmed it to their army, and urged the advantages of a ſpeedy march into England with ſuch vehemence, that they turned the ſcale, and ſent an expreſs after the party of horſe they had ordered to Ecclefechan, for to return and meet them at Langtown in Cumberland. Thus the deſign of continuing in Scotland was abandoned. But the Highlanders, whether dealt with privily by the earl of Wintoun, or being convinced of the advantages they were going to throw away, and the uncertainties the were bringing upon themſelves, halted a ſecond time, and would march no farther. However, their leaders were again prevailed with to march by promiſes, and diſtributing money to the men. But many of them were ſtill poſitive, and that to ſuch a degree that they ſeparated, and about five hundred of them went off in bodies, chuſing rather, as they ſaid, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners, than to go forward to certain deſtruction. All imaginable means were uſed to prevent this deſertion; but nothing could prevail with them to alter their reſolutions; for they retired in parties over the mountains. The earl of Wintoun went off likewiſe with part of his troop, very much diſſatisfied at the meaſurs, an declaring they were taking the way to ruin themſelves. However, in a little time he returned and joined the body, though not at all ſatisfied with their proceedings; and was never after called to any council of war, which incenſed him extremely againſt the reſt of the lords and commanding officers. They left the ſmall pieces of cannon, which they had brought from Kelſo, at Langholme, having nailed them up and made them unfit for ſervice. Then they marched that night to Langtown, about ſeven miles from Carliſle, which was a very long and fatiguing march. Here they had intelligence, that brigadier Stanwix, with a party of horſe from Carliſle, had been there that day to get intelligence of their numbers and motions; but that, upon notice of their coming towards him, he had retired to his garriſon, which then conſiſted of very few men, having made mr. Graham of Inchbrachy a priſoner. This night the party ordered to Ecclefechan returned and joined the rebels. Next day they entered England, and marched to Brampton, a ſmall market-town, belonging to the earl of Carliſle. Here they proclaimed the pretender, and mr. Forſter opened his commiſſion (brought by mr. Douglas from the earl of Mar) to act as general in England. From this time the Highland-

[b] During the conteſt, the horſe ſurrounded the foot, in order to force them to march Southwards, upon which the Highlanders cocked their firelocks, and ſaid, 'If they were to be made a ſacrifice, they would chuſe to have it done in their own country.'

ers had ſixpence per day paid them, to keep them in good order, and under command. The rebels halted one night at Brampton, to refreſh the men, having marched above one hundred miles in five days. On the 2d of November they advanced to Penrith, where they expected to have met with ſome friends to join them; for it was reported, that mr. Dacre of Abbeylanner-Coaſt, a papiſt, had promiſed to raiſe forty men; but he was prevented by a fever. As they drew near Penrith, they had notice, that the ſheriff, with the lord Lonſdale, and the biſhop of Carliſle, had drawn together the whole poſſe of Cumberland, amounting to about twelve thouſand men, in order to oppoſe their progreſs. The firſt part of this was very true, that the poſſe was drawn together; nor was their number much leſs. But they gave the rebel army no occaſion to try, whether they would ſtand or not; for, upon notice of the approach of the rebels, they ſhamefully diſperſed, leaving the lord Lonſdale, with about twenty men beſides his own ſervants, who continued on the ſpot till the rebels appeared, and then he retired. A party was ſent to Lowther-Hall to ſee for him, but he was not to be found. This retreat animated the rebels, who made ſome booty, taking ſeveral horſes and a great many arms. Having ſtaid at Penrith that night, they marched next day to Appleby, where they halted again. On the 5th of November they marched to Kendal, and on the 6th to Kirby-Lonſdale, a ſmall market-town in Weſtmoreland, where ſome few papiſts and their ſervants from Lancaſhire joined them. [c] From this place they marched to Lancaſter on the 7th, where the famous colonel Chartres and another officer happened to be. Upon the news of their approach, the colonel propoſed to blow up a fine bridge, over which they were to paſs, to obſtruct their entry into the town; but the inhabitants would not agree to it. The colonel therefore thought it adviſeable to leave the town, after having ordered ſome barrels of powder to be thrown into a well, to prevent their falling into the hands of the rebels. The rebels, having entered Lancaſter without oppoſition, performed the uſual ceremonies of proclaiming the pretender, and levying the public revenue. It was thought they would have continued here till they had received the promiſed ſuccours, the place being eaſily made tenable againſt a greater force than the government could command on a ſudden: but they were in a great hurry to meet their fate, and left Lancaſter on the 9th, carrying with them ſix pieces of cannon, which they found there. They directed their march towards Preſton, where the horſe arrived that night, but the foot halted half way. The horſe entered Preſton without any oppoſition; Stanhope's regiment of dragoons, and a regiment of militia, having thought proper to retire on the approach of the rebels, which did not a little animate them to ſee the royal troops thus fly before them. At Preſton they were joined by a conſiderable number of gentlemen and their followers, all papiſts; which very much diſguſted the Scots gentlemen and Highlanders, becauſe they were made to believe, that all the high-church party would join them. The rebels had once reſolved to march out of Preſton the next day, in order to enter Mancheſter, where they expected to meet with a conſiderable reinforcement, and to poſſeſs themſelves of Warrington-Bridge, which would have made them maſters of the rich town of Liverpool. But this deſign, like all others, that had any ſhew of prudence, was laid aſide for two days, by which time they found themſelves otherwiſe employed.

It is now time to obſerve what motions the king's troops made to oppoſe the rebels, who had thus given general Carpenter the ſlip.

While it was yet uncertain which way the rebels would direct their march, the duke of Argyle ſent a detachment from his ſmall army at Stirling, to hinder their paſſing the head of Forth, if they ſhould attempt that way to join the earl of Mar. A ſquadron of dragoons, and one battalion of foot of this detachment, were quartered at Falkirk, and two hundred dragoons at Kilſyth.

General Carpenter, upon intelligence, that the rebels were in full march towards Lancaſter, reſolved to purſue them with the dragoons only, for the greater expedition; not doubting but he ſhould be joined by the king's troops in the Weſt, in which he was not miſtaken; for general Willes, who had been ſent down ſome days before to command in the Weſt, having intelligence at Cheſter, that the rebels were advancing towards Lancaſter, gave orders for all the troops, quartered in thoſe parts, to aſſemble at Warrington, on the borders of that county. When he arrived there, he found only Preſton's regiment. With that he ſet out, on the 8th of November, and, the ſame day, arrived at Mancheſter, where he had intelligence that general Carpenter was on his march from Durham to Lancaſter, to whom he ſent an expreſs, to acquaint that general of his own motions, that they might act in concert. He marched from Mancheſter the 11th, with the regiments of dragoons of Wynne, Honeywood, Munden, and Dormer, and Preſton's regiment of foot, and advanced directly to Wiggan, where Pitt's horſe and Stanhope's dragoons were quartered. Underſtanding here, that the rebels were ſtill in Preſton, he gave orders for the troops to be ready to march towards that place next morning, by break of day. He formed the horſe into three brigades, Wynne's and Honeywood's, under the command of brigadier Honeywood: Munden's and Stanhope's, under the command of brigadier Munden; Pitt's and Dormer's, under the command of brigadier Dormer.

On the 12th of November, the troops began their march in the following order: a captain and fifty men of Preſton's foot, ſuſtained by a captain and fifty dragoons, formed the van-guard: Preſton's regiment followed brigadier Honeywood's brigade; next Dormer's; and Munden's in the rear; and the baggage in the rear of all. In this order they marched to the bridge of Ribble, where we ſhall leave them, to obſerve what preparations were made for their reception by the rebels.

The ſame morning general Forſter gave orders for his army to march, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting the king's troops, and the deſtruction of all their hopes, were ſo near at hand. He had depended on the intelligence from the Lancaſhire gentlemen, who had promiſed, that none ſhould advance within forty miles without his knowledge; but it ſeems, they diſappointed him; ſo that he was under the greateſt ſurprize, when he was informed from all hands, that General Wills was within ſight of him. He went out with a party of horſe to view the poſture of the king's troops; and, upon finding they were in full march towards him, he returned to the town to prepare for their reception.

His men were no ways diſcouraged, but chearfully ſet about the preparations for their defence. They barricaded the avenues, and poſted their men in the ſtreets and by-lanes and ſuch houſes, as were propereſt for galling their enemies. The gentlemen volunteers were poſted in the church-yard, under the command of the earls of Derwentwater, Wintoun, and Nithiſdale, and the lord Kenmure. General Forſter formed four main barriers; the firſt a little below the church, commanded by brigadier Mackintoſh, and ſupported by the gentlemen-volunteers in the church-yard, the ſecond was ſituated at the end of a lane leading to the fields, and commanded by lord Charles Murray. The third Barrier was near a wind-mill, and commanded by the laird of Mackintoſh. And the fourth was in the ſtreet leading to Liverpool, commanded by major Millar, and mr. Douglas. They threw up ſeveral intrenchments in an inſtant, and did all in their power to make a ſtout reſiſtance; but were guilty of one capital error, which diſcovered their ignorance, or rather infatuation. For in the morning, upon the firſt intelligence of general Willes's approach, they had detached Macpherſon of Innercal, lieutenant colonel of the earl of Mar's regiment, with an hundred choſen men, to take poſt at the bridge of Ribble, which was the only paſs the king's troops could enter on that ſide, the river being fordable only in two places, the one below, and the other above the bridge, and theſe fords eaſily made unpaſſable. The bridge terminates a long narrow lane, where, in ſome parts, not above two can ride abreaſt. This is the famous lane, where Oliver Cromwell met with a ſtout reſiſtance, from the king's troops, who having rolled down ſeveral large ſtones from the height upon him and his men, one of them came ſo near, that he eſcaped only by making his horſe jump into a quick-ſand. But mr. Forſter, inſtead of making advantage of this paſs, which he might have done to the deſtruction of the king's troops, (whom he might have very much annoyed by the help of his cannon, while they lay expoſed without any cover) ordered this detachment to return to the town, and left the paſs free for general Willes.

When general Willes came up to the bridge in the forementioned order, he expected to have met with great difficulties in forcing the paſs; but, finding it abandoned, he was much ſurprized, and ſuſpected ſome ſtratagem; and therefore reſolved to proceed with caution. Having viewed the hedges, and laid open the ways for the cavalry to enter, he found all clear, and not the leaſt appearence of

[c] It is to be obſerved, there were no papiſts of any account had yet joined them in their march; for all the papiſts on that ſide of the country had been ſecured in the caſtle of Carliſle, as mr. Howard of Corbee-caſtle, mr. Warwick of Warwick-hall, mr. James Graham of Inchbrachy, and mr. Henry Curwen of Workington.

an enemy. This made him conclude, they had abandoned the place, and were endeavouring, by long marches, to return to Scotland; but in this he was likewiſe miſtaken. For, upon his advancing near the town, he found them in a poſture to give him a warm reception, in a place, where he could eaſier come at them, than he could at the bridge of Ribble. He immediately prepared for an attac, and diſpoſed his troops in ſuch a manner, as he might beſt annoy them in the town, and prevent their making an eſcape.

The general having viewed the diſpoſition of the enemy, and finding all the evenues leading to the town ſtrongly barricaded, and two pieces of cannon planted on each; he reſolved to make two attacs. For the attac of the avenue, that leads to Wiggan, a captain and fifty dragoons were draughted out of each of the five regiments, with a major and lieutenant-colonel to command them, and ordered to diſmount to ſuſtain Preſton's regiment commanded by the lord Forreſter their lieutenant-colonel; and Honeywood's regiment was ordered to remain on horſeback, to ſuſtain the whole; and the brigadier of that name had the direction of that attac.

The regiment of Wynne and Dormer, and a ſquadron of Stanhope's, were ordered to diſmount under the command of brigadier Dormer, while the regiments of Pitts and Munden, and the remaining ſquadron of Stanhope's ſuſtained them in the attac of the avenue that leads to Lancaſter, lying on that ſide of the town oppoſite to the attac of the avenue leading to Wiggan. By the diſpoſition of the king's forces, the four chief barricades of the enemy were eaſily attaced, but not with deſired ſucceſs.

The firſt attac was upon that barricade below the church, commanded by the old brigadier Mackintoſh, who received the king's troops very gallantly; and with a terrible fire both from the barricade and the houſes, obliged them to retire to the end of the town; at the ſame time the lord Forreſter, lieutenant-colonel of Preſton's foot, entered the avenue of Wiggan, and took poſſeſſion of two large houſes within fifty yards of the barricade, where he poſted his men, finding it impracticable to force the barricade; but from theſe houſes, which overlooked the whole town, he very much anoyed the enemy; and from thence, it is ſaid, they received moſt of the damage they ſuſtained during the action. Theſe houſes had been poſſeſſed by the Highlanders, when the barricade was commanded by Mackintoſh; but they were called off by him to ſupport that barricade, which gave the king's troops an eaſier poſſeſſion of them, and perhaps ſaved the remains of that regiment, which ſuffered very much in that bold attac. General Honeywood ordered the houſes between thoſe he poſſeſſed and the barricade to be ſet on fire; which was not done without the loſs of men on both ſides. He likewiſe ordered breaſt works to be thrown up, both to ſecure his men, and prevent the rebels from eſcaping at that quarter of the town.

The other barricades were attaced with great reſolution, but without any ſucceſs; the king's troops being obliged to retire to the ends of the town, and remain ſatisfied till they could renew their attempts the next day; for by this time night hindered their farther approaches. Thus far the rebels appeared to have acted with courage, and to have acted with courage, and to have had the advantage, ſince they had, in all the attacs, repulſed their enemies with little or no loſs on their ſide, and a conſiderable ſlaughter on the king's. But they did not long continue in this diſpoſition; for having intelligence next morning, that general Carpenter had arrived with more troops to ſurround them, their reſolution failed them, and from that moment they acted with great confuſion and deſpair.

General Carpenter arrived at Preſton on the 13th, at ten in the morning, with three regiments of dragoons, lord Cobham's, Churchill's, and Moleſworth's, accompanied by the earl of Carliſle, lord Lumley, and colonel Darcy; ordering Moleſworths to the Mancheſter ſide, and marching the other two to the Lancaſter ſide. He found, that the rebels had been attaced the day before, without ſucceſs, and that moſt part of the king's horſe and dragoons were crouded in a deep narrow lane near the end of the town, ſo incommodious, that it was impoſſible to draw up above three or four in front; and, going to view the ground toward the river, he ſaw there were no troops poſted at the end of Fiſher-gate-ſtreet, to block up that part of the town, where ſeveral of the rebels were ſaid to have eſcaped the night before. This ſtreet leads to a marſh or meadow, which joins to that part of the river Ribble, where there are two good fords, being the high road towards Liverpool; and, towards the end of the ſame ſtreet, there was another barricade with two pieces of cannon. General Carpenter therefore ordered colonel Pitt to poſt his two ſquadrons on that marſh; and going back to the end of the town, he ordered communication to be made for the troops to aſſiſt each other in caſe of a ſally. The rebels, being thus inveſted on all ſides, and being now ſenſible, though too late, of their condition, began to conſider what was to be done. The Highlanders were for ſallying out upon the king's forces, and dying, as they called it, like men of honour, ſword in hand; but they were over ruled, and not allowed to ſtir. Nor was the motion communicated to the whole body; but general Forſter (prevailed upon by lord Wriddrington, colonel Oxburgh, and ſome few others,) reſolved upon a capitulation, flattering themſelves with obtaining good terms from the kings officers. Colonel Oxburgh, pretending acquaintance with ſome of them, made an offer to go out, and treat of a ſurrender. Accordingly he went with a trumpet to general Willes, and offering to lay down their arms, and ſubmit themſelves, hoped he would recommend them to the king's mercy. The general told the colonel he would not treat with rebels; for they had killed ſeveral of the king's ſubjects, and they muſt expect to undergo the ſame fate. The colonel ſaid, as the general was a man of honour, and an officer, he hoped he would ſhew mercy to people, who were willing to ſubmit. The general replied, All he would do for them, was, that, if they laid down their arms, and ſubmitted priſoners at diſcretion, he would prevent the ſoldiers from cutting them in pieces till he had farther orders; and he would give them but an hour to conſider of it. Colonel Oxburgh returned into the town, to acquaint mr. Forſter with this; and, before the hour was expired, there came out mr. Dalziel, brother to the earl of Carnwarth, who wanted terms for the Scots. The general's anſwer was, that he would not treat with rebels, nor give them any other terms than what he had before offered them. Upon which the general was deſired to grant farther time till ſeven o'clock next day, to conſult the beſt method of delivering themſelves up. The general agreed to grant them the time deſired, provided they threw them up no new intrenchments in the ſtreets, nor ſuffered any of their people to eſcape, and ſent out the chief of the Engliſh and Scots as hoſtages for the performance. The general ſent in colonel Cotton to bring them out, who accordingly brought out the earl of Derwentwater and Brigadier Mackintoſh. The next day, about ſeven in the morning, Mr Forſter ſent out to let the general know, that they were willing to give up themſelves priſoners at diſcretion, as he had demanded. Brigadier Mackintoſh, being preſent when this meſſage was brought, ſaid, He could not anſwer, that the Scots would ſurrender in that manner; for that they were people of deſperate fortunes; and he had been a ſoldier himſelf, and knew what it was to be a priſoner at diſcretion. Upon this the general ſaid, 'Go back to your people again; and I will attac the town, and the conſequence will be, I will not ſpare a man of you.' The brigadier went back, but came running out immediately again, and ſaid, 'The lord Kenmure, and the reſt of the noblemen, with his brother would ſurrender in like manner with the Engliſh.'

General Carpenter entered one ſide of the town, and general Willes the other, with all their troops, with trumpets ſounding, drums beating, and colours diſplayed. They both met in the middle of the town, where the Highlanders were drawn up under arms. The noblemen and gentlemen were firſt ſecured in ſeveral inns, and the Highlanders then laid down their arms in the place where they were ſtanding; and they were next ſecured under a ſufficient guard.

General Carpenter, finding the place too narrow to contain all the horſe that was with him, ſent part of them to Wiggan the ſame day, and went away himſelf the next, leaving general Willes to command in his abſence.

Mr Forſter was by moſt people blamed for the ſurrender, without obtaining better terms for thoſe, whom he had drawn into his enterprize. His want of ſkill was acknowledged on all hands, and this was what he could be leaſt blamed for, ſince he was made general, as the only proteſtant of note of the party. But, though he was nominal general, he depended moſtly upon the conduct of colonel Oxburgh, who had gained in foreign ſervice, the reputation of an experienced officer. Others did not ſcruple to charge mr. Forſter with treachery as well as want of capacity, and pretend to ſay, that, if the king's general had not been ſure of him beforehand, he would have granted more generous terms to the rebels; and they bring his eſcape out of Newgate, as a proof of this ſurmiſe; ſuppoſing that a priſoner of

his diſtinction would have been better looked after, if the government had not been under an obligation to connive at his eſcape. But there ſeems to be little ground for ſuch a ſuſpicion, eſpecially as the pretender himſelf did not credit it, but held mr. Forſter afterwards in great eſteem and confidence.

In the attac upon Preſton, brigadier Honeywood received a contuſion on the ſhoulder, by a muſket-ſhot, and major Bland a ſlight one in the arm; and his horſe was ſhot through the neck. There were killed at brigadier Honeywood's attac, two captains, one enſign, and twenty-eight private ſoldiers; wounded, lord Forreſter, major Lawſon, two captains, one lieutenant, four enſigns, and fifty private men. At brigadier Dormer's attac there were nine men killed; wounded, the brigadier, one captain, one lieutenant, one cornet, and thirty-nine men. [d]

Upon the very day, the rebels agreed to ſurrender themſelves at Preſton, was fought the battle of Dublain. The earl of Mar, being now joined by all the power he could expect from the earl of Seaforth, and all his Northern clans, and by the troops under general Gordon, thought himſelf ſtrong enough to put his deſign in execution of paſſing the Forth, joining his Southern friends, and marching into England. To this purpoſe he ſummoned a general council of war, where all their meaſures were concerted for this enterprize. Accordingly, he left colonel Balfour governor of the town of Perth with a guard ſufficient; and, being furniſhed with proviſions, artillery, and all other neceſſaries for a long march; he ſet out on the 10th of November, for Auchterarder, there to draw his army together, of which he made a general review that day at that place, and reſted the 11th.

The duke of Argyle, having intelligence of the motion of the enemy, was at no uncertainty what to do. He knew, if he was to diſpute their paſſage over the Forth at the heads of that river, his horſe on which he placed his whole dependance, would be of no ſervice to him in that place. He choſe therefore to engage the earl on the grounds about Dumblain, where he might employ all his forces. [e] He likewiſe had intelligence, that on the 12th at night the enemy deſigned to incamp at Dumblain. Therefore, judging it of importance to poſſeſs that place, on the 12th in the forenoon he ordered his whole army to paſs the river at Stirling bridge, and incamped that night with his left at Dumblain, and his right towards Sheriff-Moore. The enemy advanced the ſame night within two miles of the royal army; and having received intelligence, that the duke with his whole army was in poſſeſſion of Dumblain, they drew up in order of battle, and remained in that poſture under arms till break of day.

On the 13th in the morning both armies were in motion, and the duke of Argyle advanced to a riſing ground, to take a view of the rebel army, which he could eaſily diſcern in full march towards him. But another hill on his left intercepted his view of the whole extent of their left wing; for which reaſon it was impoſſible for him to gueſs at the true extent of their line, or how far they out-flanked him.

The duke's army amounting to three thouſand five hundred men, of which one thouſand two hundred were dragoons, was drawn up upon the heights above Dumblain to the North-Eaſt of that place, which lay about a mile and a half from his left, and a wet boggy moraſs, called Sheriff-Moor, on his right.

The order of the royal army was thus: The firſt line was compoſed of ſix battalions of foot in the centre, with three ſquadrons of dragoons upon the right and left. The ſecond line was compoſed of two battalions of foot, and two ſquadrons of dragoons on each wing. The duke commanded the right; general Witham the left; and major-general Wightman the main battle or centre.

The earl of Mar's army, amounting to about nine thouſand men, were drawn up in the following order: The firſt line was compoſed of ten battalions of foot, conſiſting of the clans commanded by the captain of Clanronald, Glengary, ſir John Maclean, and Campbell of Glen-Lyon on the right; there were three ſquadrons of horſe, the Stirling ſquadron, which carried the pretender's ſtandard, and two of the marquiſs of Huntley's: On the left were drawn up the Perthſhire and Fifeſhire ſquadrons. The centre of the ſecond line was compoſed of three battalions of the earl of Seaforth's, two battalions of the marquiſs of Huntley's, battalions of the earl of Panmure, marquiſs of Tullibardine, lord Drummond and Strowan, all commanded by their reſpective chiefs, except that of Drummond, commanded by the viſcount of Strathallan and Logie-Almond. The earl of Mariſchal's ſquadron was on the right, and that of Angus on the left.

[d] The priſoners of note Engliſh and Scots were as follows:

ENGLISH.

Mr Forſter, the general.
The lord Widdrington.
Mr Edward Howard, brother to the duke of Norfolk.
Charles and Peregrine Widdrington. brothers of the lord Widdrington.
Walter Tankard.
John Thornton of Netherwriton.
John Clavering of Cailey.
Nicholas Wogan.
Charles Wogan.
John Talbot.
Robert Talbot.
Roger Salkeld.
George Collingwood.
John Hunter.
Edward Ord.
William Tunſtall, paymaſter.
William Shaftoe of Pavington.
John Shaftoe, his ſon.
Edward Shaftoe.
Edward and James Swinburn, brothers of ſir William Swinburn.
George Gibſon, junr. of Stonecraft.
Edward Byers.
Richard Stockart.
William Charleton.
Edward Charleton.
Charles Charley.
Richard Caharley.
Ralph Standiſh of Standiſh.
Sir Francis Anderton of Leſtock.
Richard Townley of Townley.
John Dalton.
John Heale.
Henry Oxburgh.
John Beaumont.
The earl of Derwentwater.
Mr Charles Radcliffe, brother of the earl of Derwentwater.
John Laybourn.
Gabriel Heſtedt.
Cuthbert Heſtedt.
Thomas Walton.
Edward Teſley.
Thomas Errington.
Philip Hudſon.
James Talbot.
Alexander Deaſineſs.
Lyon Walden.
John Maſterſon.
George Sanderſon.
George Budding.
Robert Cotton of Gidding in Huntingdonſhire.
John Cotton his ſon.
Richard Gaſcoigne.
John Hunter.
William Hardwick.
Thomas Butler.
Robert Patten.
William Cafton.
Thomas Liſle.
Thomas Forſter.
William Raine.
Thomas Riddle.
Henry Widdrington.
Richard Ord.
William Sanderſon.
John Towle.
John Hotherſalt.
Francis Thornbuck.
Edward Mackey.
William Dobſon.
John Crofts.

SCOTS.

The earl of Nithiſdale.
The earl of Wintoun.
The earl of Carnwarth.
The lord viſcount Kenmure.
Captain James Dalziel.
Brigadier Mackintoſh.
Colonel Stuart.
William Erring.
Alexander Forreſter.
William Grierſon.
The lord Nairn.
The maſter of Nairn.
Lord Charles Murray.
Major Baſil Hamilton.
George Seton of Barne.
Robert Maclean.
Robert Carruthers.
Andrew Caſhie.
Mr Lockhart.
James Skeen.
William Calderwood,
Richard Harris.
Walter Riddle,

The Engliſh noblemen and gentlemen of the Engliſh taken priſoners	75
Their ſervants or followers	83
Private men in the church at Preſton	305
Total Engliſh	463
Scots noblemen, officers, and gentlemen taken priſoners,	143
Their vaſſals, &c.	862
Total Scots	1005
Engliſh in Preſton	463
Taken in Lancaſter	4
	467
Scots in Preſton	1005
Taken in Lancaſter	17
	1022
Total Engliſh and Scots	1489

[e] On the 23d of October, the duke of Argyle had notice that a party of the rebels, conſiſting of two hundred foot and a hundred horſe, were marching by Caſtle-camp-bell towards Dumferling. Upon this intelligence, his grace immediately ſent off a detachment of dragoons, under the command of colonel Cathcart, who came up with the rebels the 24th, at five o'clock in the morning; and, after having killed and wounded ſeveral of them, took ſeventeen priſoners; amongſt them the following gentlemen:

Mr Murray, brother to the laird of Aberkenny.
Mr Hay, ſon to Arboth.
Mr Patrick Gordon, Arbertour's eldeſt ſon.
Alexander Forbes, ſon to Buſlie.
William Roberton, brother to Donſhills.
Mr Kenloch, a phyſician.
Alexander Smith.
Mr Alexander Gordon.
Francis Gordon of Craig.
Mr Hamilton of Gibſtown in Strabogie.
George Gordon of the Miln of Kincardine.

The ſame evening colonel Cathcart returned to the camp at Stirling with his priſoners. A few days after, a detachment ſent by the earl of Ilay into Lorn, to intercept about four hundred of the earl of Broadalbin's men, who were in motion to join the rebels, having ſurrounded them, obliged them to ſeparate and return to their ſeveral habitations.

Engraved for Harrison's Edition of Rapin's History.

G. Kneller Pinxit. *Taylor Sculpt.*

JOHN DUKE of ARGYLE.

Published as the Act directs, September 12th 1738.

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

The earl of Mar, who knew that his number far exceeded the duke's, extended his lines as far as poſſible, with a deſign to take him in flank, and marched up to him in this diſpoſition.

The duke of Argyle, who till now ſuppoſed that the moraſs of Sheriff-Moor was unpaſſable, ſaw, that the two or three nights froſt had made it capable of bearing; and the rebels coming down the Moor with intent to flank him, having their right much extended beyond the point of his left; he found himſelf obliged to alter the diſpoſition of his front, to prevent his being ſurrounded; which, on account of the ſcarcity of general officers, was not done ſo expeditiouſly, as to be all formed again before the rebels begun the attac.

The left wing of the duke's ſmall army fell in with the centre of theirs, which conſiſted, eſpecially the firſt line, of the flower of the rebel army.

They begun the action by a general diſcharge of their fire-arms, and received the firſt fire of the royal troops without ſhrinking; but the captain of Clanronald, who led them on in chief, was killed, which had like to have ſtruck a damp upon them. But Glengary, who ſucceeded him, ſtarting from the lines, waved his bonnet, and cried three or four times revenge, which ſo animated the men, that they followed him cloſe up to the muzzles of the muſkets, puſhed aſide the bayonets with their targets and with their broad ſwords did great execution.

The three battalions of foot, on the left of the duke's centre, behaved gallantly, and made all the reſiſtance they could; but, being unacquainted with this way of fighting, they were forced to give ground, fell in among the horſe, and helped the enemy to put them in confuſion; ſo that a total rout of that wing of the royal army enſued. General Witham, with ſome of the horſe, riding full ſpeed to Stirling, gave out that all was loſt; but the general was miſtaking in that, as well as in the opinion he formed of the men he run from that morning before the engagement.

Upon the right wing of the king's army, the duke of Argyle commanded in perſon, and at the head of Stair's and Evans's dragoons, attaced the enemy's left, conſiſting chiefly of horſe, with ſuch intrepidity, that, notwithſtanding the rebels ſhewed they wanted neither courage nor inclination to ſtand, yet were obliged to give way, and were put into confuſion. The duke purſued them towards the river Allan, which he was forced to do, in regard that, tho' the diſtance is not above two miles, yet in that ſpace they attempted to rally again above ten times; and, whenever the ground afforded them any advantage, endeavoured to make a full ſtop; ſo that the duke having to do with troops of that diſpoſition, who likewiſe out-numbered him, was obliged to follow his blow, leſt he ſhould have loſt the advantage he had gained. Nor was it in his power to ſuccour the left, the rout of that wing happening ſo ſuddenly, and the officer, who commanded, leaving the field, almoſt at the firſt fire of the rebels, there was no opportunity to rally the broken troops a ſecond time.

Brigadier Wightman followed cloſe after the duke with three battalions of foot, and ran a very great riſque of faring in the ſame manner with the reſt, if the rebels had but had common prudence; for, no ſooner their right underſtood the diſaſter of their left, than they formed again, and returned bac to the field, following cloſe on the rear of Wightman's battalions, to the number of five thouſand. Some ſay, that body was led on by general Gordon, others by general Hamilton, others by both; and others, (and indeed with more probability) ſay, they were headed by Glengary; and that he, upon being ordered to attac theſe battalions, returned for anſwer, that the clans had done enough; and that he would not hazard them to do other people's work, (meaning the horſe) and remained upon a hill, where he ſeemed to form his men, as if for ſome new action.

The duke, having by this time intirely broke their left, and puſhed them over the river Allan, returned to the field; and Wightman, facing again to the right, took poſſeſſion of ſome incloſures and mud walls, which would ſerve for a breaſt-work, in caſe they were attaced, as they judged by the countenance and number of the enemy they ſhould. In this poſture both armies ſtood looking at one another, but neither caring to engage; when towards evening the duke drew off towards Dumblain, and the enemy towards Ardoch, without moleſting one another. [f]

The day after the engagement, the duke of Argyle

[f] This is the account of the duke of Argyle's hiſtorian; to which it may be proper to add thoſe which were ſpubliſhed by a kind of authority on all ſides. The firſt is colonel Harriſon's account, who was ſent expreſs to the king by the duke of Argyle:

The duke of Argyle being informed, on the 12th, that the rebels had come to Auchterardire with their baggage, artillery, and a ſufficient quantity of bread for a march of many days, found he was obliged either to engage them on the grounds near Dumblain, or decamp, and wait their coming to the head of the Forth. He choſe the firſt on many accounts, and, amongſt others, that the grounds near Dumblain were much more advantageous for his horſe, than thoſe at the head of the river: and beſides this, by the froſts then beginning, the Forth might become paſſable in ſeveral places, which the ſmall number of his troops did not enable him to guard ſufficiently. He likewiſe received advice, that the 12th at night the rebels deſigned to incamp at Dumblain; upon which, judging it of importance to prevent them by poſſeſſing that place, he marched the 12th in the forenoon, and incamped with his left at Dumblain, and his right towards Sheriff-Moor. The enemy ſtopped that night within two miles of Dumblain. Next morning his grace, being informed by his advanced guard, that the rebels were forming, rode to a riſing ground, where he viewed the enemy diſtinctly, and found, as they pointed their march, they deſigned ſtrait upon his flank. The Moor to our right, was the preceding night unpaſſable, and guarded us from being flanked on that ſide; but by the froſt was become paſſable. His grace therefore ordered his troops to ſtretch to the right in the following order; three ſquadrons of dragoons upon the right and left in the front line, and ſix battalions of foot in the centre. The ſecond line was compoſed of two battalions in the centre, and one ſquadron upon the right, and another upon the left, and a ſquadron of dragoons behind each wing of horſe in the firſt line. As the right of our army came over againſt the left of the rebels, which they had put to a moraſs, his grace, finding they were not quite formed, gave orders immediately to fall on, and charged both their horſe and foot. They received us very briſkly, but, after ſome reſiſtance, were broke through, and were purſued above two miles by five ſquadrons of dragoons, the ſquadron of volunteers, and five battalions of foot. When we came near the river Allan, by the vaſt numbers of rebels we drove before us, we concluded it an intire rout, and reſolved to purſue as long as we had day-light. The purſuing to the river Allan had taken up a long time, by reaſon of the frequent attempts they made to form in different places, which obliged us as oft to attac and break them, when they were in part paſſed, and others paſſing the Allan. Major-General Wightman, who commanded the five battalions of foot, ſent to acquaint the duke of Argyle that he could not diſcover what was become of our troops on the left; and that a conſiderable body of the rebels, horſe and foot, ſtood behind him. Upon that his grace halted, formed his troops, and marched towards the hill, on which the rebels had poſted themſelves.

Hereafter his grace extended his right towards Dumblain, to give his left an opportunity of joining him. There we continued till it was late, and, not finding our left come up, his grace marched ſlowly towards the ground he had formed on in the morning. So ſoon as it was dark, the rebels, who continued undiſperſed on the top of the hill, moved to Ardoch. About an hour after our troops, which had been ſeparated from the duke of Argyle, joined his grace. Our dragoons on the left, in the beginning of the action, charged ſome of the horſe on the right, and carried off a ſtandard; but at the ſame time the rebels preſſed ſo hard on our battalions on the left, that they were diſordered, and obliged to fall in among the horſe. The rebels, by this means cut of the communication betwixt our left and the other body; and they being informed, that ſome of the rebels were endeavouring to get to Stirling, the troops on our left retired beyond Dumblain, to poſſeſs themſelves of the paſſes leading there. We have, as yet, no certain account of the numbers killed; but it is reconed they may be about eight hundred, among whom there are ſeveral perſons of diſtinction. The quality of the priſoners is not yet fully known; only that the viſcount of Strathallan, two colonels, two lieutenant colonels, one major, nine captains, beſides ſubalterns, are brought to Stirling. We have likewiſe carried off fourteen colours and ſtandards, four pieces of cannon, tumbrels with ammunition, with all their bread-waggons. This victory was not obtained without the loſs of ſome brave men on our ſide. The earl of Forfar's wounds are ſo many, that his life is deſpaired of. The earl of Ilay, who came half an hour before the action, received two wounds, the one in his arm, the other in his ſide; but, the bullet being cut out of his ſide, it is hoped he is paſt danger. General Evans received a cut in his head. Colonel Hawley was ſhot through the body, but there is hopes of his recovery. Colonel Lawrence is taken. Colonel Hummers and captain Armſtrong, aid de camp to the duke of Argyle, are killed. The courage of the king's troops was never keener than on this occaſion, who, though the rebels were three times their number, yet attaced and purſued them with all the reſolution imaginable. The conduct and bravery of the generals and inferior officers contributed much to this ſucceſs; but, above all, the great example of the duke of Argyle, whoſe preſence not only gave ſpirit to the action, but gained ſucceſs as often as he led on. The troop of horſe volunteers, which conſiſted of noblemen and gentlemen of diſtinction, ſhewed their quality by the gallantry of their behaviour; in a particular manner the duke of Roxburgh, the lords Rothes, Haddington, Lauderdale, Loudoun. Belhaven, and ſir John Shaw.

Major-General Wightman's account was as follows:

Stirling, Nov. 14, 1715, at eleven at night.

'Laſt Friday I arrived from Edingburgh, where I had finiſhed all the works and barricadoes, that I had orders to do for the ſecurity of that town; and, as ſoon as I came to his grace the duke of Argyle, he told me he was glad to ſee me, and that, as he intended to make a march towards the enemy the next morning, he had ſent an expreſs to Edingburgh for me. Accordingly, on Saturday the 12th inſtant our whole army marched over the bridge of Stirling towards the enemy, who lay at a place called Ardoch, about ſeven miles from this place; and in the evening our army came within three miles of the enemy's camp. We lay all that night on our arms, and the next morning, being Sunday, I went with his grace where our advanced guard was poſted, and had a plain view of the rebels army all drawn up in line of battle, which conſiſted of nine thouſand one hundred men. They ſeemed to make a motion towards us; upon which the duke ordered me immediately bac to put our men in order; and ſoon after his grace ordered them to march to the top of a hill againſt the enemy: but before all, or not above half of our army was formed in line of battle, the enemy attaced us. The right of their line, which lay in a hollow way, vaſtly outwinged us, which was not perceived by us, nor poſſible for us to know it, the enemy having poſſeſſion of the brow of the hill; but the left of their army was very plain to our view, the moment we got to the top of the hill. Not half our men were come up, or could form. The enemy, that were within little more than piſtol-ſhot, began the attac with all their left upon our right. I had the command of the foot; the enemy were Highlanders, and, as it is their cuſtom, gave us fire, and a great many came up to our noſes ſword in hand: but the horſe on our right, with the conſtant fire of the platoons of foot, ſoon put the left of theirs to the rout; the duke of Argyle purſuing, as he thought, the main of their army, which he drove before him above a mile and a half over a

returned to the field of battle, and carried off the wounded, and four pieces of cannon left by the rebels, to Stirling, where he retired with all his army.

The priſoners of moſt note taken by the king's forces were the lord Strathallan, the lairds Barrowfield, Logie Drummond, mr. Murray of Auchtertyre, the viſcount of Strathallan's brother, mr. Drummond of Drumquhany, mr. Roſs, ſon to the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, colonel Mackenzie of Keldin, &c. with ſeveral captains, ſubaltern officers, and private men, amounting in all to the number of about eighty.

The earl of Forfar, the laird of Glenkindy, and lieutenant-colonel Lawrence, were all the men of note, who were mentioned to be taken priſoners by the rebels, who took likewiſe ſeveral captains and ſubaltern officers; and, according to them, about two hundred private men.

The number of the killed and wounded, on the ſide of the rebels, is ſaid to have amounted to eight hundred, and

river. As I marched after him as faſt as I could with a little above three regiments of foot, I heard great firing on our left, and ſent my aid de camp to ſee the occaſion of it, and found, that the right of the enemy's army, that lay in the hollow way, and were ſuperior to that part of the army, which we had beaten, was fallen upon our left with all the fury imaginable; and as our men were not formed, they cut off juſt the half of our foot, and the ſquadrons on our left. The duke, who purſued the enemy very faſt, was not appriſed of this; and, as he had ordered me to march after him as faſt as I could, I was obliged to ſlacken my march, and ſend to his grace, to inform him of what had happened. I kept what foot I had in perfect order, not knowing but my rear might ſoon be attaced by the enemy, that had beat our left, which proved to be the flower of our army. At laſt when the duke had put to flight that part of the rebel army he was engaged with, he came back to me, and could not have imagined to ſee ſuch an army as was behind us, being three times our number; but, as I had kept that part of our foot, which firſt engaged, in very good order, his grace joined me with five ſquadrons of dragoons, and we put the beſt face on the matter, to the right about, and ſo marched to the enemy, who had defeated all the left of our army. If they had had either courage or conduct, they might have intirely deſtroyed my body of foot; but it pleaſed God to the contrary. I am apt to conjecture their ſpirits were not a little damped by having been witneſſes ſome hours before of the firm behaviour of my foot, and thought it hardly poſſible to break us. We marched in a line of battle till we came within half a mile of the enemy, and found them ranged on the top of a hill, on very advantageous ground, and above four thouſand in number. We poſted ourſelves at the bottom of the hill, having the advantage of ground, where their horſe could not well attac us; for we had the convenience of ſome earth walls or ditches about breaſt high, and as evening grew on, we inclined with our right towards the town of Dumblain, in all the order that was poſſible. The enemy behaved like civil gentlemen, and let us do what we pleaſed; ſo that we paſſed the bridge of Dumblain, poſted ourſelves very ſecurely, and lay on our arms all night. This morning we went with a body of dragoons to the field of battle, brought off the wounded there, and came to this town in the evening. General Webb's late regiment, now Moriſon's, is one of the unfortunate regiments that was not formed, and ſuffered moſt. Major Hanmer is killed, with young Hillary, and many other officers. General Evans and I had the good fortune to be on the right wing with the duke. General Evans had his horſe ſhot dead under him, and eſcaped very narrowly as well as myſelf.

P. S. Our whole army did not conſiſt of above one thouſand dragoons, and two thouſand five hundred foot; and but a little more than half of them engaged. However I muſt do the enemy that juſtice to ſay, I never ſaw regular troops more exactly drawn up in line of battle, and that in a moment; and their officers behaved with all the gallantry imaginable. All I can ſay is, it will be of the laſt danger to the government if we have not force to deſtroy them ſoon. The loſs on both ſides I leave for another time, when we have a more exact account.'

The following account (given by the earl of Mar or his party, of the engagement on Sheriff-Moor near Dumblain, Nov. 13, 1715, was publiſhed by mr. Freebairn, the pretender's printer at Perth:

'There being various and different reports induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, to cover the victory obtained by the king's army over the enemy, the beſt way to ſet it in a clear light, is to narrate the true matter of fact, and leave it to the world to judge impartially thereof.

Thurſday, Nov. 10, the earl of Mar reviewed the army at Auchterardire. Friday 11, reſted.

Saturday 12, the earl of Mar ordered lieutenant-general Gordon, and brigadier Ogilvie, with three ſquadrons of the marquiſs of Huntley, and the maſter of Sinclair's five ſquadrons of horſe, and all the clans, to march and take poſſeſſion of Dumblain, which was ordered to be done two days before, but was delayed by ſome interruptions: and all the reſt of the army was ordered, at the ſame time to parade upon the Moor of Tullibardine very early, and to march after general Gordon. The earl of Mar went to Drummond-Caſtle to meet with my lord Broadalbin, and ordered general Hamilton to march the army. Upon the march, general Hamilton had intelligence of a body of the enemy's having taken poſſeſſion of Dumblain; which account he ſent immediately to the earl of Mar. A little after general Hamilton had another expreſs from general Gordon, who was then about two miles to the Weſtward of Ardoch, that he had intelligence of a great body of the enemy's being in Dumblain: Upon which general Hamilton drew up the army ſo, as the ground at the Roman camp near Ardoch would allow. A very little after the earl of Mar came up to the army, and not hearing any more from lieutenant-general Gordon, who was marched on, judged it to be only ſome ſmall party of the enemy to diſturb our march, ordered the guards to be poſted, and the army to their quarters, with orders to aſſemble upon the parade any time of the night or day, upon the firing of three cannon. A little after the army was diſmiſſed, the earl of Mar, had an account from lieutenant-general Gordon, that he had certain intelligence of the duke of Argyle's being at Dumblain with his whole army. Upon which the general was ordered to halt till the earl ſhould come up to him, and ordered the three guns to be fired; upon which the army formed immediately, and marched up to lieutenant-general Gordon at Kinbuck, where the whole army lay under arms, with guards advanced from each ſquadron and battalion till break of day.

Sunday the 13th, the earl of Mar gives orders for the whole army to form on the Moor, to the left of the road that leads to Dumblain, fronting to Dumblain. The general perſons were ordered to their poſts. The Stirling ſquadron, with the king's ſtandard, and two ſquadrons of the marquiſs of Huntley's, formed the right of the firſt line of horſe. All the clans formed the right of the firſt line of foot. The Perthſhire and Fifeſhire ſquadrons formed the left of the firſt line of horſe; the earl Mariſchal's ſquadron on the right of the ſecond line; three battalions of the marquiſs of Seaforth's foot, two battalions of my lord Huntley's, the earl of Panmure's, the marquiſs of Tullibardine's, the battalions of Drummond, commanded by the viſcount of Strathallan and Logie Almond, the battalion of Strowan, and the Angus ſquadron of horſe, formed the ſecond line. When the army was forming, we diſcovered ſome ſmall number of the enemy on the height of the Weſt end of the Sheriff-moor, which looks into Dumblain; from which place they had a full view of our army. The earl of Mar called a council of war, conſiſting of all the noblemen, gentlemen, general officers, and heads of the clans, which was held in the front of the horſe on the left, where it was voted to fight the enemy nemine contradicente. Upon which the earl of Mar ordered the earl Mariſchal major-general of the horſe, with his own ſquadron, and ſir Donald Macdonald's battalion, to march up to the height, where we ſaw the enemy, and diſlodge them, and ſend an account of their motions and diſpoſitions. No ſooner the earl Mariſchal began his march, but the enemy diſappeared, and the earl of Mar ordered the army to march up after them. By the other generals orders the lines marched off the right, divided in the centre, and marched up the hill in four lines. After marching about a quarter of a mile, the earl Mariſchal ſent back an account, that they diſcovered the enemy forming their line very near him, to the South of the top of the hill; upon which the army, particularly the horſe, was ordered to march up very quicly, and form to the enemy; but, by the breaking of their lines in marching off, they fell in ſome confuſion in the forming, and ſome of the ſecond line jumbled into the firſt, on or near the left, and ſome of the horſe formed near the centre; which ſeems to have been the occaſion, that the enemy's few ſquadrons on the right were not routed as the reſt.

The earl of Mar placed himſelf at the head of the clans, and finding the enemy only forming their line, thought fit to attac them in that poſture. He ſent colonel William Clepham, adjutant general to the marquis of Drummond, lieutenant-general of the horſe on the right, and to lieutenant-general Gordon on the right of the right of the foot, and major David Erſkine, one of his aids de camp, to the left, with orders to march up and attac immediately: And upon their return, pulling off his hat, waved it with a huzza, and advanced to the front of the enemy's formed battalions: Upon which all the line to the right, being of the clans, led on by ſir Donald Macdonald's brothers, Glengary, captain of Clanronald, ſir John Maclean, Glenco Campbell of Glenlyon, colonel of Broadalbin's, and brigadier Ogilvie of Boyne, with colonel Gordon of Glenbucket, at the head of Huntley's battalions, made a moſt furious attac; ſo that in ſeven or eight minutes we could perceive neither the form of a ſquadron or battalion of the enemy before us. We drove the main body and left of the enemy in this manner for about half a mile, killing and taking priſoners all that we could overtake. The earl of Mar endeavoured to ſtop our foot, and put them in ſome order to follow the enemy, which we ſaw making off in ſome ſmall bodies from a little hill below towards Dumblain, where the earl of Mar reſolved to follow them to compleat the victory. When an account was brought him, that our left, and moſt of our ſecond line had given way, and the enemy was purſuing them down the back of the hill, and had taken our artillery, immediately the earl of Mar gave orders for the horſe to wheel; and having put the foot in order, as faſt as could be, marched back with them. When he was again near the top of the hill, two ſquadrons of the enemy's grey dragoons were perceived marching towards us. When they came near the top of the hill, and ſaw us advancing in order to attac them, they made much faſter down the hill than they came up, and joined at the foot of the hill to a ſmall ſquadron or two of the black-dragoons, and a ſmall battalion of foot, which we judged had marched about the weſt end of the hill, and joined them. At firſt they again ſeemed to form on the low ground, and advanced towards us; but, when they ſaw us marching down the hill upon them, they filed very ſpeedily to Dumblain. The earl of Mar remained poſſeſſed of the field of battle, and our own artillery, and ſtood upon the ground till ſunſet; and then conſidering that the army had no cover or victuals the night before, and none to be had nearer than Braco, Ardoch, and the adjacents, whereby his lordſhip expected the left to rally, and the battalions of the lord George Murray, Innernyhe, Macpherſon, and Macgregor, to join him, reſolved to draw off the artillery, and march the army to that place, where were ſome proviſions. There were two carriages of the guns broke, which we left on the road. But theſe battalions did not join us till the next day afternoon, before which the enemy was returned to Stirling.

We took the earl of Forfar, who was dangerouſly wounded, colonel Lawrence, and ten or twelve captains and ſubalterns, and about two hundred ſerjeants and private men, and the laird of Glenkindy, one of the volunteers, four colours, ſeveral drums, and about fourteen or fifteen hundred ſtands of arms. We compute, that there lay killed in the field of battle about ſeven or eight hundred of the enemy: And this is certain, that there lay dead upon the field of battle above fifteen of the enemy to one of ours. Beſides, the number of the wounded muſt be very great.

The priſoners taken by us were very civily uſed, and none of them ſtripped. Some are allowed to return to Stirling upon their parole, and the officers have the liberty of the town of Perth. The few priſoners, taken by the enemy on our left, were moſt of them ſtripped and wounded after taken. The earl of Panmure being firſt of the priſoners wounded after taken, they having refuſed his parole, he was left in a village, and by the haſty retreat of the enemy, upon the approach of our army, was reſcued by his brother and his ſervants, and carried off.

Monday 14, the earl of Mar drew out the army early in the morning on the ſame field, at Ardoch, they were on the day before. About eleven o'clock, we perceived ſome ſquadrons of the enemy on the top of the hill, near the field of battle, which marched over the top of the hill, and a little after we had an account of their marching to Stirling. Upon which the earl of Mar marched back with his army, who continued about Auchterardire.

Tueſday, 15, reſted. Wedneſday 16, the earl of Mar left general Hamilton with the horſe to canton about Duplin, and lieutenant-general Gordon with the clans, and the reſt of the foot about Forgan and adjacents, and went into Perth himſelf to order proviſions for the army: the want of which was the reaſon of his returning to Perth.

Thurſday 17, the earl of Mar ordered general Hamilton to march with the horſe, and ſome of the foot, to Perth, and lieutenant-general Gordon with the clans, to canton about that place.'

After writing the former narrative, we have account from Stirling, that the enemy loſt twelve hundred men; and, after inquiry, we cannot find above ſixty of our men in all killed; among whom where the earl of Strathmore, and the captain of Clanronald, both very much lamented. Auchterhouſe is miſſing. Very few of our men are wounded.'

on the king's ſide to five hundred; but they never agreed in the accounts of their ſeveral loſſes [g].

It was reported, that mr. Drummond, an officer in the duke of Argyle's army, went to Perth under the pretence of being a deſerter, and was made aid de camp to the lord Drummond; and at the battle of Dumblain he attended the earl of Mar to receive his orders. When the earl thought that his right wing was like to defeat the duke of Argyle's left, he diſpatched this mr. Drummond to general Hamilton (who commanded the left of the earl of Mar's army) with orders to attac the enemy briſkly, ſince he was like to have the advantage on the right. But mr. Drummond, inſtead of delivering that order, gave the direct contrary orders to general Hamilton, and told him, that the earl of Mar was worſted on the right, and deſired him to retire with all haſte with as good order as poſſible. Upon which general Hamilton gave order to halt, which was obeyed. Then, the right of the duke of Argyle's army approaching them, moſt part of them gave way without firing a gun; and thoſe that ſtood were chiefly gentlemen and officers, who were ſo galled by the duke of Argyle's right wing, that many of them were killed on the ſpot, and others taken priſoners. And it is ſaid, mr. Drummond, after he gave the abovementioned orders to general Hamilton, deſerted to the duke of Argyle's ſide. But this is only report.

There was another thing very obſervable that day; mr. Robert Roy Macgregor, Alias Campbell, a gentleman eminent formerly for his bravery and courage, was with his men very near the earl of Mar's army; and being deſired by a gentleman of his own party to go and aſſiſt his friends, he refuſed, and ſaid, if they could not do it without him, they ſhould not do it with him.

The engagement being over, news was brought to the rebels of the ſurrender of the important paſs of Inverneſs to the king, on the ſame day the battle was fought. This ſervice was performed by Simon Frazer of Beaufort, lord Lovat, chief of the Frazers, who had hitherto appeared in the intereſt of the pretender. He came before Inverneſs on the 10th of November, where he was little expected in that manner, having been all his life of a contrary party. Sir John Mackenzie, who held the town as governor for the earl of Seaforth, had only three hundred men with him. With theſe he retired to a kind of caſtle or citadel, out of which he made his retreat on the 12th, and gave free poſſeſſion to the king's new friends. The ſecuring Inverneſs was a great blow to the rebels in theſe parts, for by it a free communication was opened between the earl of Sutherland and the well-affected in the counties adjacent to Inverneſs; and by this means the earl of Seaforth and the marquiſs of Huntley were not only drawn from the rebel-army to defend their own territories, but were induced ſoon after to make their ſubmiſſion; and a good number of the Frazers, who followed Frazerdale before, upon the change of diſpoſition in their chief, the lord Lovat, left the rebels, and increaſed the number of the king's friends under him.

The marquiſs of Tullibardine left the earl of Mar likewiſe, in order to cover his own country; and many of the clans, not ſeeing any likelihood of coming to an action, returned to their homes; it being the cuſtom with theſe people never to remain long in the field, unleſs they are kept in conſtant employ.

On the 12th of November arrived at Whitehall captain Williamſon, aid de camp to general Cadogan, with the news of the barrier treaty being ſigned, bringing with him a duplicate of the treaty itſelf for the king to ratify. This treaty had been a long while in hand, and had met with many difficulties and delays; and it was very much doubted by ſome, whether the imperial court intended to conclude it at all. But, after great diſputes, it was at laſt finiſhed at Antwerp, and ſigned by the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, the States-general, and the king of Great-Britain, by which the bounds of the imperial dominions in the Netherlands, as alſo of the States-general, were adjuſted, and the emperor became guarantee of the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover to the crown of Great-Britain, as the States-general were before.

Three days after, general Cadogan arrived at London from Flanders, and the ſame day three thouſand of the Dutch auxiliaries came up the Thames; and having refreſhed themſelves for ſome days in their quarters in the tower-hamlets, and Southwark, marched by land towards Scotland, and the other three thouſand were ordered to follow by ſea. But the winds being contrary, they were forced to put into Harwich and other places. Theſe troops not being uſed to ſea, ſuffered ſo much, that they deſired to land, and march wherever the king ſhould think fit. Accordingly they were ordered alſo to proceed by land to Scotland; and their march, with that of the three thouſand from London, was ſo regulated, as to arrive at Edinburgh about the ſame time.

A reſolution being taken to diſlodge the rebels from Perth, general Cadogan, by the king's command, ſet out on the 29th of November for Scotland; and brigadier Petit, with ſix engineers under him, was ordered to march thither with all ſpeed. A conſiderable train of artillery was alſo ſhipped off at the tower, and ſent to Scotland for this expedition.

About the ſame time colonel Stern's regiment arrived in the Thames from Ghent, where they had been garriſoned, and brought priſoners with them the lord Clermont, ſon to the earl of Middleton, who, in the year 1708, was taken priſoner in the pretender's expedition to Scotland, and mr. Murray, who by the name of Gordon, had lately been with the earl of Mar, and who were both taken in Flanders. The lord Clermont was committed to the Tower, and the other to Newgate.

With regard to the priſoners taken at Preſton, ſome half-pay officers being found among them, a court martial was held at Preſton on the 28th of November, to try the following perſons as deſerters; the lord Charles Murray, a younger ſon of the duke of Athol, major Nairn, and captain Lockhart, brother to Lockhart of Carnwarth, the author of the memoirs of Scotland. Nairn and Lockhart had belonged to lord Mark Ker's regiment; captain Shaftoe to colonel Frank's; enſign Erſkine to Preſton's; and enſign Dalziel to lord Orkney's. The five firſt were found guilty, and ſentenced to be ſhot; but Dalziel was acquitted as to the crime of deſertion, upon his proving, that he had reſigned his commiſſion ſome time before he engaged in the rebellion. The lord Charles Murray was reſpited till further orders; but the others were, on the 4th of December, executed. About five hundred of the inferior priſoners were ſent to the caſtle of Cheſter, and a great number to Liverpool; but all the noblemen and moſt conſiderable perſons amongſt them were ſent to London, where they arrived on the 9th of December, being guarded from Highgate by major-general Tatton, lieutenant-colonel of the firſt regiment of guards, at the head of a detachment of about three hundred foot guards, and a hundred and twenty horſe-grenadier guards. They were brought ſo far by brigadier Panton, lieutenant-colonel of Lumley's regiment of horſe, under a guard of one hundred of his troopers. At Highgate every one of the priſoners had his arms tied with a cord coming croſs his back; and, thus pinioned, they were not allowed to hold the reins of the bridle, but had their horſes led by a foot-ſoldier. In this poſture they were ranged in four diviſions, according to the four different priſons to which they were allotted; the noblemen to the tower; Forſter and Mackintoſh to Newgate; others to the Marſhalſea; and others to the Fleet; each diviſion being placed between a party of horſe-grenadiers, and a platoon of foot-guards. In this manner general Tatton ſet out from Highgate about noon, and proceeded to London through innumerable crouds of ſpectators of all ages and conditions; his drums beating all the way a triumphal march. The ſame day two of them, mr. Richard Gaſcoigne and mr. Thomas Butler, one of the duke of Ormond's natural ſons, were carried to the Cock Pit, where they were examined before a committee of the prive-council, and afterwards committed to the cuſtody of a meſſenger. The next day, the lord Kenmure, mr. Forſter, and brigadier Mackintoſh were carried to the Cock pit, where they were ſeverally examined by a committee of council, and then remanded, the firſt to the tower, and the others to Newgate. The ſame day likewiſe, mr. Gaſcoigne

[g] The account of the killed, wounded, and taken on the king's ſide, according to the muſter-maſter-general's rolls, Nov. 30, 1715, ſtands thus:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Taken.	
Foot,	241	120	110	In all
Dragoons,	25	53	12	
Officers,	14	11	10	
Serjeants,	10	3	1	
Total of men	290	187	133	610
Horſes,	42	75	40	175

and mr. Butler were examined a ſecond time, and then committed to Newgate. On Monday, the 12th of December, the earls of Derwentwater, Nithſdale, Carnwarth, and Wintoun, the lord Widdrington, and ſome others of the principal rebels, were alſo ſeverally examined, and afterwards ſent back to their reſpective priſons.

The rebellion in England being totally ſuppreſſed, the king's houſhold troops broke up their camp in Hyde-Park, the day after the priſoners were brought to London, and the artillery was ſent to the tower. However, for the greater ſecurity of London and Weſtminſter, an extraordinary horſeguard was placed in ſeveral inns between St. James's and Whitehall, with orders to patrole all night.

On the 22d of December, the pretender landed at Peterhead in the North of Scotland, with only ſix gentlemen in his retinue; among whom was the marquiſs of Tinmouth, ſon to the duke of Berwick. The pretender had imbarked at Dunkirk on board a ſmall ſhip, which had formerly been a privateer of eight guns. The firſt night he lay at Peterhead; the ſecond at Newburgh, a ſeat of the earl Mariſchal's. He paſſed through Aberdeen incognito (he and all that were with him being in the habit of ſea-officers) to Fetteroſſe, the chief ſeat of the earl Mariſchal. Here he was met by the earl of Mar, the earl Mariſchal, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of the firſt quality, who had left Perth with a party of horſe, on the firſt notice of his landing, which they received by an expreſs from Peterhead. At this place he appeared in public, and, aſſuming his pretended quality, permitted the noblemen and gentlemen to kiſs his hand. Whilſt he remained at Fetteroſſe, which was till the 27th, he formed a court, appointing all the officers of ſtate and houſhold, and made ſome peers, and ſeveral knights. He was proclaimed with great ſolemnity before the door of the houſe, and then publiſhed his declaration, dated at Commercy in Lorrain, on the 25th of October. It was printed at Perth by Robert Freebairn, who ſtiled himſelf printer to his majeſty, and was ſent to all the magiſtrates, miniſters, and juſtices of the peace within the rebel-quarters; many of whom, eſpecially in the North, publiſhed it according to the order ſent with it.

At Fetteroſſe, the pretender received alſo the homage of his eccleſiaſtical and lay epiſcopal ſubjects of the dioceſe of Aberdeen by addreſſes from each of them. [h]

During the pretender's ſtay at Fetteroſſe, he was attaced by an aguiſh diſorder; but he ſoon recovered, and, on the 2d of January, arrived at Briechen, where he continued two days; and, on the 3d, went and lay at Kinaird. The next day he arrived at Glames, and lay there that night. Next morning he made his public entry into Dundee, with the earl of Mar on his right, and the earl Mariſchal on his left hand, being followed by about three hundred gentlemen on horſeback. At the deſire of his friends he remained about an hour on horſeback in the market-place, allowing the people to perform the ceremony of kiſſing his hand. He then went and dined at Stuart of Garantully's, where he lodged that night. Next day he left Dundee, and dined at Caſtle-Lyon, a ſeat of the earl of Strathmore's, and lay that night at ſir David Tripplin's, and, on the 7th of January, arrived at the palace of Scoon, the ancient place of the coronation of the kings of Scotland, where he ſeemed reſolved to ſtay till that ceremony was performed.

On the 9th of January, about noon, he made his public entry on horſeback into Perth, and reviewed ſome of the troops, that were drawn out on purpoſe. He expreſſed great ſatisfaction at the appearance of the men, and was much pleaſed with the Highland dreſs, which he had never ſeen before. In the evening he returned to Scoon, where he began to form a regular council, and to perform ſeveral acts of ſtate. He publiſhed ſix proclamations; for a general thankſgiving for his ſafe arrival; for praying for him in churches; for the currency of all foreign coins; for ſummoning the meeting of the convention of eſtates; for ordering all fencible men, from ſixteen to ſixty, to repair to his ſtandard; and for his coronation on the 23d of January.

On the 16th of that month, a grand council was held, at which all the chiefs of the rebels were preſent. At the opening of it, the pretender delivered himſelf in a ſet ſpeech to this effect:

'I am now, on your repeated invitation, come among you. No other argument need be uſed of the great confidence I place in your loyalty and fidelity to me, which I entirely rely on. I believe you are already convinced of my good intentions to reſtore the ancient laws and liberties of this kingdom: if not, I am ſtill ready to confirm to you the aſſurance of doing all, that can give you ſatisfaction therein.

The great diſcouragements, which preſented, were not ſufficient to deter me from coming to put myſelf at the head of my faithful ſubjects, who were in arms for me, and whatſoever ſhall enſue, I ſhall leave them no room for complaint, that I have not done the utmoſt they could expect from me. Let thoſe, who forget their duty, and are negligent of their own good, be anſwerable for the worſt that may happen. For me, it will be no new thing, if I am unfortunate. My whole life, even from my cradle, has ſhewn a conſtant ſeries of misfortunes; and I am prepared (if ſo it pleaſe God) to ſuffer the threats of my enemies, and yours. The preparations, which are making againſt us, will, I hope, quicken your reſolution, and convince others, from whom I have aſſurances, that it is now no time to diſpute what they have to do: if, otherwiſe, they ſhall by their remiſſneſs be unmindful of their own ſafety, I ſhall take it as my greateſt comfort, that I have acquitted myſelf of whatever can be expected from me. I recommend to you what is neceſſary to be done in the preſent conjuncture; and, next to God, rely on your council and reſolution.'

This ſpeech was diſperſed with great induſtry; but the council ſoon came to a reſolution to abandon the whole enterprize, the firſt opportunity they ſhould have to do it decently. They were not in circumſtances to ſtand the attac of the royal army, which was now reinforced with ſix thouſand Dutch: but it was neceſſary to conceal this reſolution from their own people, till the proper meaſures were concerted to have them all diſperſed with the greateſt ſafety, without expoſing them to the inſults of the royal army. Had the reſolution been made public, it would have had this conſequence, that the common people would be ſo diſpirited, as not to be capable of taking care of their ſafety; and ſome of them perhaps might have had thoughts of revenging upon their leaders the danger, into which they had been drawn. For this reaſon the council gave out, they reſolved to fight the king's troops; and, accordingly, made all the preparation neceſſary for ſuch an undertaking, as if they had really intended it.

Expreſſes were ſent to the earl of Seaforth, the marquiſs of Huntley, and many others of their friends, to return ſpeedily to the army at Perth. Their head-quarters were fortified in

[h] The addreſs of the clergy, dated December 29, was as follows:

SIR,

'We your majeſty's moſt faithful and dutiful ſubjects, the epiſcopal clergy of the dioceſe of Aberdeen, do, from our hearts, render thanks to Almighty God for your majeſty's ſafe and happy arrival in this your antient kingdom of Scotland, where your royal preſence was ſo much longed for, and ſo neceſſary to animate your loyal ſubjects, our noble and generous patriots, to go on with that invincible courage and reſolution, which they have hitherto ſo ſucceſsfully exerted for the recovery of the rights of their king and country, and to excite many others of your good ſubjects to join them, who only wanted this great encouragement.

We hope and pray, that God may open the eyes of ſuch of your ſubjects, as malicious and ſelf-deſigning men have induſtriouſly blinded with prejudices againſt your majeſty, as if the recovery of your juſt rights would ruin our religion, liberties, and property, which by the overturning of theſe rights have been highly incroached upon; and we are perſuaded, that your majeſty's juſtice and goodneſs will ſettle and ſecure thoſe juſt privileges, to the conviction of your moſt malicious enemies.

Almighty God has been pleaſed to train up your majeſty from your infancy in the ſchool of the croſs, in which the divine grace inſpires the mind with true wiſdom and virtue, and guards it againſt thoſe falſe blandiſhments, by which proſperity corrupts the heart. And as this ſchool has ſent forth the moſt illuſtrious princes, as Moſes, Joſeph, and David; ſo we hope the ſame infinitely wiſe and good God deſigns to make your majeſty, not only a bleſſing to your own kingdoms, and a true father of them, but alſo a great inſtrument of the general peace and good of mankind.

Your princely virtues are ſuch, that, in the eſteem of the beſt judges, you are worthy to wear a crown, though you had not been born to it; which makes us confident, that it will be your majeſty's care to make your ſubjects a happy people, and ſo to ſecure them in their religion, liberties, and property, as to leave no juſt ground of diſtruſt, and to unite us all in true chriſtianity, according to the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and the practice of the primitive Chriſtians.

We adore the goodneſs of God, in preſerving your majeſty amidſt the many dangers, to which you have been expoſed, notwithſtanding the helliſh contrivances formed againſt you, for encouraging aſſaſſins to murder your ſacred perſon; a practice abhorred by the very Heathens. May the ſame merciful providence continue ſtill to protect your majeſty, to proſper your arms, to turn the hearts of all the people towards you, to ſubdue thoſe who reſiſt your juſt pretenſions, to eſtabliſh you on the throne of your anceſtors, to grant you a long and happy reign, to bleſs you with a royal progeny, and at laſt with an immortal crown of glory. And as it has been, ſtill is, and ſhall be our care, to inſtil into the minds of the people true principles of loyalty to your majeſty: ſo this is the earneſt prayer of, &c.

The city of Aberdeen, who were moſtly of the epiſcopal communion, followed the example of their paſtors, in the following addreſs;

We your ever loyal and dutiful ſubjects, the magiſtrates, Town-council, and other your majeſty's loyal ſubjects, citizens of Aberdeen, do heartily congratulate your arrival to this your native and hereditary kingdom. Heaven very often inhances our bleſſings by diſappointments and your majeſty's ſafe arrival, after ſuch a train of difficulties, and ſo many attempts, makes us not doubt but God is propitious to your juſt cauſe.

As your majeſty's arrival was ſeaſonable, ſo it was ſurprizing. We were happy, and we knew it not: We had the bleſſing we wiſhed for, yet inſenſible till now, that your majeſty has been pleaſed to let us know, that we are the happieſt, and, as ſo, we ſhall always endeavour to be the moſt loyal of, &c.

the beſt manner; and people of all ranks were zealous in promoting the work. Nothing was to be ſeen till the very day they abandoned the place, but the greateſt induſtry in throwing up intrenchments, raiſing batteries, planting guns, with all the other preparations of war. The pretender even iſſued out an order, for the burning of the village of Auchterardire, to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy. [i]

According to this order, ſeveral towns, as Auchterardire, Blackford, Dunning, and Muthell, and other villages, were burnt to the ground; by which the poor inhabitants, being only old infirm men, women, and children (the reſt being forced from their homes) were expoſed to the ſevereſt ſeaſon of the year, in one of the coldeſt winters that had been known for many ages. In the account publiſhed at Paris of the pretender's conduct in Scotland, it is affirmed, that, upon his leaving that kingdom, he had depoſited a ſum of money in the hands of general Gordon, for the uſe of the ſufferers by the execution of this order; which money was to be delivered by that general, with a letter from the pretender to the duke of Argyle. Whether this was publiſhed to take off the ill impreſſion that order ſeemed to leave upon the minds of the people, or whether there was any truth either in that or the letter, depends only on the credit of the account written by the earl of Mar at Paris. [k]

During theſe tranſactions, the duke of Argyle, in conjunction with the lord Cadogan, took meaſures to diſlodge the rebels from Perth, and remove the pretender from Scotland.

A number of the rebels having poſſeſſion of the town of Brunt-Iſland, on the other ſide of the road of Leith, the duke of Argyle ordered the men of war, then on duty in

[i] The order was as follows:

James R.

'Whereas it is abſolutely neceſſary for our ſervice, and the public ſafety, that the enemy ſhould be as much incommoded as poſſible, eſpecially upon their march towards us, if they ſhould attempt any thing againſt us or our forces; and ſeeing this can be by no means better effected than by deſtroying all the corn and forage, that can ſupport them in their march, and burning the houſes and villages, which may be neceſſary for quartering their enemy; which nevertheleſs it is our meaning ſhould be only done in caſe of abſolute neceſſity, concerning which we have given our full inſtructions to James Graham younger of Braco: Theſe are therefore ordering and requiring you, how ſoon this order ſhall be tranſmitted to you by the hands of the ſaid James Graham, forthwith, with the garriſon under your command, to burn and deſtroy the village of Auchterardire with all the houſes, corn, and forage within the ſaid town, ſo as they may be rendered intirely uſeleſs to the enemy; for the doing whereof this ſhall be to you, and all you ſhall employ in execution thereof, a ſufficient warrant.

Given at our court of Scoon this ſeventeenth day of January, in the fifteenth year of our reign, 1715-16.

By his majeſty's command,

M A R.'

To colonel Patrick Graham, or the commanding officer for the time, of our garriſon of Tullibardine.

[k] This account at large was as follows:

SIR,

'You ſeem ſurprized at the ſudden change our affairs here have taken, from what you expected by the accounts you had from ſome of our friends at Edingburgh, before our leaving Perth, and even after we were gone from thence. I will therefore, for your ſatisfaction, give you a true account of that whole matter.

It is plain enough, that it was our buſineſs to repreſent our affairs then to the public, to be in ſuch a poſture, as might encourage our friends every where, and diſcourage our enemies, and ſtop them from marching againſt us, until we were in a better condition to receive them; which we had reaſon to expect ſoon to be, by our friends joining us, as they daily promiſed to do and until we ſhould receive the money, arms, and ammunition we were every day expecting, as we had been for a long time.

But, that time being now over, I may freely own to you, and it is fit you ſhould know, that a month before the chevalier landed, the reſolution was taken of abandoning Perth, as ſoon as the enemy ſhould march againſt it. And, though this reſolution was known to a good number in our army, yet the ſecret was ſo well kept, that it never came to the public; ſo that the enemy, believing that we ſhould ſtand our ground, thought themſelves obliged to delay their march for a long time, until they had made great preparations of artillery, &c. as if they had been going to beſiege a fortified town: But, in reality, our condition was then ſuch, as obliged us to take that reſolution, having neither a ſufficient number of men, ammunition, nor arms.

Upon the chevalier's arrival, we expected that our friends would then have certainly joined us; both thoſe, who had formerly been with us, and were gone home, and thoſe, who before had given the chevalier, not being come, as the only reaſon of their not joining the army; and alſo that thoſe, to whom the reducing of Inverneſs, the lord Sutherland, and thoſe with him, was committed, would have vigorouſly performed that ſervice, and then have joined us; and we had no reaſon to doubt, but money, ammunition, and arms would immediately be ſent after the chevalier.

But, to our great misfortune, we were diſappointed in all theſe our hopes, though never ſo well grounded in appearance.

The rigour of the ſeaſon, and the great fall of the ſnow on the hills, kept in ſome meaſures the reſt of the Highlanders from joining us. Moſt of thoſe, who before had excuſed themſelves upon the chevalier's not being come, kept ſtill at home, now that he was come, waiting perhaps to ſee how his affairs were like to ſucceed. Thoſe employed for reducing of Inverneſs were ſo far from acting with vigour, that they made, what they called it, a ceſſation of arms with the enemy. Some gold was ſent to us in Lingo's; but the ſhip, in which it came, was ſtranded, and the gold itſelf loſt. Several ſhips came with officers, but neither arms nor ammunition in any of them. So that our condition, after the chevalier's arrival, was no ways bettered, except by the new life his preſence gave to the ſmall number we at that time had got together. Even in that weak condition, the chevalier would gladly have maintained Perth, or ventured a battle. But when the enemy, with all their great preparations, and an army of above eight thouſand effective regular troops were actually in march, and advanced near to the place, it was found impracticable to defend the town, and unadviſeable to enter into a battle with a ſmall number of men, that were in it, for a great many reaſons too long to be here mentioned. But in ſhort we had not above four thouſand, both horſe and foot; and of theſe, for want of arms, and for other reaſons, not above two thouſand five hundred to be relied upon as good fighting men. The town is little better than an open village at any time; and at this the river on one ſide, and a kind of foſſe or ditch on the other, were frozen up, ſo that it was eaſy to be entered on all quarters. The long continued froſt had kept the mills from going; ſo that there was not above two days proviſions in the town. The enemy being then in poſſeſſion of the moſt part of Fife, where the coal-pits are, there were no coals to be got; and, the wood being ſcarce in the country, there happened to be almoſt no fuel at all. Beſides this, the Highlanders are not uſed to defend towns; nor had they wherewithal to defend this.

On the other hand, to have gone out to fight the enemy, when there was no advantageous poſt or paſs to be defended, had been expoſing our men to viſible deſtruction; the enemy being provided with every thing, and thrice our number of fighting men, might have ſurrounded us on all ſides, and prevented all poſſibility of retreat. All this put us into an abſolute neceſſity of leaving Perth, and retiring northwards, which we did in good order, and came in two days to Montroſe, and Brechin. Neither of theſe places are tenable, though we had been provided, as we were not, with a ſufficient number of men, ammunition, and proviſions. But, Montroſe being a good harbour, where we expected our ſuccours from abroad, we were unwilling to quit it, ſo long as we could remain ſafe in it. We thought indeed, that the enemy would have made a halt at Perth, and not have marched ſo quickly after us, as we ſoon found they did, they being within a few miles of us before we had certain intelligence of it, though great pains had been taken to be informed of their motions. The earl of Panmure, not being recovered of the ſevere wounds he had received at the battle of Sheriff-Moor, was not in a condition to march along with the army, which otherwiſe he would have done; upon which the chevalier adviſed him, as he paſſed Dundee, to endeavour to get off in the firſt ſhip he could find; and, by accident finding a little bark at Arboth, went off in it for France.

Before this time ſeveral people had very ſeriouſly repreſented to the chevalier the deplorable circumſtances, in which his affairs now were on all ſides; that, being overpowered in Scotland, no appearence of any riſing in England, nor any news of the ſuccours he expected from abroad, he had no courſe at preſent to take, that was conſiſtent with what he owed to his people in general, to thoſe, who had taken arms for him in particular, and to himſelf upon their account, but by retiring beyond ſea, to preſerve himſelf for a better occaſion of aſſerting his own right, and reſtoring them to their antient liberties.

It was indeed hard to bring him to think of this; but thoſe about him found it now high time to preſs the matter more than ever, the enemy being within three miles upon their march towards us. They therefore again repreſented to him the impoſſibility of making a ſtand any where, till they ſhould come to the moſt inacceſſible places of the mountains, where in that ſeaſon of the year, there being ſo much ſnow on the ground, there could be no ſubſiſtance for any body of men together, and where no ſuccour could come to them. That, when his ſmall army was divided in leſſer bodies, they could not avoid being cut off by the enemies troops, who would then be maſter of all the low countries, and eſpecially by the gariſons they had in Inverlochy and Inverneſs, which they would reinforce. That, as long as they knew he was in the kingdom, they would purſue him, even with the hazard of their whole army, his perſon being the chief object of their purſuit, as his deſtruction was the only thing, that could ſecure their uſurpation; whereas if he were gone off, they would not purſue with that eagerneſs, nor would they find their account in haraſſing their army in the ſnow, and exceſſive cold of the mountains, to purſue the ſcattered remains of the loyal party, who might ſkulk in the hills, till providence ſhould open a way for their relief, or that they ſhould obtain terms from the government. That his perſon being with them would defeat even theſe faint hopes; and that in ſhort, whilſt he was in the kingdom, they could never expect any terms or capitulation but by abandoning him, or giving him up; which rather than ever conſent to, they would be all to the laſt man cut in pieces.

Though the chevalier was ſtill extremely unwilling to leave his loyal people, who had ſacrificed their all with ſo much zeal and alacrity for his ſervice; yet when he conſidered, that, as things then ſtood, his preſence, far from being a help and ſupport to them, would rather be an occaſion of haſtening their ruin, he was ſenſibly touched to find himſelf, for their ſakes, under a neceſſity of leaving them; there was no anſwering their reaſons, nor any time to be loſt, the danger increaſing every moment. He therefore at laſt told them, that he was ſorry to find himſelf obliged to conſent to what they deſired of him; and I dare ſay, no conſent, he ever gave, was ſo uneaſy to him as this was.

In the mean time freſh alarms coming of the enemy's approaching, orders were given for the army's marching towards Aberdeen, and the reſolution was taken for his going off in the evening. It happened very providentially, that there was juſt ready in the arbour a ſmall ſhip that had been deſigned to carry a gentleman he was then to have ſent to a foreign court. This ſhip was now pitched upon to tranſport him: ſhe was but a ſmall one, and could carry but a few paſſengers; and therefore, to avoid confuſion, he himſelf thought fit to name thoſe, who ſhould attend him. The earl of Mar, who was the firſt named, made difficulty, and begged he might be left behind; but the chevalier being poſitive for his going, and telling him, that in a great meaſure there were the ſame reaſons for his going as for his own; that his friends would more eaſily get terms without him than with him; and that, as things now ſtood, he could be no longer of any uſe to them in that country, he ſubmitted.

The chevalier likewiſe ordered the marquiſs of Drummond to go along with him. This lord was then lame by a fall from his horſe, and not in a condition to follow the army, and was one of the four with the earl of Mar, lord Tullibardine, and lord Lithgow, againſt whom there was then a bill of attainder paſſing. The chevalier would have willingly carried with him the two other lords; but it happened, that they were both then at a diſtance; lord Tullibardine at Brechin with a part of the foot, and lord Lithgow at Bervil with the horſe. Lord Mariſchal, gentleman of his bed-chamber, was alſo ordered to go, though he ſeemed very deſirous to ſtay, and ſhare in the

that road, to ſtand over; and throw ſome ſhot into the town. The captain had thrown but few, when the rebels abandoned the town, fearing as they ſaid, the captain, after his cannonading, would attempt to land; and their number was not ſufficient to defend the place. Upon notice of the rebels abandoning Brunt-Iſland, where they had left behind them ſix pieces of cannon, ſome arms, and a great quantity of proviſions, a detachment of Scots and Dutch troops were ſent over the Firth, to take poſſeſſion of the town, under the command of ſir James Montgomery. Upon this the

fate of his countrymen. Lieutenant-general Sheldon, vice-chamberlain, had the ſame orders; as had alſo colonel Clepham, who had left the enemy. Lord Edward Drummond, who was alſo gentleman of his bed-chamber, happened to be with lord Tinmouth, at five miles diſtance, and ſo could not go with the chevalier, as he intended they both ſhould; but he wrote to them to follow in a ſmall ſhip, that was then in the harbour; but the maſter of this ſhip was frightened, and went away without carrying any body.

The chevalier then ordered a commiſſion to be drawn for lieutenant-general Gordon to command in chief, with all neceſſary power inſerted; and particularly one, to treat and capitulate with the enemy. He left alſo the ſaid general the reaſons of his leaving this kingdom, and all the money that was in the pay-maſter's hands, or that he had himſelf (ſave a ſmall ſum for defraying his own and company's charges) and left orders for a ſum of money (if there ſhould be any left after paying the army) to be given to the poor people, who ſuffered by the burning of Auchterardire, and ſome villages about it, which had been thought neceſſary to be done, to prevent the enemy's march, though very much againſt his inclination; which made him delay from time to time, until the enemy was actually on their march; and the chevalier left a letter with general Gordon for my lord Argyle to be delivered when the ſaid money ſhould be given, deſiring, that it ſhould be diſtributed accordingly.

About nine o'clock the chevalier went on board the ſhip, which was about a mile at ſea. Lord Mariſchal and colonel Clepham came ſome time after to the ſhore; but by accident found no boat, and ſo could not go off; though, as the boat-man, who carried the chevalier, aſſured us, he ſtaid for them till near eleven o'clock, but could ſtay no longer becauſe of the nine men of war, that were cruiſing thereabouts: and it was great good luc, that the ſhip having ſtaid ſo long, got out of their reach before it was day-light.

As ſoon as the chevalier parted, we marched, and we are now a good way advanced towards the Highlands; for there was no ſtand could be made at Aberdeen; nor could we think of going to Inverneſs, that being ſtill in the enemies hands. Some went to Peterhead, and thought to have got off in a ſhip they found there; but we hear they were ſoon forced bac by a man of war: ſo it is like they may join us again, if they are not intercepted by the enemy.

I muſt add here one thing, which however incredible it may appear, is, to our coſt, but too true; and that is, that, from the time the earl of Mar ſet up the chevalier's ſtandard to this day, we never received from abroad the leaſt ſupply of arms and ammunition of any kind; though it was notorious in itſelf, and well known, both to friends and enemies, that this was what from the beginning we mainly wanted; and, as ſuch, it was inſiſted upon by the earl of Mar, in all the letters he writ, and by all the meſſengers he ſent to the other ſide. Several ſhips came with officers, and ſome ſmall ſums of money, after the battle of Sheriff-moor; and three or four ſhips more came after the chevalier's arrival. But, even when he was with us in perſon, no powder was ſent, nor a ſword nor muſket; ſo that, when we marched from Perth, we had not three hundred weight of powder for the whole army, nor ſhould we have wanted men, had we had arms to put into their hands. How the main point came to be ſo intirely neglected by thoſe, who had the management of the chevalier's affairs in their hands, on the other ſide, is yet a myſtery to us; and it ſurprizes us the more, that thoſe, who came lately over, aſſure us, that both arms and ammunition might have been gotten from private hands, without having the obligation to any foreign prince. So whether this unaccountable omiſſion proceeded from mere negligence, want of money, or from a jealouſy in ſome, who were perhaps unwilling that we ſhould be the inſtruments of this great work, and that it ſhould ſucceed in our hands, or ſome other by-reaſons, is what time may diſcover.

Thus I have given you true matter of fact, and a ſincere account of our unfortunate condition. Whatever may now be our fate, we have ſtill one ſolid ground of comfort, that the chevalier hath (as we hope) got ſafe out of the reach of his enemies; for in the ſafety of his perſon is all our hopes of relief; and we look on him as the inſtrument reſerved by God, and he now ſeems the only one in the ordinary courſe of Providence to reſcue theſe nations in due time from their oppreſſion, and the lawleſs dominion of E——.

Now if we look bac a little, and conſider our affairs from the beginning of this laſt attempt, I believe it will be found, that no nation in our circumſtances, and ſo deſtitute of all kind of ſuccour from abroad ever made ſo brave a ſtruggle for reſtoring their prince and country to their juſt rights. And when it comes to be known to the world (as ſome time or other it may) what encouragements there were at home and abroad, reaſonably to make us expect and hope for ſucceſs in this great, good, and neceſſary work, it will not appear a chimerical, raſh, or illgrounded undertaking; and its not proving ſucceſsful, as plainly appears by what has been already ſaid, and what follows, is not owing to the chevalier, or his faithful friends on this ſide.

When the earl of Mar, by the chevalier's command, came down to Scotland, he found the people there more forward to take arms than his inſtructions allowed him to conſent to; and it was not without difficulty that we could allay their firſt heat. But the chevalier not going into England, nor the duke of Berwick coming to Scotland, as was generally expected, abated very much of that forwardneſs; ſo that, when the government ſummoned thoſe they ſuſpected to appear, and give bail for their good behaviour, many of them ſeemed inclined to comply. The earl of Mar, in purſuance of his inſtructions, found it then high time, for preventing this ſtep, to appear openly; and it was not without difficulty, that he could perſuade ſome to join with him, they apprehending great uncertainty of ſucceſs in this affair, by no account being come of the chevalier, or the duke of Berwick's arrival, nor of money, arms, ammunition, or officers, though others were all along very forward. Upon the reſolution of taking arms, he ſent a gentleman to give the chevalier an account of it.

It was near a month after the earl of Mar ſet up the ſtandard before he could procure a commiſſion; and it is no ſmall proof of the people's zeal for their country, that ſo great a number followed his advice, and obeyed his orders, before he could produce one. It muſt be owned, and it is the leſs to be wondered at, that, his authority being thus precarious, ſome were not ſo punctual in joining him, and others performed not ſo effectually the ſervice they were ſent upon; which had they done, not only Scotland, but even part of England, had been reduced to the chevalier's obedience before the government had been in a condition to make head againſt us. But, as it was, moſt of thoſe who had promiſed, and ſome who had not, joined the chevalier's ſtandard at Perth about the end of October; at which time the earl of Mar ſent two gentlemen, to give the chevalier an account of the condition they were in, of what they had, and what they wanted, and to haſten his own, the duke of Ormond's, and the duke of Berwick's coming into Britain.

About this time there was a riſing of ſome noblemen and gentlemen in the South of Scotland, who, marching over the borders, were joined by ſome in the north of England; and they all marching bac into Scotland, the earl of Mar ſent over the Firth of Forth fifteen hundred foot to join them. This occaſioned the duke of Argyle's leaving Stirling, and going with a part of his army to Edingburgh. Now had the Scots and Engliſh horſe, who were then in the ſouth of Scotland, come and joined the fifteen hundred foot as was expected; had the highland clans performed as they promiſed, the ſervice they were ſent upon in Argyleſhire, and marched towards Glaſgow, as the earl of Mar marched towards Stirling, he had then given a good account of the government's army, the troops from Ireland not having yet joined them, nor could they have joined them afterwards. But, all this failing by ſome croſs accidents, lord Argyle returned with that part of his army to Stirling; and the earl of Mar could not, with the men he then had, advance farther than Dumblain; and for want of proviſions there, was ſoon after obliged to return to Perth.

But immediately after we had got proviſions, and that the clans and my lord Seaforth had joined us, we marched again towards the enemy; and, notwithſtanding the difficulties the earl of Mar had upon that occaſion with ſome of our people, he gave the enemy battle; and, as you ſee in our printed accounts of it, had not our left wing given way, which was occaſioned by miſtake of orders, and ſcarcity of experienced officers, that being compoſed of as good men, and marched as cheerfully up to the field of battle as the other, our victory had been complete; and, as it was, the enemy, who was advanced on this ſide the river, was forced to retire bac to Stirling.

Amongſt many good qualities, the Highlanders have one unlucky cuſtom, not eaſy to be reformed; which is, that generally after an action they return home. Accordingly a great many went off after the late battle of Sheriff-moor; ſo that the earl of Mar not being in a condition to purſue the advantage he had by it, was forced to return to Perth, waiting there, not without impatience, both for the return of the Highlanders, and for money, arms, and ammunition, he had ſo often aſked, and ſtill expected from abroad. But the Highlanders, hearing nothing of the chevalier, or the duke of Berwick's coming, nor of the ſupplies, did not return to the army, as they had promiſed: and the gentlemen of the army, who had been long from home, living ſtill at their own charges, which they could not well longer ſupport, went alſo moſtly home, ſome without leave, and others after a leave, which the earl of Mar ſaw well enough would be to no purpoſe to refuſe. Some indeed never thought of quitting the army, and others returned ſoon to it; but our number was never again near ſo great, as it had been before the battle. About this time we had the news of the fatal affair at Preſton, which was no ſmall diſcouragement to the army; ſo that ſome, who had been caballing privately before, began then to ſpeak openly of capitulating with the enemy, and found others more eaſy to join with them.

We had, at the ſame time, another piece of bad news; which was, that Simon Frazer of Beauford (by ſome called lord Lovat) had joined lord Sutherland; and that they, with the help of ſome other diſaffected people thereabouts, had retaken Inverneſs. Upon this news, moſt of the name of Frazer, who had joined the chevalier's army with Frazerdale, went now away, and joined Beauford, or lord Lovat, their chief.

This obliged the earl of Mar to ſend lord Seaforth North to get his men together, who had moſtly returned home after the battle, and in conjunction with the chevalier's friends in that country, to endeavour to recover Inverneſs.

In the mean time thoſe who were for capitulating with the enemy, preſſed the earl of Mar ſo hard to conſent to it, that to prevent ſome people's making private ſeparate treaties, which he found they were about, he was at laſt forced to comply ſo far with them, as to ſend a meſſage from the whole army to my lord Argyle, to know, if he had power to treat with them? That lord returned with great civility this anſwer, that he had no ſufficient power to treat with them in a body, but that he would write to court upon the ſubject. To which it was replied, that, when he ſhould let them know he had ſufficient power, they then would make their propoſitions. By which the affair was put off at that time, and we were ſince informed, that the lord Argyle never received thoſe powers; and that even his former powers, which he ſent up to be inlarged, were never returned to him.

Much about this time the marquiſs of Huntley having for ſome time preſſed his going home with his horſe, the earl of Mar conſented to it, and gave him a commiſſion, in conjunction with my lord Seaforth, for reducing of Inverneſs, and thoſe who oppoſed the chevalier's intereſt in that country, which we then hoped would be ſoon done.

After this ſome, though but few, were diſcovered to have private dealings with the enemy; and ſome others went home, and never returned to the army; but a good number of the noblemen and gentlemen, and all the heads of the clans, ſtill remained with the army at Perth.

We had about this time the long wiſhed-for news of the chevalier's being landed; and that put an end for the preſent to any further talking of capitulations.

I have now given you a true, and, I hope, a ſatisfactory account of the condition we have been in, ever ſince our firſt taking arms; of the bad condition in which the chevalier found us at his arrival; and of the reaſons that obliged him at laſt to leave us.

There remains yet to anſwer one queſtion, which you may naturally aſk, as moſt people do, on this ſubject; and that is, Why the chevalier delayed his coming ſo long?

To anſwer this queſtion to your ſatisfaction, I muſt tell you, that I have what I ſhall here relate, from perſons of unqueſtionable veracity, who were then upon the place, eye and ear witneſſes of what paſſed; and ſo you may ſafely rely upon it.

You have certainly heard, what was generally ſaid, of the chevalier's ſiſter's inclinations towards him, whilſt ſhe was in poſſeſſion of his throne. But, whatever there was of truth in that, what I am well aſſured of is, that he was at laſt ſo little ſatisfied with what was ſaid to him from thence, that he was fully reſolved, whilſt ſhe was yet alive, to have gone into Scotland; and in order to that, had already prepared a declaration, or manifeſto, to have been there publiſhed upon his arrival. How he was hindered from putting this deſign in execution by ſome real friends, that were themſelves impoſed upon, and by other pretended friends, who were at the bottom real enemies, is a myſtery, which time may diſcover.

Upon the firſt news of his ſiſter's death, he immediately took poſt, and

rebels quitted all the towns on the north ſide of the Firth; by which means the navigation to and beyond Leith was not ſo much interrupted, as in the beginning of the winter.

There happened ſome ſkirmiſhes between the detachments ſent to poſſeſs theſe towns, and ſome parties of the rebels; but none of any conſequence. The moſt remarkable ſkirmiſh was about the 2d of January, when the earl of Rothes, with a good company of volunteers, and a detachment of fifty Dutch, attempted to poſſeſs themſelves of the palace of Falkland, a royal foundation but now gone to decay. The rebels, having intelligence of the earls deſign, threw a party of their men into the place, and ſent another body to ſurround him in a village, near Falkland. The volunteers, to the number of thirty, found means to make their eſcape; but the Dutch foot were made priſoners.

To reſtrain the incurſions of the enemy upon the duke's new acquiſitions on the coaſt of Fife, three battalions of Dutch foot were ordered to paſs the Firth at the Queen's-Ferry, and take quarters about Innerkeithing, Dumferling, and the towns in that neighbourhood, which proved a ſufficient chec upon the rebels during their ſtay at Perth.

About this time the earl of Seaforth and the marquis of Huntley had capitulated with the earl of Sutherland, after many threatnings between them, which never came to blows. The earl of Seaforth afterwards involved himſelf again in the rebellion; but the marquis of Huntley ſtrictly obſerved the terms of his capitulation.

The duke of Argyle had now got all the ſupplies he expected. The ſix thouſand Dutch auxiliaries, under the command of major general Vanderbeck, had joined him; as Newton's and Stanhope's dragoons had likewiſe from England. But he was in great want of a train of artillery, which he had long expected from England, and which had been ſhipped for this ſervice; but the ſtormy weather and eaſterly winds continuing, the duke grew impatient of waiting any longer for them, and ordered general Cadogan to go to Berwick with a guard of five hundred men, and fifteen hundred carriage horſes, to bring thence ten pieces of cannon and four mortars, with their carriages and ammunition, which, with fourteen pieces, that he had already with him, was thought a ſufficient train for this expedition. The train being now ready, he was as much at a loſs for gunners to manage it, having few or none in his army; but the fleet, on board of which the train and ammunition had been ſhipped, arrived in the road of Leith on the 28th of January, colonel Borgard, who commanded the engineers and gunners ſent with theſe ſtores, arrived at Stirling on the 29th, ſo that now all things were ready for the intended attac of the enemy, which was reſolved in a council of war, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon.

On the 21ſt, two hundred dragoons were ſent, under the command of general Gueſt, to view the road, and diſcover ſome of the diſpoſitions of the rebels. This party, though only ſent to reconnoitre, put the rebels into the utmoſt confuſion at Perth. Some country people, whoſe fear magnified the number of the detachment, carried news to the town, that the duke of Argyle and all the army was within a few hours march. This ſtruc the whole rebel army with the greateſt conſternation; and the panic continued, till parties, ſent out as far as Tullibardine to view the country, returned with the report of the falſhood of the rumour.

Colonel Gueſt being returned, acquainted the duke of Argyle, that the roads were ſo covered with ſnow, that it would be impoſſible for the army to paſs, eſpecially the artillery and heavy carriages, except the ſnow was removed; upon which ſeveral thouſand people from the country were ſummoned in to clear the roads.

On the 24th, the duke and general Cadogan went out with a party to view the country, and haſten the workmen employed in clearing the roads. This likewiſe alarmed ſome of the enemy's advanced poſts, but did not, as the other, reach Perth.

The day before and that day it thawed ſuddenly; and the thaw was followed by a great fall of ſnow, which hindered the workmen employed in clearing the roads, who had now all their work to do over again, and rendered the deſigned march almoſt impracticable. This inclined moſt of the generals to defer the march of the troops till the ſeaſon was more moderate, none of them having ſeen a campaign in ſo cold a climate: but the duke was reſolute in the meaſures taken, eſpecially as he had poſitive orders from above, to attac the rebels without loſs of time.

On the 26th, the duke ordered two regiments of dragoons, and five hundred foot, to advance to Dumblain, with directions to poſt a ſtrong party at the demoliſhed bridge of Down.

On the 29th, the army begun their march, and proceeded to Dumblain; the troops, which were there before, advancing at the ſame time, to the old caſtle of Braco, expecting ſome reſiſtance, but they found it abandoned. The next morning the ſame party, with two pieces of cannon advanced upon the road to Tullibardine, to cover the workmen, who were clearing the way, and to prevent their being inſulted by the garriſon of Tullibardine. That day the army marched to Auchterardire; that is, to the place where it ſtood, for the rebels had burnt the village to the ground, ſo that the men were obliged to lie in the open air in as violent a cold night, as ever was known in thoſe parts. The next morning early they marched to Tullibardine, the garriſon of which place had retired, except fifty men, who were made priſoners. Here the duke of Argyle received intelligence, that the pretender and his army had abandoned Perth the day before, and retired towards Dundee. This was very agreeable news to the whole army, who had lain in the ſnow for two nights ſucceſſively. But, as it was four o'clock in the afternoon before the duke had the intelligence, they could not reach Perth that night. However the duke took

reſolved to endeavour at any rate, to get into ſome part of his dominions; but was ſtopped by thoſe, who had power to do it effectually. Being then forced bac to Lorrain, he made and publiſhed his proteſtation, which it is likely you have ſeen, and which, I can aſſure you, was drawn intirely by himſelf.

From that time, as before, he had nothing in his thoughts, but how, and when, he could aſſert his own right, and deliver his people. He ſaw little ground to hope for ſuccour from any foreign prince, and had only the affections of his people, and the advice of his friends on this ſide the water, to rely upon. Their intereſt ſeemed now more than ever linked to his; and they being upon the place, and conſequently beſt able to judge of the fitteſt time for his coming to them, it muſt be allowed, that it had been no ways prudent nor adviſeable in him to act contrary to their opinion: And yet it is moſt certain, that it was only by following their advice, contrary to his own judgment and inclination, that ſo much time was loſt. Some of them in England inſiſted upon having a certain number of regular troops to make head at firſt, without which, they ſaid, nothing was to be attempted: and though he ſent them word over and over, that, after all the endeavours he could uſe, he found it abſolutely impoſſible to obtain any troops; yet they inſiſted for ſeveral months in this opinion, and by that means the moſt favourable time, he ever had, was loſt. Other friends there pretended, that the diſpoſition of the people would ſtill grow more favourable towards him; and that there was no danger, but advantage, by delaying.

Thus, though he had ſeveral times fixed a day for his departure, he was ſtill forced to delay, that he might not act contrary to the advice of his friends; and at another time, becauſe he found, that his enemies had diſcovered his deſign, and taken infallible meaſures to intercept him. But as ſoon as his friends began to ſee and own the miſtakes they had been in, he without any regard to the many dangers he had to go through, ſet out from commercy the 28th of October, and went incognito through a great part of France to the coaſt of Bretagne; and to avoid falling into the hands of many, who were placed upon the common road to intercept him, he was obliged to croſs the country through bye-ways, with only three people with him. His deſign was to go to England, if things appeared favourable there; or, if they did not, to go to Scotland.

When he arrived at St. Malo's, he found the duke of Ormond returned from the coaſt of England, to which he had gone ſome days before, in hopes to have found friends ready to join him; but that having failed by ſome accidents of diſcoveries, he was forced to return. Upon this he reſolved to go into Scotland; and it not being thought ſafe for him to go through the Britiſh channel, he had been adviſed to go round Ireland; and by a meſſage from his friends in Scotland, it was propoſed to him to land at Dunſtaffnage, which was at that time in their poſſeſſion; but ſoon after the enemy came to be maſters of it, by the clans not performing what they were charged with in Argyleſhire, as is aforementioned. His friends immediately informed him of this change by a ſecond meſſage; and this confirmed him in the reſolution he had himſelf before taken, of changing, all his meaſures, and in place of taking that long tedious way, which was indeed the ſafeſt, to take a much ſhorter, though a more dangerous way for being intercepted by the enemies ſhips. He ſent therefore immediately to prepare a ſmall ſhip privately for him at Dunkirk; which was accordingly done, though not without difficulty.

He was a ſecond time obliged to traverſe a great part of France, and that on horſeback, in the very coldeſt time of this hard and ſevere winter; expoſed to greater danger than in the Forth, from the greater number of thoſe, who lay in wait for him on all the great roads, which obliged him to travel by unfrequented roads where there was accommodation bad enough; and yet all this time, in that terrible cold, he never had the leaſt ailment or indiſpoſition.

It was about the middle of December (our ſtyle) before he could reach Dunkirk. He was there informed, that there was a man of war then lying in that very road; and that there were a great many more cruizing on the coaſts of France, England and Scotland, all of them in waiting for him: but he without any regard to theſe dangers, went immediately on board this ſmall ſhip with only three ſervants, and conducted by good providence, arrived ſafe at Peterhead, where he landed the 22d of December, O. S.

Having, I hope, fully ſatisfied your curioſity, I have only to add, that though it hath pleaſed God to permit, that this attempt, though never ſo juſt, had not the wiſhed for ſucceſs; we have ſtill reaped by it one great advantage, which is, that we have ſeen with our own eyes, and perſonally known our lawful ſovereign, and to our unſpeakable ſatisfaction, diſcovered in him all the great and good qualities, that are neceſſary for making a people every way happy.

The time may, and I hope will yet come, when God in his mercy, will open the eyes, and turn the hearts of thoſe nations to a ſenſe of their duty, and not permit ſo accompliſhed a perſon to be always unfortunate. But however it ſhould pleaſe providence to diſpoſe of him, this I can aſſure you, and you may rely upon it, that as his right is indefeaſible, he is firmly reſolved, by the help of Almighty God, to aſſert it, whenever he finds a fit opportunity, and never to depart from it but with his life.

with him four ſquadrons of dragoons, and two battalions of foot, and marched that evening to take poſſeſſion of the town, where he arrived about two o'clock in the morning with the horſe; but the foot, through the length and deepneſs of the road, did not arrive till ten the next morning, very much harraſſed by their march. Had the rebels had any intelligence, that the duke was detached with ſo ſmall an attendance, from the main of the army, he might have been in ſome hazard; for the groſs of the army did not arrive at Perth from Tullibardine till late in the evening, the 1ſt of February.

The pretender and his party had now got two days march before the royal army. It was neceſſary therefore to purſue them without intermiſſion, that they might have no reſt. Accordingly the 2d of February the duke of Argyle continued his purſuit at the head of ſix ſquadrons, two battalions, and eight hundred detached foot; lay that night at Errol, and on the 3d arrived at Dundee, though the main army, which made more eaſy marches, did not come up till the 4th. Here the duke's intelligence made him judge, that the rebel army, which had now proceeded to Montroſe, would make ſome ſtop there, as that place was more tenable than Perth, and a ſea-port where they might expect ſupplies from abroad. Therefore he reſolved not to allow them to fortify themſelves, but ſent two detachments to Montroſe by two different roads: two thouſand foot and fifty dragoons went by the way of Aberbrothick, and three hundred more, and fifty dragoons, marched by the way of Briechen; but the ſnow was ſo deep, that the march proved very tedious to thoſe detachments, ſince they were obliged to ſummon in the country people, to clear the roads. On the 5th, the whole army marched; the duke with the cavalry, and train, by the road of Briechen, and the infantry, with general Cadogan, by the way of Aberbrothick.

In this day's march, they had intelligence that the pretender had made his eſcape, both from his own people and the king's army, the morning before, on board a French ſhip, called the Maria-Tereſa of St. Malo, then lying in the road of Montroſe.

It has been already obſerved, that the abandoning Perth, and diſperſing the rebel army as ſoon as they could get out of the reach of the king's army, had been reſolved ever ſince, if not before, the pretender's arrival in Scotland; but that it was neceſſary to conceal this deſign from the groſs of the army, as well as that the pretender, and ſome of the chief leaders of this undertaking, intended to make their eſcape to France the firſt opportunity. However, the army's abandoning Perth ſo precipitately, as to leave their waggons and artillery behind them, and then pointing their march to the ſea-ſhore, eſpecially to Montroſe, where it was known that ſeveral French ſhips lay, raiſed jealouſies in the heads of the army of what was really their intent, and produced conſiderable murmurings, which the earl of Mar could not appeaſe, but by countenancing the march from Montroſe to Aberdeen, where he gave out they deſigned to make a ſtand. The army was made to believe that the pretender was to go along with them; and, to amuſe them, his horſes and ordinary body-guard were drawn up before the door of the houſe where he lodged. This removing all jealouſy, the army became tractable again, and proceeded on their march. But the pretender, inſtead of going on with them, left his attendance in their uſual waiting, ſlipped out of a back-door, and went on foot to the earl of Mar's quarters, and from thence to the water-ſide, where a boat waited for them, and carried them on board with only three ſervants. The ſame boat returned, and took in the earl of Melfort, the lord Drummond, lieutenant-general Buckley, Sheldon, and others, to the number of ſeventeen in all, being perſons of the firſt rank, either in his houſhold or army, or originally privy to his deſign.

When they were all on board, the veſſel ſet ſail, ſteering to the coaſt of Norway, to keep clear of the Engliſh cruiſers. They had a freſh gale at Weſt-South Weſt, and made land the next evening; and, coaſting along the German and Dutch ſhores, they arrived in five days at Gravelin in France; and the ſame ſhip returned in twelve days from her firſt ſetting out, both to give intelligence of the pretender's ſafe landing, and to take in another party of gentlemen, which was done about Frazerburgh, after the main of the army was diſperſed in the hills.

The earl Mariſchal and the lord Tinmouth, ſon of the duke of Berwick, were about five miles from Montroſe, when the pretender imbarked; and ſo were left to ſhift for themſelves with ſeveral others. But it will appear from the ſequel, that both the earl Mariſchal and general Gordon were in the ſecret, though they pretended to make the army believe otherwiſe, to ſecure themſelves from their reſentment, and only ſtaid behind to conduct the army to a place, where they could with ſafety diſperſe them: which they did ſo effectually, that though the duke of Argyle uſed his utmoſt endeavours to come up with them, yet he could never overtake one party of them, and did not, in all the purſuit, from Perth to the Highlands, take a hundred priſoners. They kept ſo cloſe together, and marched with ſuch expedition into the mountains, that it was in vain for the duke to purſue them any farther.

When the pretender went away, he appointed general Gordon to command in chief. When that general arrived in the army at Aberdeen (where they were but coldly received, in compariſon of their former reception) he produced a paper of inſtructions which he had from the pretender, and which, he ſaid, he was commanded not to open till he came to that city. In this paper the pretender complains chiefly of diſappointments from abroad; and mentions the neceſſity he was under, for his own preſervation, to leave the country. He thanks them for their ſo chearfully undertaking ſo hazardous an enterprize, which, he ſays, would not have been liable to the preſent diſappointments, if their endeavours had been as well ſeconded by others, who had, by large promiſes, flattered him with their aſſiſtance. He recommends to them to conſult their own ſafety, and to keep together till they arrived at ſuch places, where they might ſeparate without becoming a prey to the enemy, and promiſes to let them hear from him ſhortly.

It was the 6th of February when they arrived at Aberdeen, the third day after the pretender imbarked. Here they ſtaid but one night, and in that interval procured three veſſels to carry over about two hundred gentlemen, who deſigned to make their eſcape that way. Theſe veſſels received private orders to meet them to the north of Aberdeen, about Peterhead, Buchan, Roſs, and other parts, where they took in their intended cargo; but one of them, falling in with the king's cruiſers, put in for the ſhore, where the gentlemen landed again, and followed the rebel army through by-ways. The other two veſſels, with about a hundred and forty gentlemen, arrived ſafe in France.

On the 7th, the rebels reſolved to leave Aberdeen, and began their march early in the morning, and had evacuated the place by two in the afternoon. General Gordon, with the foot, formed the van, and the earl Mariſchal, with about a thouſand horſe, formed the rear to prevent ſurprize. They marched to the left directly weſt through Strath-Spey, and Strath-Down, to the hills of Badenoch, where they quietly diſperſed the common people, moſtly to their homes, but with a reſolution to be ready to take up their arms on the firſt notice they ſhould have from general Gordon.

About this time ſeveral gentlemen, who had betaken themſelves to the hills about Lochaber, received advice, that two French frigates lay at the Orkneys in Pentland Frith, till they ſhould come aboard. Upon this the lord Duffus, ſir George St. Clair, and lieutenant-general Eclin, with about one hundred and ſixty gentlemen more on horſeback well armed and mounted, made a ſally from the hills, and croſſing in a body the ſhire of Murray, came down to the ſea-coaſt, near a place called Bruch. Here they quitted their horſes to their ſervants; and ſuch, as they had no uſe for, they killed to prevent their falling a prey to the king's forces; then went on board ſome ſmall boats to purſue their way to the Orkneys; but finding theſe boats too ſmall and dangerous for that boiſterous ſeaſon of the year, they put in again at Dumbeth; where they hired two large barks, in which ſixty of them got ſafe to the frigate of twenty-ſix guns. The others preſſed another Scots veſſel to carry them to the other frigate. When they arrived off that coaſt, the country people were alarmed, and afraid, that they were come with a deſign to plunder them, and ſeemed inclinable to fall upon them. But, the French ſhip coming in to their aſſiſtance, the people were ſoon ſet right as to their miſtake, and aſſiſted them in getting on board the French ſhip. Both the ſhips ſet ſail, and landed them at Gottenburgh, in the king of Sweden's dominions, who was then ſetting out with an army on his expedition to Norway, and received their offer of entering into his ſervice very courteouſly. But the lord Duffus, going to Hamburgh, was there ſeized at the ſuit of the Britiſh envoy.

In the mean time, the duke of Argyle was on his march to Montroſe, where he arrived on the 6th of February; and at Aberdeen, with five hundred men, on the 8th; but the reſt of the army not being come up, the purſuit could not be continued; only he diſpatched general Evans with two hundred dragoons to harraſs their rear, or endeavour to divide their horſe from the foot; and at the ſame time, to give

chace to the two hundred gentlemen, who had ſeparated from the reſt, to take ſhipping at Frazerſburgh but the general ſucceeded in neither.

While the duke of Argyle was in chaſe of the rebel army by land, the men of war were as induſtrious to annoy them by ſea, and hinder their eſcape. But they had not the fortune to meet with one ſhip belonging to the rebels; though they were not remiſs in their duty.[l]

With all this diligence both on ſea and land, it was ſtrange that any eſcaped: but it was much more ſo, that not one of them ever fell into the hands of their purſuers, but arrived every man ſafe in France; where they were hunted by the earl of Stair, the Britiſh ambaſſador at the French court, whoſe intelligence was ſo good, that there was ſcarce one ſtep taken by the pretender, or any of his moſt ſecret friends, without his knowledge; by which means he diſappointed the pretender of the greateſt part of the ſupplies he expected from France, and watched his perſon ſo narrowly, that he kept him a conſiderable time on that ſide of the water, to the general diſappointment of the rebels. By his repeated memorials to the regent of France, he kept him in conſtant obſervance of the treaty of Utrecht; at leaſt any violations, that were made, were only by connivance; in which caſes the earl was never ſilent, as appears by two memorials; the one writ while the pretender was in Scotland, and the other after he had abandoned it.[m]

The facts contained in the firſt memorial were too well vouched for the regent to deny them; and it was difficult to find any evaſion to reconcile them to the engagements of the court of France in the treaty of Utrecht; for which reaſon he did not incline to give any anſwer. But the affairs of the pretender taking a different turn, and he being obliged to leave Scotland, and being again arrived in France ſome days after the firſt memorial was delivered, the earl of Stair preſented a ſecond, to prevent his, or any of his adherents being ſheltered in that court [n].

The pretender, upon his return to France from Scotland,

[l] This appears from the following journal of their proceedings publiſhed at Edinburgh.

'Feb. 22. The Royal Ann galley, Pearl, Port-Mahon, Deal-Caſtle, and Phenix are returned from cruiſing. It appears from the journal of captain Stewart, that he had intelligence early of the pretender's having put to ſea from Montroſe in a clean tallowed French ſnow, which rowed out of the harbour, and cloſe in a long ſhore, a good while with her ſails furled.

'The Port-Mahon lay all that night within two leagues of the harbour's mouth; but it was ſo very dark, there was no ſeeing a ſhip at a quarter of a mile diſtance. Captain Stewart and the Pearl were off Aberdeen; and when the rebels marched out of that town, having notice of their marching northward, and that lord Tinmouth and others were contriving to make their eſcape from Peterhead or Frazerſburgh, he immediately diſpatched away the Pearl and Phenix to lie off theſe places, which effectually diſappointed them. He lay himſelf at Aberdeen, till the duke of Argyle arrived there. The winds afterwards blowing hard ſoutherly, he diſpoſed the ſhips moſtly on the ſouth coaſt of the Murray-Firth; ſent by the Deal-Caſtle a letter to the earl of Sutherland, to appriſe him of the flight of the rebels, and to prepare to receive them, in caſe they ſhould make a puſh at Inverneſs; and traced lord Tinmouth and his aſſociates as far as Port-Sary; where ſeeing a ſhip of war ready to intercept them, they deſpaired of ſucceſs on the coaſt, and therefore they joined the clans on the 10th inſtant, and took to the mountains. All the ſhips kept the ſea diligently, when wind and weather would permit, and obſerved the motions of his majeſty's army ſo carefully, that the duke of Argyle did not paſs through any ſea-port town without finding ſome ſhip ready to put in execution any ſervice his grace might have had to propoſe. On the 21ſt ſir John Jennings had advice from my lord Lovat, that a veſſel with the pretender's plate, and other effects on board, and a conſiderable ſum of money for his uſe, had lately put into the Lewis; and that many of the chiefs of the rebels were making off towards the Iſle of Skie, and other north-weſt iſlands: whereupon he immediately ordered the Drake ſloop thither, with inſtructions to cruiſe about the Orkneys, if the wind ſhould then be contrary; and by expreſs, directed captain Stewart of the Aldborough, to diſpatch the Happy-Sloop thither, and to cruiſe himſelf with the Lively, for fourteen days about the iſlands of Iſlay, Mull, and Canna, to endeavour to intercept the rebels, or any veſſels for their relief.'

[m] The firſt memorial, dated in January 1715-16, was in the following terms:

'The underwritten earl of Stair, miniſter of the king of Great-Britain at the court of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, repreſents to his royal highneſs the duke of Orleans, regent of France, that although his royal highneſs has ſeveral times aſſured the ſaid earl, that he would faithfully and punctually obſerve the treaty of peace concluded with Great-Britain at Utrecht, and that he would not ſuffer any arms, ammunition of war, officers or ſoldiers, to ſail from any harbour in France, for the ſervice of the pretender; and that his royal highneſs had accordingly ſent ſtrict orders to all the harbours in the kingdom for that purpoſe; it is nevertheleſs apparent, that things of this nature are daily embarked, and ſhipped off in the ports of France, without any oppoſition on the part of the officers commanding there. The late duke of Ormond and the pretender have frequently gone on board ſhips at St. Malo that were known to be loaden with arms and ammunition for the ſervice of the pretender; and that with ſo little circumſpection, that they have been attended with a whole troop of horſe, with their officers of the regiment of Nugent, all of them in their regimental cloaths, arms, and accoutrements, without meeting with any oppoſition from the commanding Officers of the moſt chriſtian king at St. Malo. The pretender finding it not adviſeable to venture to embark there, ſet out through Normandy to embark at Dunkirk; and the late duke of Ormond, not finding it ſafe to land in England, returned to Morlaix. During his abſence his royal highneſs did the earl of Stair the honour to tell him, that he would cauſe the ſaid troopers of the regiment of Nugent to be puniſhed as deſerters, if they returned to France; and the marſhal d'Uxelles aſſured him that he would cauſe them to be hanged. They are now returned, and have joined their regiments: The ſieur Beſach and his company, the arms and ammunition, which the late duke of Ormond had with him for his enterprize, are ſtill at Morlaix, and have been removed only from one ſhip to another. The commanding officer is ſo far from commanding thoſe arms to be ſtopped, that he refuſed to cauſe the ſhips to be ſearched, though he was deſired to do ſo by captain Campbell, commander of the Engliſh man of war lying in Morleix.

Several ſhips, with arms, ammunition, money, and officers for the ſervice of the pretender, are ſailed, within theſe ſix weeks paſt, from Dieppe and Havre de Grace, which are actually arrived in Scotland. And laſtly, a ſhip ſailed the 17th of this month from Havre de Grace, in ſight of an officer of the king of Great-Britain, who having repreſented to the marquiſs de Roveray, that there were twenty officers, both at Havre and Harfleur, ready to go on board to follow the pretender to Scotland; and deſired the marquiſs to give orders to prevent their embarkation, the marquiſs anſwered, That what he ſaid might poſſibly be true; but that he could not hinder the officers from going on board, having no orders from court ſo to do. The earl of Stair has ſeveral times repreſented to his royal highneſs the regent, and to the marſhal d'Uxelles, that ſeveral generals, colonels, and other officers, who are actually in the ſervice of France, deſigned to go over to Scotland, and join the rebels, and even has given a liſt of them to the marſhal; which generals, colonels, and officers are ſtill at Boulogne, Calais, Dunkirk, and other places thereabouts, ready to embark for Scotland, having been detained only by the contrary winds and great froſts; the commanders of the ſaid places alledging, that they have no orders from court to hinder the ſaid officers from embarking. The earl of Stair finds himſelf obliged to repreſent theſe things to his royal highneſs, that he may ſee, whether his orders have been punctually executed, and conſider whether Great-Britain has reaſon to believe, that the treaty of Utrecht is faithfully executed. His royal highneſs is deſired at the ſame time, to caſt an eye on the ſaid treaty. Furthermore, the ſaid earl of Stair finds himſelf obliged to notify to his royal highneſs, that the ſaid late duke of Ormond, and ſeveral other conſpirators againſt their king and country, ſet out ſome days ſince towards Bourdeaux and Bayonne; and that they have aſſembled on the coaſt of Gaſcoigne a great quantity of arms and ammunition, with ſhips to make a deſcent (as the court of St. Germain's give out) in Ireland, and cauſe a rebellion there, which that court flatters themſelves will not only be ſupported with money, but alſo with troops from France. The earl of Stair, who has ſo ardently deſired to eſtabliſh and maintain a good, ſincere friendſhip between the king his maſter and his royal highneſs, finds himſelf very uneaſy to have repreſentations to make about matters of ſo great importance, which are of ſo nice a nature, and tend to alienate the affection of the two nations from each other, and provoke them ſo far, that diſmal conſequences may enſue thereupon, if ſpeedy care is not taken to prevent them.'

[n] The ſecond memorial ran thus:

'The earl of Stair, miniſter to the king of Great-Britain, to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, by expreſs order from the king his maſter, notifies to his royal highneſs, the duke of Orleans, regent of France, the flight of the pretender, and the diſperſion of the rebels in Scotland, which his majeſty is perſuaded will be very acceptable to his royal highneſs, by reaſon of their near relation, and the ſtrict friendſhip which his majeſty has carefully cultivated with his royal highneſs.

The treaty of Utrecht being ſo lately concluded, the king thought himſelf ſure, that his royal highneſs, regent, would have taken proper meaſuers to hinder the pretender from ſetting foot again in France. But ſince the pretender has found means to return thither, his majeſty perſuades himſelf that his royal highneſs will oblige him, as ſoon as he has notice of it, to quit the kingdom.

His royal highneſs has two much reaſon and penetration, not to ſee the whole weight and juſtice of this demand. Great-Britain cannot be either ſafe or quiet ſo long as perſons, who have conſpired and undertaken with an armed force the ruin and ſubverſion of their country, are received and ſupported in its neighbourhood; nor can France itſelf be ſure, that they ſhall not be again expoſed to bear the blame of their evil practices.

The king of Great-Britain and the nation thought themſelves very ſafe on the ſide of France by the ſolemn treaty of Utrecht, which for ever excludes the pretender from France, and obliges France to give him no ſuccours, nor ſhips, nor arms, nor ammunition, nor money, nor officers, nor ſoldiers, nor councils, directly or indirectly. Theſe gentlemen came over, and demanded refuge and protection in France, where they are no ſooner arrived, but, taking advantage of the conveniency of the neighbourhood, and the facility of correſpondence by letters, they plot and contrive a blac and deteſtable treaſon againſt their country, which, upon the faith of the treaty, was diſarmed and defenceleſs. And, notwithſtanding the treaty, they find means to get entrance for the pretender into France, and by their intrigues procure him ſhips, arms, ammunition, officers, ſoldiers and money; with which aſſiſtance the pretender did actually invade Britain, where he occaſioned infinite damage to the nation.

His royal highneſs may imagine, whether Great-Britain can be eaſy in a ſituation ſo troubleſome as they would find themſelves in, having theſe rebels in their neighbourhood, ready to carry fire and ſword into the heart of their country. In this ſituation, Great-Britain would be obliged to keep always in arms, tormented with continual ſuſpicions and inquietudes; a condition much worſe than an open war. For a people, which love to live in peace with all their neighbours, and is jealous of the preſervation of their laws and liberties, his royal highneſs may ſee by the unanimous addreſſes of both houſes of parliament to the king, with what an eye the nation beholds this boiſterous and unſettled ſituation. The king hath the happineſs of his ſubjects too much at heart, not to come with eagerneſs into their ſentiments and intereſts; and he flatters himſelf, that upon this account his royal highneſs will not refuſe him ſo juſt a proof of his friendſhip, and of the deſire he hath to maintain a good underſtanding between the two nations.

For the ſame reaſons, the king of Great-Britain hopes, that his royal highneſs will be pleaſed to join effectual inſtances with thoſe of his majeſty, to the duke of Lorrain, to the end the ſaid duke may not permit the pretender to return into his dominions.

The earl of Stair is ordered likewiſe to put his royal highneſs in mind of the declaration he made, that the officers in the ſervice of France, who ſhould follow the pretender in the invaſion of Great-Britain, ſhould be broke; and the king is perſuaded, that his royal highneſs will not ſuffer the general officers, colonels, and others, who have followed the pretender in the rebellion, ever to be employed again in the ſervice of France; and that if it happen, that ſome of the ſaid officers ſhould return, or be

being perſuaded, that the lord viſcount Bolingbroke (who had entered into his ſervice as ſecretary of ſtate to him, and continued in France, in order to ſend ſupplies to him into Scotland,) had been faulty in the execution of his office, ſent the duke of Ormond to him for the ſeals, and removed him from all the employments under him. This occaſioned a controverſy (under his direction) by letters between his ſecretary mr. Brinſden, and mr. James Murray, afterwards made earl of Dunbar by the pretender. °

During theſe proceedings, Lewis XIV. of France died at Verſailles on the 1ſt of September, N. S. 1715, in the 77th year of his age almoſt compleated (having been born

already returned into France, his royal highneſs will puniſh them in ſuch a manner, that it may appear his royal highneſs and this government do loudly diſapprove of their proceeding, formally contrary to the treaty of Utrecht.

To the end there may be no miſtake in ſo nice and important a matter, the earl of Stair hath orders to demand an anſwer in writing to his memorial, which he is earneſtly deſirous may be ſuch, as may contribute towards the reſtoring of a good underſtanding between the two nations.'

The regent's anſwer to this memorial was as follows:

'His royal highneſs, being unfeignedly deſirous of advancing the glory and proſperity of the king of Great-Britain, heard with ſo much the greater pleaſure of the ſucceſs of his arms in Scotland, becauſe at the ſame time that this event ſecures the tranquility of the kingdom of Great-Britain, it will put a ſtop to the falſe reports that have been ſpread without foundation by the enemies of the public peace, with, deſign to alter the truth and friendſhip, which the king is deſirous to preſerve with the king of Great-Britain, and which hath always been one of the principal objects of his royal highneſs's views. And as he will punctually fulfil the treaty of Utrecht, he hath already employed the authority he is intruſted with, to make the chevalier de St. George depart the kingdom, and will continue to make uſe of the ſame authority to oppoſe his coming into it again at any time, or under any pretence whatſoever.

As for the fugitives, who are come into this kingdom from England, or who may hereafter come over, though no body is ignorant what the laws of refuge are in foreign ſtates, his royal highneſs being deſirous to convince the king of Great-Britain how far the king is from ſuffering any perſon whatſoever to abuſe the ſanctuary of his kingdom, as to maintain in Great-Britain an intelligence capable of diſturbing her tranquility, he will in concert with the king of Great-Britain, enter into any meaſures, which ſhall be thought proper for preventing ſuch an abuſe, and for keeping up a good underſtanding, by removing every occaſion of diſtruſt. And to ſhew beſides how far his majeſty is from bearing with the raſhneſs of thoſe, who dare to act contrary to his intentions, he has cauſed the ordinances to be ſtrictly executed againſt ſuch of the officers of his troops as went out of the kingdom without his leave.

If it be true what the earl of Stair ſays, that England was diſarmed upon the faith of treaties, it is no leſs certain, that no perſon whatſoever can ſay with truth, that ever his majeſty had a mind to take that opportunity to diſturb it, nor that he hath granted any ſuccours to the chevalier de St. George. It is well known on the contrary, that his royal highneſs hindered the ſuſpected armaments and imbarkations, when he had notice of them; and nothing better proves, that the chevalier de St. George was not aſſiſted by France, than the condition he was in Scotland, deſtitute of all things neceſſary for ſuch an enterprize.

His majeſty ſees with pleaſure the marks of a perfect intelligence between the king of Great-Britain and his parliament, ſince this muſt be the moſt ſolid foundation of the glory of that prince, and the happineſs of his ſubjects. His royal highneſs will always have a great concern therein. As he very truly deſires to keep his Britannic majeſty's friendſhip, ſo he will omit nothing, that may ſhew him how glad he is of the teſtimonies he receives thereof; neither will he interpoſe, directly or indirectly, to hinder the duke of Lorrain from granting, upon the inſtances of the king of Great-Britain, what he ſhall be pleaſed to aſk of him, with relation to the chevalier de St. George's reſidence in his territories. And, as he hath a real concern for the ſatisfaction of his Brittannic majeſty, he will ſee, with a great deal of pleaſure, whatever may contribute towards it. But his royal highneſs is perſuaded at the ſame time, that the king of Great-Britain will not deſire him to take any meaſures with a prince, over whom the king hath no authority, which cannot be grounded on any ſolid foundation, and which would add nothing to the rendering effectual the powerful inſtances of his Brittannic majeſty. An anſwer conceived in terms ſo plain and particular, ought to evince to all mankind, what are the true intentions of the king; and leaves no manner of doubt or obſcurity in relation to the ſincere deſire his royal highneſs has always had carefully to preſerve the amity of the king of Great-Britain, and to contribute in whatever depended upon the authority he is intruſted with, to the eſtabliſhment and preſervation of a good correſpondence and perfect friendſhip between the king and that of England.'

° Theſe letters were printed at London, 1735, in 8vo. but immediately ſuppreſſed. As they contain ſeveral curious particulars, it may not be improper to inſert them at large with the prefixed charge againſt the lord Bolingbroke, ſent from London, March 16, 1716, by the agents of the pretender, in relation to the affairs of Scotland during the rebellion of the late earl of Mar, as contained in the following letters between his lordſhip's ſecretary, and mr. Murray. By the aſteriſm [*] is to be underſtood the pretender.

The articles againſt lord Bolingbroke are as follow:

I. Lord Bolingbroke was never to be found by thoſe, who came to him about buſineſs. If by chance, or ſtratagem, they got hold of him, he affected being in a hurry, and, by putting them off till another time, ſtill avoided giving them any anſwer.

II. The earl of Mar, by ſix different meſſengers, at different times, acquainted lord Bolingbroke, before the * came from Dunkirk, of his being in diſtreſs for want of arms and ammunition, and prayed a ſpeedy relief; and though the things demanded were in my lord's power, there was not ſo much as one pound of powder ſent in any of the ſhips which by his lordſhip's direction parted from France.

III. The * himſelf, after his arrival, ſent general Hamilton to inform him, that his want of arms and ammunition was ſuch, that he ſhould be obliged to leave Scotland, unleſs he received a ſpeedy ſupply. Lord Bolingbroke amuſed mr. Hamilton twelve days together, and did not introduce him to any of the French miniſters, though he was referred to them for a particular account of affairs, or in all that time ſo much communicated his letter to the queen or any body elſe.

IV. The count de Caſtel Blanco had for ſeveral months at Havre a conſiderable quantity of arms and ammunition, and did daily aſk his lordſhip's orders how to diſpoſe of them, but could never get any, even to the hour the * landed in France.

V. The *'s friends at the French court had, for ſome time paſt, no very good opinion of his lordſhip's integrity, and a very bad one of his diſcretion.

VI. For a time, when many merchants in France would have carried privately any quantity of arms and ammunition into Scotland, my lord deſired a public order of the regent for the embarkation; which being a thing not to be granted, is ſaid to have been done, in order to beg a denial.

VII. The * wrote to his lordſhip by every occaſion after his arrival in Scotland; and, though there were many opportunities of writing in return, yet from the time he landed there, to the day he left it, he never received one letter from his lordſhip.

The lord Bolingbroke, in his firſt letter, after he received theſe articles, wrote as follows:

'The * and earl of Mar, and the others, who came from Scotland, are ſo much in want of any excuſe for their flight, that they have thought fit to have my lord Bolingbroke diſcharged the *'s ſervice in the moſt abrupt and injurious manner, under the pretence, that the want of powder, which he delayed to ſend, forced them to abandon Scotland. His lordſhip ſays, publicly, 1. That he is able to prove, that if they wanted powder, it was not his fault. 2. That, according to what the * and earl of Mar both ſay in their letters, they muſt have come away as they did, had they had all the powder in France. 3. That, if they had pleaſed to have ſtaid in Scotland a few days longer, they would have received near ten thouſand arms, and above thirty thouſand weight of powder, and other ſtores in proportion. And laſtly, That the true reaſon flows from another ſource, and that he knew and ſpoke of the deſign to diſcard him, long before the want of powder was ſo much as talked of. That he is unwilling to enter into the particulars of thoſe general heads for reaſons that may be eaſily gueſſed, ſince he is perſuaded, that he ſhall neither paſs for Driveller nor a Traitor among his friends.'

The ſecond letter was wrote by lord Bolingbroke's ſecretary in the following terms:

April 4, 1716.

I have communicated to his lordſhip what you wrote to me; and it is by his lordſhip's order, that I give you the following anſwer:

The charge that you have ſent over, is ſo full of improbable lies, that his lordſhip can hardly imagine it can have any other effect, but the ſhame and confuſion of thoſe that brought it; which is the effect of that villainous and ungrateful treatment, that thoſe people have given, and my lord has met with in that country, where they are equally deſpiſed for their folly, and deteſted for their immorality, by all the people of conſideration.

My lord has hitherto had two other reaſons for his ſilence.

The firſt is, That he cannot very fully explain the articles of his not ſending arms and ammunition into Scotland, without betraying the ſecret of thoſe, by whom he has been truſted, and under whoſe protection he lives.

And the ſecond is, That he cannot give the true reaſon of the ill uſage he has received, without expoſing ſome characters in ſuch a light, as will ſhoc every body. However, you ſhall have as much as can be at preſent given of the ſtate of things on this ſide of the water; of the method Engliſh buſineſs is put into; and of the hands that are truſted with it. After which you will pity my lord, and not blame him.

When he returned laſt ſummer out of Dauphiné, and at the deſire of his friends engaged in this buſineſs, he found himſelf immediately expoſed to a daily ſtruggle with difficulties of three ſorts. The firſt ariſing from the rivetted prejudices of one perſon. The ſecond, from the impoſſibility of keeping the queen, and the whole rabble of the court of St. Germain's, from meddling in buſineſs. And the third, from the cabals of French and Engliſh men, women and children, people of the moſt part of no name in the world, or elſe of very bad characters, who had been let into the moſt ſecret parts of buſineſs, and expected to continue ſo.

To get over the firſt of theſe difficulties, my lord ſaw would be the work of time; but he ſaw likewiſe, as the later it was begun, the harder it would prove; and that any yielding to thoſe prejudices, increaſed and ſtrengthened them. He therefore began upon the firſt, and continued upon every occaſion to combat them with great decency, but with great firmneſs, contrary indeed to the opinion of others, who imagine it will be time enough to talk of thoſe things, when his lordſhip thinks it will be too late.

As to the people of the court of St. Germain's, my lord knew enough of England and France too, to know they would be a load upon buſineſs, but no help to it. In England they are odious, and in France in contempt. The firſt is not very ſtrange; for you may depend upon it, that twenty-eight years experience had not made them wiſer in any degree. And the latter is ſo true, that my lord affirms, that he never yet ſpoke of Engliſh buſineſs to any man of figure on this ſide the water; but, before he would give any anſwer, he exacted, that the court of St. Germains (no one perſon excepted) ſhould not know any thing of it.

With this ſet of people, and a whole tribe of jeſuits, my lord therefore avoided all ſorts of commerce before the duke of Ormond arrived. He would not ſo much as ſee any of them, before his grace came, and thought fit to open his door to them. My lord could no longer avoid ſeeing them; but he never would enter into any familiarity with them. He choſe three or four perſons of ſenſe and activity. Some of them were Proteſtants, and others were very indifferent Roman Catholics. Thoſe he employed were as many as he wanted. During the time that my lord, much againſt his will, was obliged to reſide at St. Germain's, he obſerved the ſame conduct, and never aſſociated with any one man there but the duke of Berwick, who is not to be reckoned of the court, though he has lodgings in the houſe, who has a hundred times more capacity and credit than all the reſt put together, in concert with whom my lord all along acted, and by whoſe judgment he is willing to ſtand or fall.

With the other cabal of people, that I mentioned in the third place, my lord had at firſt ſome little communication, for he was thrown into their hands; but as ſoon as he knew their perſons, and informed himſelf of their characters, he broke all meaſures with them, and the rather, as they were made uſe of as people, who intended to do nothing, only to amuſe thoſe on this ſide the water, and by that means our friends on the other ſide: and for this uſe they were indeed very proper, ſince they are ſo inconſiderable, that they may be at any time diſavowed, without the leaſt conſequence.

But the thing, that principally ſhoced my lord, was to find the ſource of all buſineſs, and even the heads of the beſt and deareſt friends, truſted to the keeping of a multitude of people, ſome of whom, both men and women of the vileſt characters.

The third letter was as follows:

April 8, N. S. 1716.

It is eaſy to imagine all thoſe neſts of hornets flew about my lord's ears immediately, and that with the greateſt ſpirit, becauſe the duke of Ormond

on the 5th of September, 1638) and in the 73d year of his reign, which began May 14, 1643. His death produced a ſort of revolution in the government of France. The king, by his will, had placed the adminiſtration of the government in a council, of which the duke of Orleans was chief. But the duke was not, by his authority, to decree any thing, or iſſue any order in the name of the minor, without the advice and conſent of the council. The day after the king's death the duke of Orleans (attended as the kings of France uſually are on the like occaſions) came to the parliament of Paris, and, after the king's will was opened and read, complained of a diſpoſition ſo contrary to

obſerved a quite contrary conduct. It was more than ſix weeks before the return out of Scotland, and conſequently long before the ſix articles mentioned in your letter were prepared, or any other of the pretences againſt my lord invented, that we knew of the union of the ſeveral cabals in order to get rid of him; and that he ſpoke to ſeveral of his acquaintance of it. He was not much concerned at it, being from the firſt reſolved to ſerve upon a proteſtant and Engliſh bottom, or not to ſerve at all; and he confeſſes, that he did not imagine, that the duke of Ormond, for whom he has always had a very particular reſpect, would ever have been drawn in to put himſelf at the head of a party on this ſide the water, and indirectly (for he is far from deſigning any ſuch thing) to do the work of the factions above-mentioned. My lord knew indeed, and knew with great ſorrow, that his grace gave ſo much ear to them, and ſuffered the ſtories they had told him, to make ſo great an impreſſion upon him.

When the reſolution was taken of leaving Scotland, and the principal perſons returned hither, it was judged a proper time to make the utmoſt effort againſt my lord; and perhaps there were people, who thought that the loading of him would excuſe the precipitation wherewith Scotland was abandoned, if that precipitation needed any excuſe. Then were theſe articles againſt my lord formed, and falſe reaſons invented, where the true ones were not to be owned. My lord was diſcarded with all the circumſtances of provocation poſſible; he was treated as far as it lay in the power of thoſe whom he ſerved, with an affectation of indignation and contempt: as ſoon as the ſtep was made, the tongue of every fellow, that could be encouraged to ſlander, was let looſe.

Having thus given a general view of the ſtate of things on this ſide the water, and the true account of the animoſities againſt my lord, I ſhall in very few words, refute the ſix articles you ſent me over.

That my lord was ſeldom to be found with any direct anſwer to their buſineſs, is true, if by people is meant any ſuch, as in the former part of what I have writ, are deſigned; if by people is meant one man, who could be of uſe, or was, or fit to be truſted, the accuſation is falſe. My lord never look upon himſelf to be under any obligation of converſing, in order to carry on buſineſs, with a ſet of people, againſt whom he would have done his utmoſt to have ſhut the door, if the buſineſs had gone proſperouſly on.

As to the ſecond it is true, that my lord Mar wrote for arms, for ammunition, for money, for officers, and laſt, for a body of troops; but, till the arrival of mr. Hamilton, my lord did not underſtand there was any particular want of powder, more than of any other ſpecies. My lord uſed his beſt endeavours to procure all that was deſired, as well as other aſſiſtances, much more conſiderable, which had never been aſked for, or thought of, and which would have been procured, had the buſineſs of Scotland kept alive a little longer, and had other people done their part as my lord did his. Moſt of the veſſels ſent to Scotland were barks, fit only to carry paſſengers, and not capable of tranſporting arms and ammunition. By theſe conveyances however, ſeveral ſums of money were ſent, and particularly ſixty thouſand livres in gold at one time, of which ſo good care was taken, that every farthing of it was loſt: arms and ammunition were to be got but two ways. They were either to be bought and ſent into Scotland, or ſuch quantities, as had been before promiſed, were to be made uſe of. That there was not one farthing to buy them with, is ſo true, that my lord may appeal to thoſe of St. Germain's, who had the management of the money, upon this head. The little caſh that was procured, was either ſent in ſpecie to Scotland, or employed in anſwering the bills th at were conſtantly drawing from the coaſts. And beſides, if money had not been wanting, the neceſſary orders for buying, conveying to the coaſts, and embarking, could not have been procured. My lord imagines when the duke of Ormond reflects, he cannot but be ſenſible of this truth, ſince he cannot be ignorant, that a quantity of arms, he thought himſelf ſure of in October, were in February ſtill in the ſame place, and no nearer being ſent than on the firſt day. As for ſending ſuch arms and ſtores as were already provided, my lord knew of but two parcels; one, and that a ſmall one, might have been in Scotland in October or November, had the directions given by my lord been purſued. Why they were not, he will not ſay; but the fault is, that thoſe arms and ſtores are at this hour rotting in a magazine at Morlaix, where they have lain theſe five months. As to the other parcel of arms and ſtores, it is that which you call count Caſtel Blanco's, and contains a very large quantity of both. This Caſtel Blanco is a Spaniard, who, by the merit of marrying lord Melfort's daughter, ſets up for a manager of Engliſh buſineſs. But that thoſe arms and ſtores belong to him, is no more true, than that other report, equally current, of his having advanced one million and ſeven hundred thouſand livres for the ſervice of England and Scotland. His name had indeed been made uſe of for buying thoſe arms and ſtores in the late king of France's time; and his name was to be made uſe of again, if, at laſt, on that pretence, the French king would let them go; which is ſtill a doubtful point; and to cover them as arms and ſtores going for Spain, and intended for the Weſt-Indies. It is ſilly to ſay, that orders from my lord were wanting to ſend them. Theſe orders muſt have been of another kind; and ſuch orders could not be got ſooner, or in any other manner than they were got. This is a point my lord cannot ſpeak plain upon; and it muſt therefore reſt here, whether this Caſtel Blanco, one mr. Franc, and ſuch other meddling people, deſerve the beſt credit. I think it proper, however, to add, that in a fortnight's time, after there was the leaſt appearance of being able to ſend away the ſtores and ſhips, and all other meaſures neceſſary, were got ready and prepared, without any noiſe or the leaſt ſuſpicion, they might have been in Scotland, had they not been at laſt ſtopped by the French (which I ſtill ſay is a doubtful point) in five or ſix days time, when my lord Mar and his company from Scotland landed at Gravelin; from whence orders, as I afterwards heard, were ſent to every place, to ſtop all manner of imbarkation.

What is ſaid under the ſecond head, may ſerve as an anſwer to the fourth, as well as to the ſecond letter.

As to the third article, upon general Hamilton's arrival, my lord repreſented where it was proper, all that he brought by letter and by word of mouth, the very next morning. It is therefore a ſimple lie, and worthy of thoſe, who ſcribble from this ſide of the water, to ſay, that general Hamilton was amuſed for twelve days, as if, during all that time, the purport of his meſſage had been kept a ſecret. It is to be ſuppoſed, that the regent's and the *'s miniſters would not have conferred with a man of his circumſtances, and who came on ſuch an errand; but if ſuppoſing they had not theſe ſcruples, of what uſe it was for them to ſee him, when he could tell them nothing more than they knew already? But, be that as it will, I can aſſure you, that my lord, if he could have given him the opportunity, would, which, it ſeems, ſo much weight is laid upon.

The fifth article of that letter contains the moſt impudent falſhood that ever was invented. Without money and the orders aboveſaid, no merchant could or would undertake to tranſport any quantity of arms or ammunition; and I am able to cite ſome very great bargains of this kind, which my lord brought to bear, which failed at laſt for want of money, and the neceſſary countenance. The latter part of the article is an accuſition of incredible weakneſs; my lord is ſaid to have inſiſted on a public order, and to have declined making uſe of private methods for the imbarkation of arms and ammunition. I remember indeed, that when preparation was made for ſending away the arms and ammunition from Havre, as if they were going for Spain, and a ſhip had been provided for that purpoſe by my lord, which no man living ſuſpected, he had the greateſt difficulties imaginable to keep theſe wiſe people from embarking part of the ſtores aboard a veſſel, which every body knew to belong to the chevalier. As to the ſixth article, no body is better able to anſwer it than myſelf, ſince I entered all the letters which my lord writ; and there was no leſs than five diſpatched before mr. Hamilton came into France, by whom my lord received the firſt letter of buſineſs after the *'s landing there. Some of thoſe were loſt at ſea, and the three laſt packets were brought bac to my lord, the gentlemen, that carried them, being arrived too late in Scotland.

This, ſir, I give you by my lord's directions. He ordered me to add, that he employed the utmoſt diligence he was maſter of; and he believes it ſufficient to carry him through ſuch work as he has been concerned in of late, ſince it carried him formerly through his buſineſs of another-gueſs ſort. That he all along ſaw, there was nothing but mortification to be met with, and reputation to be loſt, among the people with whom he had to do; and that it was impoſſible for a man to act upon the principles he brought out of England with him, and have kept his ground here. That he never had any correſpondence, directly, or indirectly, with my lord Marlborough, or any man belonging to the court of England, ſince he engaged in this buſineſs. That he deſires his worſt enemies to advance the leaſt ſhadow or proof of any thing of this kind. That, as he was incapable of betraying a truſt while it ſubſiſted, ſo it is with the utmoſt reluctancy, that, in his own juſtification, he is obliged to ſay what he has ſaid; and that he ſhall be very ſorry, if the ſame neceſſity oblige him to ſay more. That nothing ſhall ever oblige him to repair his fortune at the expence of betraying any man; but that, ſince he is treated in this violent manner, he thinks himſelf at liberty to give his friends a true ſtate of the fact, and to declare, that he never will, upon any account, or upon any ſolicitation, ſerve the ſame people again: that he has withdrawn himſelf almoſt intirely from the world; and that in his retreat he ſhall heartily pray for the proſperity of his friends and of his country; and, without very much fear of what is to come, comfort himſelf with the teſtimony of a good conſcience.

The fourth letter was as follows:

Paris, April 14, 1716.

I hope you have received my laſt of the 9th inſtant, which, with my former, will give you a light into affairs here, and be an anſwer to the articles you ſent. There are abundance of things more my lord could ſay to clear himſelf, but he rather chuſes to be ſilent.

Thoſe on this ſide, who firſt raiſed the ſtorm, begin to be ſenſible of their folly. My lord all along has acted like a wiſe, prudent, and honeſt man: they quite the contrary. And would they have ſtaid a very few days longer in Scotland, (which every body now agrees they might have done) they would have had ſuch aſſiſtances, which in all propability muſt have reſtored them.

There are many more circumſtances, which I am not at liberty to mention. All is referred to, &c.

A reply to the foregoing letter:

SIR,

I had the favour of yours, and return you thanks for the copies you incloſed of the letters writ by the lord Bolingbroke's orders, the firſt of which was without a date; the reſt of the 4th, 8th, and 18th of April. I was pleaſed to find the *'s conduct, in removing his lordſhip, thoroughly cleared by the weakneſs of his defence. And when I read the ſcurrilous paſſages of his letters, as that he was turned out in the moſt abrupt and injurious manner, and had met with villainous and ungrateful treatment, I was filled with indignation to ſee the beſt of princes inſulted by an unworthy ſubject, a negligent miniſter excuſing his faults at the expence of his maſter's honour, and wiping off his own guilt by throwing it on the dukes of Ormond and Mar, who had given ſuch unqueſtionable proofs of their p——y and loyalty.

Though you deſire a particular anſwer to his lordſhip's letters, I am perſuaded, that it is your opinion, that they do not deſerve it. However, to gratify your curioſity, I will put his management of the *'s affairs in ſo true a light, as muſt convince every loyal ſubject of the neceſſity of diſplacing him.

His lordſhip's letters are not calculated ſo much to clear himſelf, as to weaken the *'s intereſt in England, and to diſcourage all correſpondence with him. He has given general anſwers to particular charges. There are evident marks of guilt and concern at the diſcovery of his actions in every line; and an innocent man, with his lordſhip's pen, could have made a more plauſible defence. Before I enter into particulars, I cannot but obſerve, that his narrative of facts is as true as the accounts he gives of himſelf, that he was 'withdrawn from the world: that in this retreat he will heartily pray for the proſperity of his friends, and comfort himſelf with the teſtimony of a good conſcience.' The goodneſs of his conſcience will appear from the diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in him: and they, who are acquainted with his lordſhip's character, muſt be ſurprized at his reflection on the immorality and bad characters of others.

The ſubſtance of his lordſhip's apology for himſelf is, 'that, if they wanted arms and powder in Scotland, it was not his fault: that he had neither money to buy them with, nor could he obtain orders for imbarking them. That without money, and the neceſſary orders to the officers of the ports, no private merchant could or would undertake to ſhip off any quantity. That the * and duke of Mar ſay in their letters, they muſt have left Scotland, had they had all the arms and powder in France: and that, if they had ſtaid a few days longer, they would have had ten thouſand arms, thirty thouſand weight of powder, and other ſtores in proportion.' And he modeſtly concludes,

the laws of the realm, and ſo prejudicial to his right. He therefore moved, that the will ſhould not be regiſtered, but that the parliament ſhould adjudge the regency to him without any reſtriction. They immediately complied with his motion, and adjudged the regency to him, with power to nominate ſuch ſubordinate councils for preparing all things to be laid before him, as he ſhould think fit. Lewis XIV. was ſucceeded by his great grandſon Lewis XV. ſon of the duke of Burgundy (who was dauphin after the death of his father) and of Maria Adelaida of Savoy. Lewis XV. was born the 15th of February 1710, and was between five and ſix years old when his great grandfather died. He was

'That he has all along acted like a prudent, honeſt, and wiſe man, and they (that is, the *, and dukes of Ormond and Mar) quite the contrary.

There are other particulars obſerved by his lordſhip, which ſhall be remarked in their proper place; and you may be aſſured, that I will give you an impartial narrative of facts: that I will mention nothing but what the dukes of Ormond and Mar will atteſt upon their honour: and if there wanted any additional proof, that the truth of every article might be confirmed by the teſtimony of ſeveral gentlemen of probity, who were employed.

The printed letter from an officer in the *'s army, after it had marched northwards from Aberdeen, will inform you of the ſtate of affairs in Scotland; and the extreme want they were in of arms and ammunition. The duke of Mar, by ſix ſeveral expreſſes, ſolicited lord Bolingbroke for an immediate ſupply. In all his letters he aſſures him, that numbers of men would join him, if he had arms for them; and that he wanted powder for the few arms that he had. His lordſhip's excuſe, that, till general Hamilton's arrival, he did not know, that there was a particular want of powder, more than of any other ſpecies, is falſe and frivolous; for the want of powder was ſpecified in ſeveral letters; and his lordſhip underſtands Engliſh too well not to know, that powder is principally intended by the word ammunition.

The want of money to provide arms is as groundleſs, as his other pretenſions. For, though the * did not abound in money, there was always a ſufficient ſum for that ſervice. Ten ſhillings is the price of a new muſket, and, ſince the reduction of the troops in France, ſerviceable arms were to be had at 20d. a peice: and his lordſhip probably means ſuch ſecond-hand arms by the great bargains he brought to bear, but failed for want of money.'

His lordſhip declines anſwering the charge of his inſiſting on a public order, and neglecting private methods of embarkation; and ſlides off into an idle ſtory of a ſhip at Havre de Grace, which, ſuppoſing it true, is nothing to the purpoſe. He knew, that a public order would not be granted; and he owns, that a connivance from the officers might be depended upon; and therefore it may be preſumed, that his conduct in this caſe was to amuſe the *'s friends in Scotland, and cover his wilful neglect of them. His lordſhip's firſt excuſe, though not mentioned in any of his letters, for not ſending arms, was, 'leſt the going of many ſhips through the channel ſhould draw the attention of the enemy's fleet that way, and endanger the *'s paſſage.' But what reaſon can be given why arms and ammunition were not ſent in the ſhips, that went to Scotland before the *, or in thoſe that followed him? Why ſome arms and powder were not put in every one of them that parted from France? And as a dozen ſhips arrived ſafe, they might have carried a ſufficient ſupply of every thing that was wanting. The ſmallneſs of the ſhips is a poor plea; for, if they were fit to tranſport paſſengers, they might alſo have carried ſome powder, and ſome arms; and ſuppoſing they could not, why were ſuch uſeleſs veſſels provided for that ſervice? Of what moment was it to ſend officers to command men, who, as his lordſhip knew, were neither furniſhed with powder nor arms? Beſides, thoſe ſhips, which arrived in Scotland, were each of them of ſufficient bulk to carry arms and ammunition.

His lordſhip appeals to the duke of Ormond for the truth of a paſſage in his third letter, 'That a quantity of arms, which his grace thought himſelf ſure of in October, were in February ſtill in the ſame place, and no nearer being ſent than the firſt day; and that a ſmall parcel might have been in Scotland in October or November, had the direction given by his lordſhip been purſued; and that theſe arms and ſtores are now rotting in a magazine at Morlaix.' Though his lordſhip pretends an unwillingneſs to mention where the fault of not ſending this ſupply lay, he ſtrongly intimates, that the duke of Ormond was blameable in it; and with what ſincerity that reflection on his grace was made, will be beſt judged from a true account of the circumſtances of that affair.

The ſhip loaden with the arms above mentioned arrived in the river of Morlaix the 24th of December, when the duke of Ormond returned from his ſecond attempt to land in England. W——n, the maſter of the veſſel, ſaid he was too deeply loaden, and too ſmall to undertake a voyage to Scotland in that rigorous ſeaſon of the year. It was then reſolved to put them on board of another ſhip, commanded by H——s, and the only veſſel that could be procured in that port at that time. H——s's ſhip was foul, and hauled aſhore to be cleaned. His crew were afraid of being taken at ſea, and on that account mutinied, and moſt of them deſerted; and while another crew was providing, on the 3d of January, the Adventure, and the Charles-Galley, two Engliſh men of war, came into the river, and anchored near her. Information was given to the captains, that H——s's ſhip belonged to the *, and that W——n was loaden with arms for his majeſty's ſervice. Whereupon W——n's veſſel was unloaden in the night, and the arms were privately conveyed to a magazine. The two men of war remained in the river till the beginning of March; and it was impraticable for H——s to ſail while they were there, becauſe out of the river is narrow, and it was impoſſible to paſs the men of war unobſerved, even in the night. In the mean time, the utmoſt endeavours were uſed to remedy this accident: it was reſolved to carry the arms a few leagues by land, and an agreement was made for a ſhip, that lay out of the reach of the men of war to carry them to Scotland; but afterwards the owner's heart failed him, and he peremptorily refuſed to ſtand to the bargain. The truth of theſe particulars is atteſted by his grace the duke of Ormond, and captain Cammock's journal; and when his lordſhip recollects himſelf, he cannot be ignorant of them.

Thus you ſee the true reaſon of the miſcarriage of the ſupply, that the accidents could neither be prevented nor remedied; that this 'parcel of arms might have been in Scotland in October or November, if his directions had been purſued,' though theſe directions were dated from Paris the 16th of December, and the ſhips that were to carry them, arrived in the port the 24th: that his lordſhip's exactneſs in other points may be judged of by this ſmall inſtance; and that a miſtake of two months in a fact of ſo late a date can hardly be excuſed as a failure in point of memory.

That ſhips might have been privately ſent without a public order, is evident, becauſe that quantity of arms, which lord Bolingbroke ſays were ſtill rotting in a magazine at Morlaix, were ſent by the * to Scotland ſoon after his return to France, and a month before the date of his lordſhip's letter; and two other ſhips loaden with arms and ſtores were alſo ſent from another port. And this was done at a time when the *'s affairs were deſperate, and whithout the privity and conſent of the French court.

In ſhort, lord Bolingbroke's defence on every particular of this head is weak and ſuperficial. Several private merchants would have ſupplied the * with arms, if they had been applied to by his lordſhip. Neither the * nor the duke of Mar affirm in their letters, that they muſt leave Scotland, though they had all the arms and ammunition of France. The eight thouſand arms, &c. lying at Havre, would have been ſent by a gentleman, who was zealous for the *'s ſucceſs, if he had not been amuſed for ſeveral months, and diverted from applying for an order, by his lordſhip's ſaying, that he would obtain one: and the ten thouſand arms, and the thirty thouſand weight of powder, which he ſays would have been ſent to Scotland, if they had ſtaid a few days longer, were not procured by his lordſhip, but by a gentleman, who was ſent by the * from Scotland, and who, being convinced of his lordſhip's former neglects, applied for a ſupply of arms elſewhere, and upon his own credit obtained it.

About the ſame time the duke of Ormond procured fifteen thouſand arms with a proportionable quantity of ammunition without the privity or aſſiſtance of the lord Bolingbroke.

Another remarkable circumſtance of his lordſhip's conduct was, the variety of excuſes he made to thoſe gentlemen, who came expreſs from Scotland, for not ſending arms and ammunition. In September and October he ſaid he was providing them. In November, that the ſending them through the channel would endanger the *'s paſſage: in December and January, that the court of France would neither grant arms nor ammunition; and his lordſhip had probably pretences in reſerve for every month in the year. What reaſon then had his majeſty to expect a ſupply of arms after ſo many repeated delays? And with what injuſtice does his lordſhip charge the * and the duke of Mar with precipitation in leaving Scotland, when the neceſſity they were in of coming away was entirely occaſioned by his neglect?

His lordſhip anſwers the articles of amuſing general Hamilton by calling it a ſimple lie. Whether his lordſhip repreſented the contents of his meſſage, where it was proper, depends upon his own word. It is probable, that the perſon hinted at by his lordſhip would not have ſcrupled to have the ſtate of affairs in Scotland from the mouth of one, who was ſo fully inſtructed in it; and that ſuch an interview would have been attended with a good effect. And it may reaſonably be inferred, that his lordſhip was faulty in that caſe, becauſe he did not communicate the *'s letters, which that gentleman brought to the queen or the duke of Ormond, for ſeveral days after he had received them, though the * had commanded him to ſhew them to her majeſty; and before he went to Scotland, had given his lordſhip poſitive inſtructions to act in concert with his grace, and to communicate every particular of his affairs to him.

His lordſhip endeavours to refute the charge of his being often denied to thoſe, who came about the buſineſs, with a groundleſs and malicious diſtinction; for he was ſeldom to be found by thoſe who were ſent by the duke of Mar to him, by officers of diſtinction, who daily preſſed him to be diſpatched to Scotland, and even by perſons whom he himſelf employed. And were it proper to mention names, particular inſtances might be given of his conduct in this point.

His lordſhip, in what he falſely calls a general ſtate of things on this ſide the water, has repreſented the duke of Ormond in the blackeſt terms, that malice could deviſe, 'as an aſſociate with the neſt of hornets; as heading a faction compoſed of perſons of the vileſt characters, who are deſpiſed for their folly, and deteſted for their immorality'; and he qualifies this heavy charge with a profeſſion of a very particular reſpect for his grace, and by ſaying, 'that his grace was drawn indirectly in to do the work of the faction here, and was far from deſigning any ſuch thing.'

With what view this virulent ſlander on his grace was framed, may be eaſily conjectured, and to beat down his grace's reputation, if it were poſſible, would be acknowledged by the——as a conſiderable ſervice to him. His grace's character is too well known in England to ſtand in need of a juſtification, and what lord Bolingbroke intended as a reflection on the duke of Ormond will be acknowledged by every honeſt man here, that his grace obſerved at Paris a quite contrary conduct from his lordſhip. His grace, it is true, opened his doors to every gentleman, who came to wait upon him: he thought it was for the *'s ſervice to receive thoſe perſons with civility, who chearfully offered to embark in it: that thoſe gentlemen, who were ready to hazard their lives in the ſame cauſe with his grace, ought not to be treated with contempt: and that his lordſhip's conduct was imprudent and unſeemly.

The ſincerity of his lordſhip's profeſſion of reſpect for the duke of Ormond will appear from his behaviour to his grace here; and you are not a ſtranger to the deſign that was formed by his lordſhip in July 1714, to ſet Lord Churchill at the head of the army. His lordſhip laboured upon all occaſions to vilify his grace, and to paint him in the foulеſt colours to his majeſty. Upon his grace's firſt expedition into England, he endeavoured to perſuade a gentleman, who had promiſed to accompany him, not to go; he told him that the duke of Ormond would certainly be never heard of more; and that it was a raſh and fooliſh enterprize he was going upon: and by the diſcovery of his grace's deſigns at that time, and his lordſhip's conduct ſince, it may be preſumed he had good reaſons to be aſſured, that the attempt would miſcarry.

When the duke had returned from his ſecond voyage to England, and waited on the coaſt of France for another opportunity, lord Bolingbroke wrote to him to come nearer Paris, and promiſed to meet his grace, in order to concert meaſures with him. His grace complied with the propoſal, named a place at twelve leagues diſtance from Paris, and was punctual to the time appointed. Lord Bolingbroke came about ten days after; inſtead of diſcourſing about buſineſs, he drank to exceſs, and early on the ſecond day after his coming, he returned to Paris, without ſaying any thing to the purpoſe. Though his grace had great reaſon to reſent this uſage, he reſolved at that juncture, to ſubmit to it, and complied with another propoſal of his lordſhip's to come to Paris, becauſe that he thought, when he was in the ſame place with his lordſhip, he could not eaſily find an opportunity to amuſe him longer. His grace was for four days in Paris, before he had a viſit from his lordſhip, though he ſent repeated meſſages to him. At length he came, when dinner was on the table. Before dinner was half done, he roſe up haſtily, and pretended urgent buſineſs to call him away. For ſome days after his grace could not poſſibly find him out.

Can it be imagined, that ſuch inſolent treatment of his grace could proceed from any perſon, who had not a quite different intereſt in view? And, as the * had a juſt ſenſe of his lordſhip's behaviour to the duke of Ormond, it was a ſtronger motive to induce his majeſty to remove him.

the third ſucceſſive minor that came to the crown of France, ſince the death of Henry IV.

The duke regent was ſon of the duke of Orleans, brother of Lewis XIV. and was then in the 41ſt year of his age. He was married in 1692, to one of the late king's natural daughters.

He began his regency with an act of juſtice and prudence. The edicts of the kings of France formerly had not the ſanction of laws, before they were regiſtered in the parliament of Paris, whoſe undoubted right it was to examine them; and in caſe they contained any thing againſt the laws of the realm, to remonſtrate againſt them. But the late king had deprived the parliament of that liberty in the year 1667, ſince which time they had been compelled to regiſter all his edicts, without being permitted to make any repreſentation againſt them. The regent reſtored this privilege to them by an edict, which was regiſtered a few days after the king's death. At the ſame time he cauſed to be regiſtered a declaration, containing a ſcheme of government to be obſerved in the kingdom during the king's minority. Purſuant to which he named, beſides the council of regency, ſix other councils, and, by that means, a new way of adminiſtration in the government was introduced.

By the death of Lewis XIV. the affairs between Great-Britain and France ſtood upon a very different foot than before. The regent, by virtue of king Philip's renunciation, and the death of all the princes in France, ſprung from Lewis XIV. was become next heir to the minor king, and conſequently it was his intereſt to cultivate the friendſhip of ſuch ſtates as were likely to ſupport his title againſt the king of Spain, and particularly of England. It was his buſineſs to ſeek all means for weakening the only prince in the world, that had any right to diſpute his ſucceſſion, or oppoſe his views. Hence his acceſſion to the quadruple alliance; his promoting, or at leaſt conniving at the deſtruction of the growing naval power of Spain in 1718; his ſtipulation in favour of Don Carlos, in order not only to divert Spain from forming deſigns againſt his power in France, but to weaken Spain by increaſing her expences. To theſe meaſures, the regent was carried, in order to divert and weaken king Philip, and king George undoubtedly went into all his ambitious views, as the only means to retrieve the fatal miſtakes of the treaty of Utrecht. But the fruits of all theſe proceedings were entirely loſt by the death of the regent, and the birth of a dauphin, and inſtead of facilitating the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Orleans, and thereby dividing the houſe of Bourbon for ever, they proved the foundation of all the expenſive diſputes, which ſubſiſted many years between Great-Britain and Spain, as will appear in the courſe of the hiſtory.

A parliament having been called in Ireland, and the duke of Grafton and the earl of Galway (who had been appointed lords juſtices upon the earl of Sunderland's reſignation of the poſt of lord-lieutenant of that kingdom) being arrived at Dublin, the two houſes met there on the 12th of November, and mr. Connolly was choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons. The peers began with a bill for recognizing the king's title to the crown, and the commons with ſeveral bills for the further ſecurity of his perſon and government; namely a bill to attaint the pretender and give a reward of fifty thouſand pounds for his head; and for attainting the duke of Ormond, giving the crown his eſtate, and ten thouſand pounds reward upon his head.

Theſe bills were followed by a retroſpect upon the councils of the late reign; and a reſolution was unanimouſly paſſed againſt thoſe, who adviſed the queen to prorogue the late parliament, at a time when a bill to attaint the pretender was depending; and they were voted to be enemies to the ſucceſſion, and favourers of the pretender and popery. They proceeded in the next place, to bring in a bill to prevent tumults, rebellious and riotous aſſemblies. All theſe bills, together with the ſupplies demanded, went through the houſes in the uſual forms, without the leaſt oppoſition; and, being ratified in England, received the royal aſſent. But they did not end here: for, on the 17th of November, the commons, while the public accounts which were ordered to be laid before them, were preparing, entered into an inquiry, which brought a great many of their members on their knees. The laſt houſe of commons, in the queen's time, had addreſſed her againſt ſir Conſtantine Phipps, at that time lord-chancellor of Ireland, and one of the lords juſtices of the kingdom, deſiring her to remove him from his employments. But, as this addreſs ſeemed not to be very acceptable to the queen, or to the counſels of that reign, there were many counter-addreſſes procured, and ſent up from the ſeveral counties and towns in Ireland, in favour of ſir Conſtantine, deſiring he might not be removed, notwithſtanding the addreſs of the commons. This the houſe eſteemed a breach of the privilege of parliament, and reſolv-

I am not ſurprized at the lord Bolingbroke's appealing to the duke of Berwick, and that he is willing to ſtand or fall by his judgement; for I believe that duke will for the ſame reaſons appeal to his lordſhip to clear himſelf. No part of his behaviour is more wonderful than his ſudden intimacy with the duke of Berwick. He formerly mentioned, on all occaſions, that duke with diſregard, and would neither allow him capacity for buſineſs nor credit. But, ſoon after his grace had diſobeyed his ſovereign's command to go to Scotland, there became a cloſe union betwixt them, which ſtill continues, though the * had commanded his lordſhip not to communicate any part of his buſineſs to him. And it may be obſerved, that his lordſhip did not reſide at St. Germain's, where he owns that he held the cloſeſt friendſhip, till two months after his grace's refuſal to go to Scotland. If his grace had a hundred times more capacity and credit than the reſt of the *'s ſubjects in France, he has loſt ſome part of his credit by his undutiful behaviour to his royal maſter; and a perſon, who refuſes to ſerve in his province at a time when his ſervice is required and wanted, may be reputed not to be of that court, as his lordſhip obſerves, though he has lodgings in it; and he ſhould have added, that he had at that time a conſiderable penſion from it. I am perſuaded, his aſſociaſm, as he calls it, with the duke of Berwick owes its original to another cauſe, than the opinion he had of his grace's capacity; and that his grace was the channel of correſpondence betwixt his lordſhip and a certain lord in England. For though his lordſhip denies his having any correſpondence with him, or any of the court of England, there are good reaſons to ſuſpect him of it, as the old intimacy between them; his lordſhip's leaving England upon his advice; and the viſit he paid him the evening before he left London; not to mention the ſneaking letter he ſent from France to mr. Stanhope: and even his lordſhip qualifies the denial of ſuch a correſpondence, by ſaying, that he held none ſince he engaged in the *'s buſineſs, which, by the way, was three months after his coming to France.

This correſpondence with a perſon, who had upon ſeveral occaſions betrayed the church of England, and ſacrificed his own country to a foreign prince, is a pregnant inſtance of his lordſhip's reſolution to ſerve the * upon a proteſtant and Engliſh bottom, or not to ſerve at all.

His lordſhip's aſſertion, 'that the ſource of all buſineſs, and the heads of his beſt friends, were truſted to the keeping of a multitude of people, ſome of whom were of the vileſt characters,' is as groundleſs as his other calumnies; and it may be eaſily gueſſed for what end this ſlander was invented. And though his lordſhip is pleaſed to charge others with want of ſecrecy, I can aſſure you, that in the midſt of his wine he diſcovered ſecrets of the greateſt importance to ſome of the very perſons, whom he now repreſents in ſuch blac characters, and that they expreſſed a concern at his imprudence.

I am confident his lordſhip's deſign to cut off all correſpondence with the *'s ſubjects at home will fail of ſucceſs, when they conſider they are in leſs danger by his removal; and that his majeſty has been pleaſed to chuſe one in his ſtead, who is not only incapable of betraying a truſt, while it ſubſiſts, as his lordſhip ſpeaks, but an inviolable obſerver of a truſt for ever, and of tried prudence and ſecrecy in buſineſs.

His lordſhip, to heighten the charge on the conduct of buſineſs, is here pleaſed to add, that it paſſes through the hands of a whole tribe of jeſuits, though his lordſhip cannot be ignorant, that no perſon of that order was ever employed in buſineſs by the * or queen.

His lordſhip's inſinuation, of the riveted prejudices of one perſon, has the ſame malicious view; and tho' his lordſhip affirms, that from the very firſt, he began to combat them with great decency and firmneſs, it is certain he never ſpoke of his having ſuch a deſign, till a few days before the * had fixed his departure for Britain. And it muſt be owned, that ſeveral worthy men, who were then at Paris, thought it an improper time to preſs his majeſty on that head, when he had not leiſure to enquire into it; and that his lordſhip was not the moſt proper perſon to talk of religion.

Another ſlander, in his lordſhip's letter, is, that he was 'diſcarded with all the circumſtances of provocation poſſible, and treated, as far as it lay in the power of thoſe whom he ſerved, with an affectation of indignation and contempt;' for the * diſmiſſed him by a letter, without aſſigning any reaſon for his pleaſure, and commanded the duke of Ormond to carry it. His majeſty, in tenderneſs to his lordſhip, of whom he had once a good opinion, took this courſe; and, beſides, he thought it below his royal dignity to deſcend to a paper quarrel. And if his lordſhip had followed the advice that was given him, to lie quiet, his character would not ſo ſoon have been expoſed in its true light.

I could give many other inſtances of his lordſhip's neglect of the *'s buſineſs, at a time when he had the ſole management of it; and to name but one: his lordſhip for ten days neglected to ſend the duke of Mar's new commiſſion, to command in Scotland, which was ſo much wanted, upon an idle pretence of ſending a long and trifling memorial in cyphers along with it.

His lordſhip's behaviour to his equal and inferiors was not only contemptuous, but his treatment to the queen was inſolent to the laſt degree. To inſult majeſty in diſtreſs aggravates the crime: and ſuch a carriage to the *'s mother is an evident proof of want of duty to his majeſty. And though his lordſhip's friends induſtriouſly reported, that he was diſmiſſed by her advice, and from thence drew malicious inferences; you may be aſſured, that it was the concurrent opinion of the duke of Ormond, and all the *'s friends here, to diſplace him, and that her majeſty had no hand in his removal.

What the principles were, his lordſhip ſays, he brought out of England with him, I do not know, having never had reaſon to believe, that he gave himſelf much trouble about any. That they were not the principles of the tories, is plain, from his repreſentation of that party to the French court, and his expreſſions in converſation, that he never expected much good from the tories.

His lordſhip concludes, that there are abundance of things more, that he could ſay to clear himſelf, but, by the ſcurrility of his letters, it may be preſumed, that he has omitted nothing, in tenderneſs to any perſon whatſoever. And the reaſon given for ſaying no more, that thoſe on this ſide, who firſt began the ſtorm, are ſenſible of their folly, is notoriouſly falſe. And, as his actions are better underſtood here, than they poſſibly can be on your ſide, every honeſt man in France is thoroughly convinced of his ill conduct, and that his majeſty had juſt and wiſe reaſons to remove him.

This letter has ſwelled to a greater bulk than at firſt I imagined. Upon the whole, I leave you to judge, whether the *, the dukes of Ormond and Mar, or his lordſhip, deſerve moſt to be credited: and, if ſo many inſtances of his miſmanagements have been proved, it may be concluded, they would appear more clearly, if it were ſeaſonable to ſpeak plain upon ſeveral of them. I have avoided all unneceſſary bitterneſs of expreſſion againſt his lordſhip, and the leaſt imputation of flattery to others; and I ſhall embrace every opportunity of ſhewing you, that I am &c.

ed to ſhew their reſentment againſt theſe addreſſers, eſpecially ſuch as were members of the ſitting parliament. Accordingly, they appointed a committee to enquire who had ſigned theſe addreſſes, and many were cenſured or brought to acknowledgment upon that account. Then they addreſſed the lords juſtices for a proclamation againſt the popiſh inhabitants of Limerick and Galway, who, preſuming upon the conſtruction they thought fit to put upon the articles of capitulation made with king William, for the ſurrender of thoſe places, had claimed an exemption from the penalties and proceſs upon the other laws againſt papiſts. Upon complaint whereof to the houſe, this addreſs was founded.

Whilſt the bills were ſent to England to be ratified, the parliament adjourned to the 6th of January. Upon their meeting on that day, the lord viſcount Dillon came into the houſe of peers, and delivering his writ, took the oath of allegiance; but being aſked, whether he could take the other oaths? He ſaid, he would conſider of it, and then withdrew. Upon this, the lords reſolved, that no peer ſhould have parliamentary privilege, till he had taken and ſubſcribed the other oaths in the act to prevent the further growth of popery. This done, the lords entered into an aſſociation to defend the king, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion, againſt the pretender, and all his open and ſecret abettors. The commons likewiſe entered into the like aſſociation; and alſo reſolved, that, whatever forces the king ſhould think fit to raiſe, or what expences he ſhould think neceſſary for the defence of the kingdom, they would enable him to make good the ſame. It was ſtrongly reported, that the day the aſſociation was brought into the houſe of peers, two lords, one of whom was the earl of Angleſey, embarked for England, to avoid ſigning it. The archbiſhop of Armagh and the biſhop of Corke refuſed alſo to ſign. Soon after the commons reſolved, that whoever adviſed the diſbanding or breaking a great part of the army, immediately after the unſeaſonable prorogation of the late parliament, when a bill to attaint the pretender was under conſideration, were enemies to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and deſigned to bring in the pretender and popery. After which it was voted, that the earl of Angleſey was one of the principal adviſers to break the army, and prorogue the late parliament, and was therefore an enemy to the king and kingdom. This was followed with an addreſs for the earl's being removed from the king's council and ſervice; which was complied with. The lords juſtices alſo thought fit, at that juncture, to ſecure ſeveral ſuſpected perſons, as the earl of Antrim, the earl of Weſtmeath, the lord Nutterville, the lord Cahir, the lord Dillon, and ſome others, and then adjourned the two houſes to the 8th of March.

The parliament met in England on the 9th of January, when the king made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'The zeal and affection to my government, and the vigilant care for the ſafety of the nation, which you have ſhewn in your reſpective counties, have not only fully anſwered my expectations, but give me aſſurances, that you are met together, reſolved to act with a ſpirit becoming a time of common danger, and with ſuch a vigour as will end in the confuſion of all thoſe, who have openly engaged in this rebellion, and in the ſhame and reproach of ſuch, as by ſecret and malicious inſinuations have fomented, or, by an avowed indifference encouraged this traiterous enterprize.

It is, I doubt not, a great ſatisfaction to you, to have obſerved, that the powers, you intruſted me with for the preſervation of the public ſafety, have been employed in the moſt proper and effectual manner, and made ſtrictly ſubſervient to thoſe purpoſes only, for which you intended them. And you muſt have had the pleaſure to reflect with me, that as the meaſures taken for our defence have been juſt and neceſſary; ſo it has pleaſed the Divine Providence to bleſs them with a ſeries of ſuitable ſucceſs. And I cannot but take this opportunity of doing juſtice to the officers and ſoldiers of the army, whoſe brave and faithful diſcharge of their duty, has diſappointed our enemies, and contributed ſo much to the ſafety of the nation.

I did hope, that the detecting and preventing the deſigned inſurrections in ſome parts of the kingdom, and the defeating in others thoſe, who had taken up arms againſt me, would have put an end to this rebellion. But it is plain, that our enemies, animated by ſome ſecret hopes of aſſiſtance, are ſtill endeavouring to ſupport this deſparate undertaking; and the pretender, as I have reaſon to believe, is now landed in Scotland.

It is however with pleaſure I can acquaint you, that notwithſtanding theſe inteſtine commotions, Great-Britain has, in ſome meaſure, recovered its influence and reputation abroad. The treaty for ſettling the barrier for the Netherlands is now fully concluded between the emperor and ſtates-general under my guaranty. The king of Spain has agreed to a treaty, by which that valuable branch of our commerce will be delivered from the new impoſitions and hardſhips, to which it was ſubjected by the late treaties; and will ſtand ſettled for the future, on a foot more advantageous and certain than it ever did, in the moſt flouriſhing time of any of my predeceſſors; and the treaty, for renewing all former alliances between the crown of Great-Britain and the ſtates-general, is brought very near to its concluſion.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I muſt rely on your affection to me, and your care and concern for the ſafety of the nation, to grant me ſuch ſupplies, as may enable me to reſtore, and to ſecure the peace of the kingdom; and I will order eſtimates of the neceſſary expences to be laid before you.

Among the many unavoidable ill conſequences of this rebellion, none affects me more ſenſibly, than that extraordinary burden, which it has and muſt create to my faithful ſubjects. To eaſe them as far as lies in my power, I take this firſt opportunity of declaring, that I will freely give up all the eſtates, that ſhall become forfeited to the crown by this rebellion, to be applied towards defraying the extraordinary expence incurred on this occaſion.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is matter of the greateſt uneaſineſs to me, that the firſt years of my reign, the whole courſe of which I wiſhed to have tranſmitted to poſterity, diſtinguiſhed by the fair and endearing marks of peace and clemency, ſhould be clouded and overcaſt by ſo unnatural a rebellion; which, however impotent and unſucceſsful, a due care may render it in all other reſpects, does moſt ſenſibly afflict me, by the calamities it has brought on many of my faithful ſubjects, and by thoſe indiſpenſable returns of ſeverity which their ſufferings, and the public ſafety do moſt juſtly call for. Under this concern, my greateſt comfort is, that I cannot reproach myſelf with having given the leaſt provocation to that ſpirit of diſcontent and calumny, that has been let looſe againſt me, or the leaſt pretence for kindling the flame of this rebellion.

Let thoſe, whoſe fatal counſels laid the foundation of all theſe miſchiefs, and thoſe, whoſe private diſcontents and diſappointments diſguiſed under falſe pretences, have betrayed great numbers of deluded people into their own deſtruction, anſwer for the miſeries in which they have involved their fellow-ſubjects. I queſtion not, but that, with the continuance of God's bleſſing, who alone is able to form good out of evil, and with the chearful aſſiſtance of my parliament, we ſhall, in a ſhort time, ſee this rebellion end, not only in reſtoring the tranquility of my government, but in procuring a firm and laſting eſtabliſhment of that excellent conſtitution in church and ſtate, which it was manifeſtly deſigned to ſubvert; and that this open and flagrant attempt in favour of popery, will aboliſh all other diſtinctions among us, but of ſuch as are zealous aſſertors of the liberties of their country, the preſent eſtabliſhment, and the proteſtant religion, and of ſuch, as are endeavouring to ſubject the nation to the revenge and tyranny of a popiſh pretender.'

The lords and commons preſented ſeverally very loyal addreſſes of thanks for this ſpeech. The commons declared, they thought themſelves obliged, in juſtice to their injured country, to proſecute, in the moſt vigorous and impartial manner, the authors of thoſe deſtructive counſels, which had drawn down theſe miſeries upon the nation. They began with expelling mr. Forſter, general of the Northumbrian rebels, and after a remarkable ſpeech, to ſhew the neceſſity of proceeding by way of impeachment, mr. Lechmere impeached the earl of Derwentwater of high-treaſon, and undertook to make the impeachment good. Mr. Pulteney impeached the lord Widdrington; mr. Boſcawen, the earl of Nithiſdale; mr. Hampden, the earl of Wintoun; the lord Finch, the earl of Carnwarth; the earl of Hertford, viſcount Kenmure; and mr. Wortley Montague, the lord Nairn. Then mr. Lechmere, and the reſt, were ordered to carry up their ſeveral impeachments to the lords; which being done, a committee was appointed to draw up the articles againſt the ſeven impeached lords. Mr Lechmere, chairman of the committee, in leſs than two hours reported, that the articles were drawn up: which being agreed to, were carried by him to the lords the ſame day.

The next day, the impeached lords were all brought to the bar of the houſe of lords, where the articles of impeachment againſt them were read, and they were ordered to put

in their anſwer on the 16th, and, upon their requeſt, ſuch perſons, as they ſhould think proper to aſſiſt them in their defence, were allowed to come to them.

The impeachments being lodged, the commons ordered a bill to be brought in, to continue the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus act for ſix months longer; which was oppoſed by mr. Shippen. He ſaid, 'it invaded the moſt valuable right of Engliſhmen; encouraged malicious informations, and gave a handle to thoſe in power to oppreſs innocent people.' Mr ſecretary Stanhope appealed to the whole houſe, whether the king or his miniſtry had made an ill or wanton uſe of the power with which the parliament had thought fit to entruſt his majeſty. And mr. Hungerford himſelf owned the government had uſed that power with great moderation. After which, the bill paſſed both houſes.

On the 16th of January a bill was brought in to attaint the earl of Mar, William Murray, commonly called marquiſs of Tullibardine, the earl of Linlithgow, and John Drummond, commonly called lord Drummond. The bill was prepared by mr. Smith, ſir Joſeph Jekyll, lord Coningſby, and mr. Lechmere, and had an eaſy paſſage through both houſes.

On the 21ſt of January the king came to the houſe of peers, and gave his aſſent to the act for continuing the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus. Then the lord chancellor read the following ſpeech of his majeſty to both houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I had reaſon to believe, when I ſpoke laſt to you, that the pretender was landed in Scotland. The accounts I have received ſince put it beyond all doubt, that he is heading the rebellion there, and does aſſume the ſtyle and title of king of theſe realms. His adherents do likewiſe confidently affirm, that aſſurances are given them of ſupport from abroad. This parliament hath on all occaſions expreſſed ſo much duty to me, and ſo true a regard for the religious and civil rights of my people, that I am perſuaded this daring preſumption of our enemies will heighten your juſt indignation againſt them, and beget ſuch further reſolutions, as, with the bleſſing of God, will enable me to defeat their attempts.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

"The moſt effectual way to put a ſpeedy end to theſe troubles will be to make ſuch a proviſion, as may diſcourage any foreign power from aſſiſting the rebels. I do therefore hope, that every ſincere proteſtant, and true Briton, will look upon the extraordinary expence, which a preparation may require to be the beſt huſbandry; ſince it will, in all human probability, prevent that deſolation and thoſe calamities which would unavoidably enſue, if the rebellion ſhould be ſuffered to ſpread, and be ſupported by popiſh forces from abroad.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The world muſt be convinced by all you have already done, that you have nothing but the honour and intereſt of your country at heart: and, for my own part, I rely entirely upon you, and doubt not but you will take ſuch reſolutions at this juncture, as will be moſt for the preſent ſafety, and future eaſe of my people."

Both houſes preſented addreſſes to his majeſty, full of expreſſions of duty and affection, and the moſt hearty aſſurances of their aſſiſtance againſt the daring preſumption of the pretender and his adherents.

The impeached lords, having, on the 16th of January, petitioned the houſe of peers for longer time to put in their anſwers to the articles of impeachment; they were allowed time till Thurſday the 19th, upon which day, all of them, except the earl of Wintoun (who upon his petition had till the 23d allowed him) were brought from the Tower to the bar of the houſe of peers, where they ſeverally pleaded guilty to the articles of their impeachment, but urged ſome things, by way of anſwer, to extenuate their guilt. The earl of Derwentwater's anſwer was in writing, as were alſo the anſwers of the lord Widdrington, and the earl of Nithiſdale. The anſwers of the earl of Carnwarth and the lord Kenmure were delivered viva voce; and the lord Nairn delivered in a petition to the lords in writing. Having thus pleaded guilty, the 9th of February was appointed for their receiving ſentence. Upon which day they were all brought to the bar of the court erected in Weſtminſter-hall, and had ſentence, as in caſe of high-treaſon, pronounced againſt them by the lord chancellor Cowper, lord high-ſteward on that occaſion.

The commons having put the caſe of the rebel lords in a courſe of juſtice, they returned their thoughts to the reſt of the Preſton priſoners who were brought up to London; and, to prevent the formality of ſending them into Lancaſhire to be tried, they brought in a bill to remove thoſe difficulties, which obſtructed the courſe of juſtice; and, as this was only to be a temporary law, ſo the occaſion was ſpecified in the title, which was, 'An act for the more eaſy and ſpeedy trial of ſuch perſons, as have levied war againſt his majeſty during the preſent rebellion.'

About the ſame time mr. Lechmere moved for an addreſs to the king, for a proclamation, offering a general pardon to ſuch as were yet in arms in Scotland, who ſhould lay them down within a certain time, with ſuch reſtrictions and limitations, as the king ſhould think fit. This motion was ſtrongly oppoſed by mr. Pulteny, the lord Coningſby, and ſome others, who repreſented the ill effects which ſuch a proclamation might have, both at home and abroad, in the preſent juncture of affairs. What had moſt weight in this debate was urged by mr. Walpole, who contented himſelf with ſaying, he would not enquire into the reaſons of this motion, but he had been offered ſixty thouſand pounds for the life of one ſingle perſon. This gave mr. Lechmere an occaſion to vindicate his integrity and honeſt intentions; but finding, what he had propoſed, was not thought conſiſtent with the king and the nation's ſervice, he did not inſiſt upon it. The next day major Stuart, aid de camp to the duke of Argyle, and captain Morton, aid de camp to general Cadogan, arrived at St. James's with advice that the rebels had abandoned Perth, and were flying before the king's forces: and therefore the publiſhing a proclamation for a general pardon, at ſuch a juncture, would have ſhewed a weakneſs in the government, and encouraged foreign powers to ſupport the rebels. About this time the pretender ſent a letter to the lord mayor of London, with orders to proclaim him king of Great-Britain; which was communicated to the ſecretary of ſtate.

Mr baron Bury, mr. juſtice Eyre, and mr. baron Mountague, having been appointed to try the rebels at Liverpool, there were a conſiderable number found guilty; and Richard Shuttleworth of Preſton, a papiſt; Roger Moncaſter of Garſtang, an attorney; Thomas Cowpe, William Butler, and William Ackworth, were executed at Preſton, on the 28th of January; and John Rowbotham, James Blundel, James Burne, James Finch, William Whally, and John Mac Gillivray, were executed at Wigan on the 10th of February; Richard Charley, eſq. James Drummond, William Black, Donald Macdonold, Rorie Kennedy, and John Ord, executed at Preſton on the 9th of February; and Thomas Sydal, William Harris, Stephen Seager, Joſeph Porter, and John Finch, executed at Manchester on the 11th of February.

About one thouſand of the rebel priſoners at Lancaſter, Liverpool, and Cheſter, ſubmitted to the king's mercy, and petitioned for tranſportation.

In the mean time, great ſollicitations were made with the court, and with the members of both houſes of Parliament, in behalf of the ſix condemned lords, particularly in favour of the earl of Derwentwater. On the 13th of February, the counteſs Nithiſdale, and the lord Nairn's lady, watching an opportunity, when the king went through the appartments of the palace of St. James's, behind a window curtain, without being preſented by the lord of the bed-chamber in waiting, as uſual, on a ſudden threw themſelves at the king's feet, begging mercy for their huſbands. This abrupt and irregular application could not but ſurpriſe the king, and thoſe about him, and therefore proved as ineffectual as thoſe which had been made in a more becoming and leſs artful manner. For a few days after, a reſolution was taken in council, to cauſe the ſentence paſſed on theſe lords to be executed; for which purpoſe, the neceſſary warrants and orders were on the 18th of February, ſent both to the lieutenant of the Tower, and to the ſheriffs of the city of London and Middleſex. The next morning the counteſs of Derwentwater, attended by her ſiſter, and accompanied by the ducheſſes of Cleveland and Bolton, and ſeveral other ladies of the firſt rank, was by the duke of Richmond and St. Albans introduced into the king's bed-chamber, where ſhe humbly implored his clemency for her unfortunate conſort; and then withdrew.

It is very probable, the counteſs of Derwentwater received no favourable anſwer from the court; for on the 21ſt of February, ſhe, with the ladies of ſome other condemned lords, and about twenty more of diſtinction went to the lobby of the houſe of peers to beg their interceſſion: but the lords did

not then think fit to take notice of their petitions. The next morning, the ladies in diſtreſs, with a ſtill greater attendance than the day before, went to Weſtminſter to petition both houſes of Parliament, where, by this time, not a few members appeared inclined to mercy. Sir Richard Steel, among the reſt, offered one of theſe petitions, and made a long ſpeech upon that ſubject, and was ſeconded by mr. Farrar, mr. Shippen, and ſome others; but they were oppoſed by all the leading members of the prevailing ſide; and, though a great many, who uſed to vote with them, went over, on this occaſion, to the other party, yet a motion being made, and the queſtion put for adjourning to the 1ſt of March, the adjournment was carried by a majority of ſeven voices only, a hundred and ſixty-two, to a hundred and fifty-five.

The ladies of the condemned lords were more ſucceſsful with the peers than with the commons. The duke of Richmond, a near relation of the earl of Derwentwater, and one of the lords, allowed by the houſe to aſſiſt him, could not refuſe preſenting a petition in his favour, but at the ſame time he declared he would be againſt it. The earl of Derby, out of pity for the numerous family of the lord Nairn, charged himſelf with a petition in his behalf, as other lords did upon the like or different motives, with other petitions. The queſtion being put, whether theſe petitions ſhould be received and read, there aroſe a great debate, in which the lord Townſhend, and ſeveral other lords, who upon all occaſions had given undoubted proofs of their affection to the preſent ſettlements, were againſt it, but the earl of Nottingham, to their great ſurprize, declaring for it, his weight, as preſident of the council, drew to that ſide ſeveral peers; ſo the queſtion was carried by nine or ten voices. After the reading of the petitions, the next queſtion was, 'whether, in the caſe of an impeachment, the king has any power to reprieve?' This being alſo carried in the affirmative, the ſame was followed by a motion for an addreſs, to deſire the king to grant a reprieve to the lords, who lay under ſentence of death. This was oppoſed by the firmeſt friends of the government; and even an earl, who was for the two firſt queſtions, repreſented, 'that though clemency was one of the brighteſt virtues that adorn and ſupport a crown; yet, in his opinion, the ſame ſhould be exerciſed with diſcretion, and only on proper objects:' and therefore moved, 'that they ſhould addreſs the king to reprieve ſuch of the condemned lords, as ſhould deſerve his mercy.' This, after ſome further debate, was carried. Then the earl of Stamford moved, that the time of reſpite be left to the king, which was readily agreed to; and then the addreſs, with theſe amendments, was carried by a majority of five voices only. To this addreſs the king anſwered, 'that on this and all other occaſions, he would do what he thought moſt conſiſtent with the dignity of his crown, and the ſafety of his people.'

This wiſe and reſolute anſwer proved, the next day, a great mortification to the jacobite and diſcontented party, who were extremely elated by the inclinations to mercy, which appeared in both houſes, and which occaſioned various reflections. Whatever was the ſecret ſpring of theſe inclinations, it is certain, that in the council, held the ſame evening, about the execution of the condemned lords, there was a conteſt between the earl of Nottingham and ſome other lords; and four days after, that earl was removed from being preſident of the council, the earl of Aylesford, his brother, from being chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter; the lord Finch, ſon to that earl of Nottingham, from being one of the lords of the treaſury; and the lord Guernſey, his couſin-german, from being maſter of the jewel-office. This change, however ſudden, was not unforeſeen by men of obſervation; and it juſtified mr. Hampden's reflection, not many days before, in the houſe of commons, on a motley or mixed miniſtry.

Purſuant to the reſolution taken in the council, orders were diſpatched for executing the next morning, the earls of Derwentwater, and Nithiſdale, and the lord Kenmure; and for reſpiting the lord Widdrington, the earl of Carnwarth, and the lord Nairn, till the 7th of March. The ſame evening the earl of Nithiſdale found means to make his eſcape out of the Tower in a woman's apparel brought to him by his mother, who came to viſit him with ſome relations. The next morning, early, three detachments of the guards took their ſeveral poſts round the ſcaffold erected on Tower-hill, and, a little before ten o'clock, the earl of Derwentwater and the lord Kenmure were carried in a hacney coach from the Tower to the Tranſport-office, on Tower-hill, where there was a room hung with blac for their reception. From this room to the ſcaffold, (which was alſo covered with blac) there was a paſſage or gallery railed in. The earl of Derwentwater was firſt led to the ſcaffold; and it was obſerved, that in his going thither, and aſcending the ſteps, his countenance appeared very pale. But, after he had been a few minutes on the ſcaffold, his behaviour appeared reſolute and ſedate. Having ſpent ſome time in prayer with a book, he then addreſſed himſelf to the ſheriff, and deſired he might have liberty to read a paper, which he had drawn up. This requeſt being readily granted, he went to the rails of the ſcaffold, and read what follows:

'Being in a few minutes to appear before the tribunal of God, where, though moſt unworthy, I hope to find mercy, which I have not found from men now in power; I have endeavoured to make my peace with his divine majeſty, by moſt humbly begging pardon for all the ſins of my life: and I doubt not of a merciful forgiveneſs, through the merits of the paſſion and death of my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; for which end I earneſtly deſire the prayers of all good chriſtians.

'After this, I am to aſk pardon of thoſe, whom I might have ſcandalized by pleading guilty at my trial. Such as were permitted to come to me, told me, that having been undeniably in arms, pleading guilty was but the conſequence of having ſubmitted to mercy; and many arguments were uſed to prove there was nothing of moment in ſo doing; among others, the univerſal practice of ſigning leaſes, whereof the preambles run in the name of the perſon in poſſeſſion.

'But I am ſenſible that in this I have made bold with my loyalty, having never any other but king James the third, for my rightful and lawful ſovereign. Him I had an inclination to ſerve from my infancy, and was moved thereto by a natural love I had to his perſon, knowing him to be capable of making his people happy. And though he had been of a different religion from mine, I ſhould have done for him all that lay in my power, as my anceſtors have done for his predeceſſors, being thereunto bound by the laws of God and man.

'Wherefore, if in this affair I have acted raſhly, it ought not to effect the innocent. I intended to wrong no body, but to ſerve my king and country, and that without ſelf-intereſt; hoping, by the example I gave, to have induced others to do their duty; and God, who ſees the ſecrets of my heart, knows I ſpeak truth. Some means have been propoſed to me for ſaving my life, which I looked upon as inconſiſtent with honour and conſcience, and therefore I rejected them; for, with God's aſſiſtance, I ſhall prefer any death to the doing a baſe unworthy action. I only wiſh now, that the laying down my life might contribute to the ſervice of my king and country, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the antient and fundamental conſtitution of theſe kingdoms; without which no laſting peace or true happineſs can attend them. Then I ſhould indeed part with my life, even with pleaſure. As it is, I can only pray, that theſe bleſſings may be beſtowed upon my dear country; and, ſince I can do no more, I beſeech God to accept of my life as a ſmall ſacrifice towards it.

'I die a Roman chatholic. I am in perfect charity with all the world, I thank God for it, even with thoſe of the preſent government, who are moſt inſtrumental in my death. I freely forgive ſuch as ungenerouſly reported falſe things of me; and I hope to be forgiven the treſpaſſes of my youth, by the father of infinite majeſty, into whoſe hands I commend my ſoul.

'JA. DERWENTWATER.

'P. S. If that prince, who now governs, had given me my life, I ſhould have thought myſelf obliged never more to have taken up arms againſt him.'

After the reading of this paper, he delivered it to the ſheriff, telling him he might do with it as he pleaſed; and that he had given a copy of it to a friend. Then turning to the bloc, he viewed it cloſe, and finding in it a rough place, that might offend his nec, he bid the executioner chip it off; which uncommon preſence of mind was obſerved with admiration by ſome of the ſtanders-by. Having prepared himſelf for the blow, by taking off his coat and waiſtcoat, he laid down to fit his head to the bloc, telling the executioner, that the ſign he ſhould give him was, 'Lord Jeſus receive my ſoul;' and at the third time repeating it, he was to do his office; which he did at one blow. It was reported, that the night before, the earl of Derwentwater having ſent for mr. Stephen Roome, an undertaker for funerals, and diſcourſing with him

about his own; he told him, he would have a ſilver plate upon his coffin, with an inſcription importing, 'that he died a ſacrifice for his lawful ſovereign;' but mr. Roome, ſcrupling to comply with it, he was diſmiſſed. This was the reaſon no hearſe was provided for him at his execution; ſo that his head was only taken up by one of his ſervants, and put into a clean handkerchief; and, the body being wrapped in blac cloth, they were both together carried to the Tower.

Soon after the lord Kenmure was brought to the ſcaffold in the ſame manner, accompanied by his ſon and ſome friends, and attended by two clergymen of the church of England. He ſhewed a great reſolution and firmneſs in his gaite and countenance, though ſome nice obſervers pretended he was not ſo calm within as the earl of Derwentwater; which however was contradicted by others. On the ſcaffold he ſaid, 'he had ſo little thoughts of dying ſo ſoon, that he had not provided a blac ſuit, that he might have died with the more decency; for which he was ſorry.' He appeared very ſincere and fervent in his devotions, often lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven; but (contrary to what he had declared in his ſpeech to the lords, when judgment was pronounced againſt him) he prayed for the pretender, and repented of his having pleaded guilty. He embraced and kiſſed very tenderly moſt of the officers and gentlemen on the ſcaffold, and his ſon and ſome friends twice or thrice. He had with him mr. Roome the undertaker, who was to take care of his body, and a ſurgeon, who was to direct the executioner in doing his office. Having prepared for the bloc, he laid down his head upon it, then raiſed it up again, ſtill continuing on his knees; gave the executioner ſome money, and told him, 'he ſhould give him no ſign, but, when he laid his head down again, he might do his work as he ſaw good.' Then having lifted up his hands in prayer a ſhort time longer, he laid down his head again, which the executioner ſervered at two blows. Both the head and body were put into a coffin, and conveyed in a hearſe to mr. Roome's, where they were embalmed, in order to be ſent into Scotland, and buried with his anceſtors. He neither made nor delivered any ſpeech on the ſcaffold; but in a letter found after his execution, which he wrote to the pretender, (by the ſtile of king James) he declared, 'that he died for his faithful ſervices to his majeſty, but hoped the cauſe he died for would thrive and flouriſh after his death: and as he ſuffered for his ſervice, he hoped his majeſty would provide for his wife and children, who were in a miſerable condition.

On the 15th of March, the earl of Wintoun's trial came on. The long trouble and delay he had occaſioned by petitions for time, upon the pretence of witneſſes being on the road, made people expect, that a conſiderable defence would be made, and ſomething very particular be urged in his behalf, either by himſelf or his council; but they were ſurprized, that when he came to the bar, and the managers of the houſe of commons had ſpent two days in opening and enforcing the articles againſt him, and replying to what was offered, his anſwers were ſo weak, and what his council had to offer ſo trifling, that it could not be called a defence. This gave ſome confirmation to what had been ſuggeſted, that he was a lunatic. However the lords were unanimous in their judgment, and brought him in guilty; and on the 19th of March, judgment was pronounced againſt him by the lord chancellor Cowper, lord high ſteward upon this occaſion.

Two days after the king having received advice of the pretender's flight out of Scotland, came to the houſe of peers, and giving his aſſent to the land-tax bill, [p] made the following ſpeech to both houſes of parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I take this opportunity of acquainting you, that my forces have obliged the pretender to fly out of Scotland; and he is ſince, as I am informed, landed near Gravelin. But I do not yet know, whether any country in amity with us will give him protection, after having ſo publicly invaded our kingdoms.

'The dangers, to which this nation was expoſed, made me determine, that neither the extraordinary rigour of the ſeaſon, nor any fallacious propoſal of the rebels, ſhould divert me from uſing all poſſible endeavours towards putting a ſpeedy and effectual end to this unnatural rebellion.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

'I muſt return you my thanks for the great progreſs you have made in the ſupplies. The neceſſary diſpoſitions are made for raiſing additional forces. But, as I ſhall always conſult the eaſe of my people, as far as is conſiſtent with their own ſecurity, I ſhall not make uſe of the confidence you have placed in me, unleſs the reſtleſs malice of our enemies ſhould make it neceſſary to go on with thoſe levies.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I promiſe myſelf, from the zeal and wiſdom of this parliament, that the future happineſs and tranquility of my ſubjects will be eſtabliſhed on a ſolid foundation; and ſuch meaſures taken, as may deprive our enemies at home of the power (ſince that alone can deprive them of the inclination) again to attempt the diſturbance of my government. This therefore is what I think myſelf obliged to recommend to you, as a deliberation of the utmoſt importance to the future ſafety, eaſe, and proſperity of my people.'

From this time to the 9th of April (when the ſeptennial bill was brought in) little elſe was done in both houſes, but preſenting ſuch bills as were ready, and voting for the ſupplies.

In the mean time the new commiſſion for trying the rebels met on the 7th of April, the firſt time, at the court of common-pleas. Sir William Thompſon, recorder of London, opened the meeting with a ſpeech to the grand-jury, by whom bills of high treaſon were found againſt Forſter, brigadier Mackintoſh, and twenty others [q].

[p] This bill had like to have raiſed a diſpute between the two houſes. The bill being ſent up to the lords, a debate aroſe about the preamble, which was in theſe words:

'We, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Great-Britain in parliament aſſembled, having hearts filled with the utmoſt gratitude to your majeſty, for the tender concern your majeſty, on all occaſions, expreſſes for the extraordinary burden this unnatural rebellion makes neceſſary to be laid on your faithful ſubjects, for preſerving all their rights, both ſacred and civil, and for your majeſty's unprecedented goodneſs in giving up all ſuch eſtates for the uſe of the public, and in caſe of your people, as ſhall be forfeited by this rebellion; the raiſing or the dreadful conſequences whereof, cannot, by the moſt implacable of your majeſty's enemies, be aſcribed to any one act done by your majeſty, ſince your happy acceſſion to the throne of your anceſtors; but even they will allow, that all the miſchiefs, burdens and calamities, which ſhall attend this horrid rebellion, are, in truth, owing to the fatal and pernicious counſels given by ſome perſons in the late mal-adminiſtration, when, under pretence of procuring peace abroad, the preſent deſtructive war was projected to be brought into the very bowels of our native country at home, when a popiſh army (part of which God hath delivered into your majeſty's hands) was deſigned to be the protector of our holy religion; and when under the falſe colour of paying the public debts, though their true deſign was to deliver us bound into the power of the antient enemy of theſe kingdoms, the ſame evil counſellors contrived unneceſſarily to incumber, for a long time to come (if not for ever) ſeveral conſiderable branches of the public revenues, which, for many years paſt, had, from time to time, been uſeful to ſupport the public expence; which revenues, in former adminiſtrations, had been carefully reſerved for that purpoſe, to the end that, upon the concluſion of a happy peace, which we had then reaſon to expect, the ſubjects of theſe realms might have reaped the fruit of a ſucceſsful, though expenſive war. And we, your majeſty's ſaid dutiful and loyal ſubjects, being fully reſolved to maintain your majeſty's juſt title to the imperial crown of theſe realms, againſt all enemies and traytors whatſoever; and, for that end, propoſed to raiſe ſuch ſupplies, as are neceſſary to defray your majeſty's public expences, have chearfully and unanimouſly given and granted, &c.'

Some lords being offended at this preamble, the earl of Abingdon moved, that all the peers in town might be ſummoned to attend the committee; which was done accordingly. And, on Monday, the 13th of February, the lord Harcourt went early to the houſe of peers, and cauſed the journals to be diligently ſearched for precedents of amendments, made by the lords to a money-bill. But few, if any, could be found, at leaſt ſince the reſtoration; from which time the commons would never ſuffer the lords to make any amendments to bills of that nature. When the grand committee was ſat, ſeveral lords ſpoke againſt the preamble in queſtion, as 'pre-judging matters of a very high and important nature, the cognizance and determination of which properly belongs to the houſe of peers.'

Upon this, an expedient was propoſed and admitted, that they ſhould enter in their journal a kind of proteſt or declaration, importing in ſubſtance 'that though the preamble was derogatory to the privileges and authority of the houſe of lords; yet their lordſhips, in conſideration of the king and nation's ſervice, in this dangerous conjuncture, were willing to give their concurrence to the bill, without amendments; but that the ſame ſhould not be drawn into a precedent for the time to come, or conſtrued to be any diminution of the judicial authority of the houſe of lords.' The lord chancellor Cowper and the lord Harcourt were appointed by the lords to draw up the proteſt or declaration, which was entered in the journal of the houſe.

[q] William Shaftoe.
Robert Talbot.
Henry Oxburgh.
Charles Wogan.
Thomas Hall.
Richard Gaſcoigne.
Alex. Menzies.
James Menzies.
John Robertſon.
James Hugh.
—— Miller.
John Farquarſon.
—— Farquarſon.
Thomas Douglaſs
—— Farquarſon.
—— Douglaſs.
—— Scrimſhaw.
—— Maclean.
—— Skeen.
—— Innis.

It was on the 14th of April that Forſter was to have been arraigned, in order to his trial; but on the 10th about midnight, he made his eſcape out of Newgate, with one ſervant only. The matter was variouſly reported; and mr. Pitts, the keeper of Newgate, was not only committed for it, but afterwards indicted for high treaſon, as being wilfully guilty of the eſcape, and tried for his life at the Old-Bailey; but was acquitted. There was a proclamation immediately publiſhed, offering a reward of a thouſand pounds for the apprehending mr. Forſter; but it appeared afterwards, that his eſcape was ſo concerted, and all other things prepared, that as ſoon as he got out, he had horſes ready; and riding directly to Lee, near Rochford in Eſſex, he had a veſſel laid ready alſo, which took him on board, and landed him in France the very ſame day.

However the court ſat according to its adjournment, and mr. Forſter being abſent, mr. Mackintoſh, mr. Gaſcoigne, mr. Charles Wogan, and others, being arraigned, pleaded not guilty; and upon a motion for time, had three weeks given them to prepare for their trials; which favour, on the contrary, ſome of them made uſe of to prepare, not for their trial, but for their eſcape.

THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK XXVII.

SECT. II.

From the End of the Rebellion to the Death of King GEORGE I.

30. GEORGE I.

1716] THE rebellion was now quelled, and the ſtrength of the rebels entirely broken, but the diſaffection of the people was not yet conquered. The parliament was the bulwark of the crown; the vigour and unanimity of the king's friends, and their ſuperiority in the houſe, was the ſupport of the whole affair. But the parliament being only of three years continuance, by virtue of the triennial act, made in the 6th year of king William and queen Mary; all the hopes of the other party ſeemed to be centered in this, that the parliament would expire; and that they ſhould be able, by their influence in the country, to chuſe a majority of their party at the next election; or raiſe ſuch a ferment at that juncture, as might make way for a ſucceſsful invaſion from abroad. This the perſons at the helm obſerved with concern; and therefore reſolved to baffle theſe hopes of the enemies of the government, by prolonging the ſitting of the preſent parliament. It is ſaid, it was firſt propoſed only to ſuſpend the triennial act for once, whereby this parliament would have continued three years beyond the time, at which it was to determine; but it was afterwards thought, that a bill for enlarging the time of continuance of parliaments, in general, would be leſs liable to exceptions. The next thing, that fell under conſideration was, whether this intended bill ſhould be ſet on foot in the houſe of lords, or in the houſe of commons? the firſt was judged the propereſt for ſeveral reaſons, particularly becauſe, the court being more ſure of a majority in the houſe of commons, if the bill miſcarried with the lords, the odium of this project, which carried a face of unpopularity, would not reſt with the commons, nor conſequently prejudice future elections.

On the 9th of April in the evening, about thirty of the court lords met at the duke of Devonſhire's, where, after a ſhort conſultation, it was reſolved to begin this matter the very next day; and the duke was deſired to move it in the houſe of lords. The duke readily complied with the deſire of the aſſembly; and the next day, after the lords had diſpatched ſome private buſineſs, the duke ſtood up, and made a ſpeech on the inconveniencies, that attend triennial elections, ſuggeſting, in particular, that they keep up party diviſions, raiſe and foment feuds and animoſities in private families; occaſion ruinous expences; and give occaſion to the cabals and intrigues of foreign princes. It therefore became the wiſdom of that auguſt aſſembly to apply a proper remedy to an evil, which might be attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences, eſpecially in the preſent temper of the nation. For, though the rebellion was happily ſuppreſſed, yet the ſpirit of it remained unconquered, and ſeemed only to wait for an opportunity to ſhew itſelf with more violence. That, the election of a new parliament, which by the triennial act was not far off, being the moſt favourable juncture, which the diſaffected could expect, he thought it abſolutely neceſſary to deprive them of it. For which purpoſe he had a bill to offer to the houſe for enlarging the continuance of parliaments, and moved, that the ſame might be read. The duke was ſeconded by the earl of Rockingham, and ſupported by the duke of Argyle, the earl of Dorſet, the lord Townſhend, and ſome other lords. The duke of Bucks, the lord Trevor, the earls of Nottingham and Aylesford, and ſome peers of the other ſide did not directly oppoſe the bill, but made long ſpeeches for putting off the reading of it to another time. They owned, that every member has the privilege of offering what bill he thinks fit, without aſking leave; but that the houſe is likewiſe at liberty either to read it or not, as they think convenient; and that the matter now offered was of ſo high a nature, that it well deſerved to be maturely weighed and conſidered before the ſame was debated: and therefore they moved, that the bill might lie for ſome days on the table. To this it was anſwered, that nothing was farther from their thoughts, than to carry any thing by ſurprize: that, by the ordinary method of proceeding, every member has ſufficient time to weigh, and conſider what is offered in the houſe; and to ſhew how fairly they intended to act in this affair, the earl of Dorſet propoſed, that, after the bill had been once read, the ſecond reading of it ſhould be put off for ſome days, and that all the members in and about London ſhould be ſummoned to attend. The lords of the oppoſite ſide, finding themſelves the weaker, acquieſced in this motion; ſo the bill was read the firſt time, and ordered to be read a ſecond on the 14th of April.

On that day the bill was read, [a] and a warm debate aroſe which laſted five hours. [b] The earl of Abingdon ſaid, 'the bill was of a very extraordinary nature, ſince it repealed the triennial act, which the people juſtly looked upon as the great ſecurity of their rights and liberties; and that, if it paſſed this houſe, and the commons agreed to it, the ſame

[a] The ſubſtance of the bill was: it has been found by experience, that triennial parliaments are grievous, by occaſioning much greater and continued expence, and more violent and laſting heats, than were ever known before. And if the triennial act continue, it may probably, at the preſent juncture, when a reſtleſs and popiſh faction are deſigning to renew the rebellion at home, and an invaſion from abroad, be deſtructive to the peace and the ſecurity of the government. Be it therefore enacted, that this preſent and all future parliaments ſhall have continuance for ſeven years, to be accounted from the date of the writ of ſummons, unleſs this or any ſuch parliament ſhall be ſooner diſſolved by his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors.

[b] The ſpeakers were as follow:

Againſt the bill.	For the bill.
1. Earl of Abingdon.	2. Duke of Kingſton.
3. Earl Powlet.	4. Earl of Dorſet.
Againſt the bill.	For the Bill.
5. Lord Trevor.	6. Lord Carteret.
7. Duke of Bucks.	8. Earl of Cholmondley.
9. Lord Foley.	10. Duke of Newcaſtle.
11. Earl of Aylesford.	12. Earl of Ilay.
13. Earl of Peterborough.	15. } Duke of Argyle.
14. } Earl of Nottingham.	17. }
16. }	19. Lord Parker.
18. Duke of Shrewſbury.	20. Lord Cowper.
21. Earl of Aylesford.	
22. Biſhop of London.	
23. Earl of Angleſey.	
24. Duke of Bucks.	

would be a breach of that truſt, which was repoſed in them by thoſe whom they repreſented.' The latter part of this aſſertion was denied by the duke of Kingſton, who urged, 'that the buſineſs of the legiſlature was to rectify old laws, as well as to make new ones.' Earl Powlet declared, 'that he would be for it, if he thought it for the king's ſervice and intereſt; but that, before they went any farther in ſo important an affair, ſome method ſhould be taken to know the ſentiments of the nation.' He urged, 'that this bill ſhewed a diſtruſt of the affection of the people, without which no king can be either ſafe or eaſy. That king William gained the hearts of his ſubjects by the triennial act; and it would look ſomewhat ſtrange, that the moſt popular of our laws ſhould be repealed a year after the proteſtant ſucceſſion took place.' After this he endeavoured to anſwer what was ſuggeſted in ſupport of this bill, viz. 1. That frequent elections occaſion ruinous expences. 2. That they raiſe a great ferment, and foment animoſities, which are of the moſt dangerous conſequence after the late rebellion: and 3. That they obſtruct foreign alliances. He ſaid, 'that no ſtreſs ought to be laid on the firſt of thoſe objections, expences at elections being voluntary. That, as to the ſecond, he was ſorry there had been a rebellion; but that the ſame was now happily ſuppreſſed. And, as to the third ſuggeſtion, the ſame was of no weight with him, it being his opinion, that in a matter, which ſo nearly concerns our conſtitution, we ought to have regard to ourſelves only, and not to foreigners.' Upon all which conſiderations he was againſt the committing of this bill. The earl of Dorſet ſaid, among other things, 'that they, who now ſpoke againſt this bill, would be for it, if it ſerved their turn. That the triennial act was a new law, and an alteration of the old conſtitution. That, the experience of twenty years having ſhewn a thouſand inconveniences, attending that law, they ought to apply a remedy to it. That it ſowed the ſeeds of corruption, it being notorious, that great numbers of perſons had no other livelihood, than by being employed in bribing corporations. That we had lately a ſad experience of it; ſince by thoſe methods a parliament was procured by the laſt miniſtry, which gave ſanction to moſt of their ill meaſures, and went near to give up the trade and liberties of the nation. That triennial elections deſtroy all family intereſt, and ſubject our excellent conſtitution to the caprice of the multitude: and, in ſhort, that by triennial elections we have but a triennial government, which is little better than no government at all.' For which reaſons he was for the bill. The lord Trevor ſaid, that the queſtion now lying before them was, whether the law they were going to make, tended to the good or prejudice of the conſtitution? That, for his own part, he looked upon the triennial act as an eſſential part of our antient conſtitution, according to which frequent and even annual parliaments were to be held. That he might eaſily prove, that long parliaments were always pernicious. That, when king Charles I. had given up his prerogative of diſſolving parliaments in 1640, he gave himſelf up into the hands of traytors, and had nothing but deſtruction to expect from them. That after the reſtoration, king Charles II. that very good prince, found the inconvenience of a long parliament. That, as ſoon as the nation had opportunity, by the revolution, to aſſert their juſt rights and liberties, the triennial act was inſiſted on, and gained, at laſt, with a great deal of oppoſition. That there were very good and cogent reaſons for making a law, to ſupport the conſtitution, and prevent encroachments, either of parliaments on the crown, or of the crown on the rights and liberties of the people; and to correct abuſes and exorbitances committed through the ambition and avarice of miniſters. That he would not be thought to reflect on the preſent adminiſtration; but that, in his opinion, frequent elections were a neceſſary right of the ſubject to remedy abuſes. That, for his own part, he had ever been againſt the bill for limiting the number of officers in the houſe of commons: but, if the triennial act were repealed, he thought that bill would become very neceſſary, becauſe the long ſitting of parliaments would give the crown both an opportunity and temptation to multiply the number of officers. That ſome reflections had been caſt on the laſt parliament: but that, in his opinion, that parliament was choſen by the ſame method, as the preſent was, by great expences. That he owned this to be a great abuſe; but that laws might be made to rectify the ſame. That if this bill paſſed, how could any member of the other houſe expect to preſerve his intereſt with thoſe, who choſe him, when this bill would certainly be interpreted both a violation of their right, and a breach of the truſt repoſed in him? That if this houſe of commons continued themſelves beyond the time, for which they were choſen, they were no more the repreſentatives of the people, but a houſe of their own making. That he was ſorry there were diſcontented in the country; but he apprehend this bill would rather increaſe than abate them. He owned, that the majority of this houſe of commons were honeſt gentlemen, who had the intereſt of their king and country at heart; but that, in his opinion, thoſe, who went before them, did not come ſhort of them in point of duty and affection to his majeſty; for it was they, who eſtabliſhed the king on his throne, and ſettled his revenue with all chearfulneſs imaginable. That what he had ſuggeſted ſlowed from the dread of the ill conſequences of this bill, which might riſe to ſuch an height, as to render the crown uneaſy to his majeſty. That he owed ſo much to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, that, if he could believe this bill to be of any ſervice to the king and royal family, he would be entirely for it; but, as he was of a contrary opinion, he would not have a bill, obtained in the beſt of reigns, repealed in the firſt year of this proteſtant reign. And therefore he was againſt the committing of this bill.' Lord Carteret, who ſpoke next, owned, 'that frequent parliaments are a great ſecurity of the people's rights and liberties; but he obſerved, that this bill was not againſt frequent ſeſſions, but only againſt frequent elections. That they ought maturely to weigh and conſider what was ſuggeſted in the preamble of the bill, that there is a reſtleſs popiſh faction deſigning and endeavouring to renew the rebellion within this kingdom. That of all rebellions this laſt was the moſt monſtrous and unnatural; for all other rebellions were carried on under pretences of liberty, whereas this laſt was a rebellion for ſlavery. That, as to our allies abroad, though he could not ſay, that they expected this bill, yet it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they would be glad to ſee it paſs into a law; for having found, by ſad experience, that great changes may be made in the beſt concerted meaſures by different parliaments, inflamed by different miniſtries; ſo, if they had not ſome ſecurity for the treaties his majeſty was now entering into with them, a ſtrong tide might come upon a new election, that might overturn all. That in ſhort, this bill would fix the king, and the preſent happy ſettlement, on a laſting foundation; and therefore he was for committing it.' The earl of Cholmondley ſaid, 'that he made no doubt, but the legiſlature is veſted with a ſupreme power to rectify any inconveniences, to which any former law may, by experience, be found to be ſubject; and this being the caſe of the triennial act, they ought to remedy the ſame. That what had been ſuggeſted, in relation to the long parliament in king Charles the ſecond's reign, was, in his opinion, rather an argument for, than againſt the bill. For though, in that parliament, the king had many penſioners, who, at firſt, complimented him with money, yet at laſt, when the intereſt of the nation came to be at ſtake, they voted for a war with France, and proſecuted the popiſh plot with the utmoſt vigour. That they had lately ſeen what a corrupt parliament may do, and by what means ſuch a parliament may be got: and every one might gueſs how there came to be a debt of 500,000l. upon the civil liſt. That he did not mention this to irritate againſt perſons, but againſt things. That, in his opinion, there was no better remedy againſt corruptions, than the ſuppreſſing frequent elections. That he thought this bill the more neceſſary, becauſe our allies will thereby have a ſecurity, that they ſhall not again be left in the lurch. And, in conſideration of the great benefits that will acrue from it both at home and abroad, he was for the committing it.' Lord Foley made a long ſpeech, in which he enlarged upon the excellency of our conſtitution; took notice, that the different branches of the legiſlature are to chec one another, which prevents exorbitances in the adminiſtration, and dragooing as in Turkey and other arbitrary governments; ſuggeſted, that the penſionary parliament made king Charles II. uneaſy, by making him neglect the affections of his people; and concluded, that he was afraid, that the repealing the triennial act would have the ſame effect, and therefore he was againſt it.'

The duke of Newcaſtle anſwered, 'that it had already been rightly obſerved, that, though the long parliament of king Charles II. at firſt complimented that prince, yet they afterwards vigorouſly oppoſed deſtructive meaſures, and inſiſted on a war with France.' Then paſſing over leſs material objections, which had been fully refuted, he urged, 'that the preſent happy ſettlement could not be maintained without taking away the ſeeds of corruption. That no cauſe ever miſcarried in ſo many inſtances as that of the rebels. But, notwithſtanding their defeat at Preſton and Dumblain, their being driven out of Scotland, with their king at their head, their diſappointments in other parts, and the execution of ſome of their leaders, the jacobites were as inſolent as ever. That this was the reaſon, why in a late debate in this houſe he was againſt lenity; and the rather, becauſe no prince was

ever more naturally inclined to mercy than his preſent majeſty; for no prince ever had ſo many rebels in his power, and never were ſo few puniſhed. My lords (added he) you muſt now ſtrengthen yourſelves, and diſarm your enemies. It is not to be doubted, but the late unnatural and monſtrous rebellion was raiſed and fomented by large contributions of a reſtleſs popiſh faction. The ſame means, my lords, will be uſed to renew the rebellion as ſoon as a proper opportunity offers. Their emiſſaries are buſy every where to keep up the ſpirits of the people for a year longer, and then they hope to retrieve all by a new election.' He concluded, 'that though the allies would not make any thing done among us an article of their treaties, yet, having the ſad experience of being left in the lurch, they would certainly enter into alliances with us with more confidence, if they ſaw that our government was not precarious.' Upon all which conſiderations he was for the bill.[c]

The duke of Shrewſbury ſpoke with ſome vehemence againſt the bill; after which the lord Parker enlarged on the conſtitution with relation to the calling, election, ſitting and prolonging parliaments. He was followed by the lord-chancellor Cowper, who reſumed all the arguments that had been urged in the debate; rectified ſome miſtakes, as to the conſtitution and nature of parliaments; gave a clear account of the triennal act: and vindicated the king and the government, as to the preſent diſaffection; appealing to the lords and commons, 'whether the leaſt provocation had been given either by his majeſty or his miniſters?' and aſſerting, 'that if there was any fault on the king's ſide, it was too much lenity; and that the only crime that could be charged on his miniſters, was their zeal and vigilance in defence of his majeſty's perſon and government.' The earl of Aylesford having anſwered part of the lord-chancellor's ſpeech, the biſhop of London ſaid, 'that when he came to the houſe, he knew not which way he ſhould give his vote, and hoped to be guided and determined by what ſhould be offered on both ſides on this important ſubject: but now he owned he was confounded between dangers and inconveniencies on one ſide, and deſtruction on the other.'

The earl of Angleſey ſpoke next with great vehemence againſt the bill; and the duke of Bucks cloſed the debate with ſaying, 'that he was for the bill, but did not think it ſeaſonable.' At laſt, the queſtion, 'that the bill be committed,' being put, it was carried in the affirmative by ninety-ſix voices againſt ſixty-one. But thirty lords entered their proteſts.[d]

Two days after, the lords conſidered of the bill in a grand committee, and moſt of the former ſpeakers exerted themſelves for and againſt it; and among others, a biſhop, who had not yet ſpoken on the ſubject, ſaid, 'if this bill was never ſo good in itſelf, it is very unſeaſonable, becauſe very unpopular, and altogether uſeleſs, the rebellion be-

[c] After ſeveral other ſpeeches, the earl of Nottingham, having made large profeſſions of duty and affection to the king, ſaid, 'that he was againſt this bill, becauſe he thought it would rather exaſperate than quiet the minds of the people. That this bill ſhewed a diſtruſt of the affections of the people, and an intention of governing by fear, which, in his opinion, was the worſt way of government: and God forbid his majeſty ſhould have no proſpect of gaining the affections of his ſubjects. That the king came in univerſally beloved, and was received with general acclamations of his people; and, though he could not aſſign the true cauſe of the preſent diſſatisfaction, yet ſome ſecret cauſe muſt have been given for it. That he hoped, the people's diſſatisfaction was not ſo great, as it was repreſented. That the rebellion was entirely ſuppreſſed, and at an end; but, if any ferment yet remained, this bill was a very improper way to allay it, and would rather rivet the diſaffected in their prejudices againſt the government, than make them change their opinion. That one of the arguments urged for this bill was, that it would encourage foreign princes and ſtates to enter into alliances with us; but that, in his opinion, the ſame might have a contrary effect. For foreign potentates may be deterred from entering into meaſures with us, when they ſhall be informed by the preamble to the bill, that the popiſh faction is ſo dangerous, as that it may be deſtructive to the peace and ſecurity of the government; and may apprehend, from this bill, that the government is ſo weak as to want ſo extraordinary a proviſion for its ſafety; which ſeems to imply, that the gentlemen of Great-Britain are not to be truſted in a new election, and that the good affections of the people are reſtrained to ſo ſmall a number as that, of which the preſent houſe of commons conſiſts. That frequent and new parliaments are required by the fundamental conſtitution of the kingdom; and that the practice thereof, for many ages, was ſufficient evidence of this conſtitution. That this bill was ſo far from preventing corruptions, that it would rather encreaſe them; for, the longer a parliament is to laſt, the more valuable to be purchaſed is a ſtation in it, and the greater alſo is the danger of corrupting the members of it. That, whatever reaſons there may be to continue this parliament for ſeven years, they will be at leaſt as ſtrong, and by the conduct of the miniſtry, may be made much ſtronger, before the end of ſeven years, continuing it ſtill longer, and even to perpetrate it, which would be an abſolute ſubverſion of the third eſtate of the realm.' But, what was moſt taken notice of in his lordſhip's ſpeech, was, that in order to ſhew the danger of enlarging the prerogative, he inſtanced in the precedent of king Henry VIII. who perſuaded his parliament to give him the abbey-lands, under pretence, that they would bear part of his expences, which would eaſe them of taxes, and improve trade; but that, ſoon after, he demanded and obtained great ſubſidies, and made uſe of thoſe lands to enſlave the nation.

The duke of Argyle anſwered among other particulars: 'that he could by no means agree with the noble lord that ſpoke laſt, either as to the beginning or end of the rebellion. That it had been ſuggeſted, that the king had been received with the general acclamations of his people; but that it was certain, and had ſince manifeſtly appeared, that whatever arts were uſed by the late miniſtry to blind and deceive the people, deſigns had been laid to bring in the pretender long before the king's happy acceſſion to the throne. That the diſappointment of theſe deſigns was entirely owing to providence; for had the conſpirators thrown off the maſk ſooner, and improved the ferment their emiſſaries had raiſed in the nation, at the election of the laſt parliament, it is very probable their wicked ſchemes for ſetting aſide the proteſtant ſucceſſion had taken place. That he wondered, therefore, that his lordſhip could be puzzled to find out the cauſe of the preſent diſaffection, for it was plain, it proceeded from the falſe repreſentations of things and perſons, that were induſtriouſly ſpread abroad both before and ſince his majeſty's coming in.' As to what had been ſuggeſted, that the rebellion was at an end, his grace obſerved, 'that the rebels had only ſhifted their head-quarters from Perth to Paris, or St. Germain's; but that their emiſſaries were ſtill as buſy and inſolent as ever in Great-Britain, and wanted only an opportunity to renew the rebellion, and favour an invaſion.'

As to what had been hinted, that this bill would rivet the jacobites in their opinion, he ſaid, 'that was no good argument againſt it, for he had ſeen ſome perſons ſhift ſides often, and change their opinions, and be very zealous for both.'

The earl of Nottingham taking this reflection to himſelf, readily owned, 'that he was for ſome time againſt the abjuration oath, becauſe he thought a multiplicity of oaths would make the nation unſafe; but that, as ſoon as he was convinced of the neceſſity of that oath, he readily came into it.' The duke of Argyle thereupon ſtood up, and ſaid, 'he was ſorry that noble lord took to himſelf what he ſaid only in general.

[d] They were as follow:

Diſſentient.

I. Becauſe we conceive, that frequent and new parliaments are required by the fundamental conſtitution of the kingdom, and the practice thereof, for many ages (which manifeſtly appears by our records) is a ſufficient evidence and proof of this conſtitution.

II. Becauſe it is agreed, that the houſe of commons muſt be choſen by the people; and when ſo choſen, they are truly the repreſentatives of the people, which they cannot be ſo properly ſaid to be when continued for a longer time than that for which they were choſen; for, after that time, they are choſen by the parliament, and not by the people, who are thereby deprived of the only remedy, which they have againſt thoſe, who either do not underſtand, or, through corruption, do wilfully betray the truſt repoſed in them; which remedy is to chuſe better men in their places.

III. Becauſe the reaſons given for this bill, we conceive, were not ſufficient to induce us to paſs it, in ſubverſion of ſo eſſential a part of our conſtitution.

1. For, as to the argument, that this will encourage the princes and ſtates of Europe to enter into alliances with us, we have not heard any one miniſter aſſert, that any one prince or ſtate has aſked, or ſo much as inſinuated, that they wiſhed ſuch an alteration.

Nor is it reaſonable to imagine it; for it cannot be expected, that any prince or ſtate can rely upon a people to defend their liberties and intereſts, who ſhall be thought to have given up ſo great a part of their own; nor can it be prudent for them to wiſh ſuch an experiment, after the experience that Europe has had of the great things this nation has done for them under he conſtitution, which is to be altered by this bill.

But, on the other hand, they may be deterred from entering into meaſures with us, when they ſhall be informed by the preamble of this bill, that the popiſh faction is ſo dangerous, as that it may be deſtructive to the peace and ſecurity of the government; and may apprehend, from this bill, that the government is ſo weak, as to want ſo extraordinary a proviſion for its ſafety; which ſeems to imply, that the gentlemen of Britain are not to be truſted or relied upon; and that the good affections of the people are reſtrained to ſo ſmall a number, as that, of which the preſent houſe of commons conſiſts.

2. We conceive, this bill is ſo far from preventing expences and corruptions, that it will rather encreaſe them, for, the longer a parliament is to laſt, the more valuable to be purchaſed is a ſtation in it, and the greater alſo is the danger of corrupting the members of it. For if there ſhould be a miniſtry, who ſhall want a parliament to ſcreen them from the juſt reſentment of the people, or from a diſcovery of the ill practices to the king, who cannot otherwiſe, or ſo truly, be informed of them, as by a free parliament, it is ſo much the intereſt of ſuch a miniſtry to influence the elections (which by their authority, and the diſpoſal of the public money, they of all others, have the beſt means of doing) that, it is to be feared, they will be tempted, and not fail to make uſe of them; and even when the members are choſen, they have a greater opportunity of inducing very many to comply with them, than they could have, if not only the ſeſſions of parliament, but the parliament itſelf were reduced to the antient and primitive conſtitution and practice of frequent and new parliaments; for, as a good miniſtry will neither practiſe, nor need corruption, ſo it cannot be any lord's intent to provide for the ſecurity of a bad one.

3. We conceive, that whatever reaſons may induce the lords to paſs this bill, to continue this parliament for ſeven years, will be, at leaſt, as ſtrong, and may by the conduct of the miniſtry, be made much ſtronger before the end of ſeven years, for continuing it ſtill longer, and even to perpetrate it; which would be an expreſs and abſolute ſubverſion of the third eſtate of the realm.

Somerſet.	Bathurſt.
Shrewſbury.	Weſton.
Angleſey.	Bruce.
Oſborne.	Willoughby de Broke.
Compton.	Poulet.
Briſtol.	Dartmouth.
Tadcaſter.	Bingley.
Nottingham.	Strafford.
Abingdon.	Trevor.
Guilford.	Montjoy.
Aylesford.	Northampton.
Foley.	Fr. Roffenſ.
Aſhburnham.	P. Hereford.
Manſel.	Fr. Ceſtrienſ.
Gower.	Saliſbury.

ing cruſhed, and the power of France not to be feared; now eſpecially, when we have a glorious ſtanding army, and a miniſtry, that knows how effectually to engage the affections of the people.' The committee having gone through the bill, and ordered the blank before the word years to be filled up with the word ſeven, the queſtion was put, whether the ſame ſhould be reported, in order to be engroſſed, which was carried by ſeventy-four voices againſt thirty-nine. The next day the bill was reported, and without dividing, ordered to be engroſſed, and being read the third time, on the 18th of April, there aroſe a debate, which laſted about two hours. Near half of that time was taken up by the earl of Nottingham, who, among other things, by a long hiſtorical detail, endeavoured to ſhew, 'that councils for enlarging the prerogative were ever pernicious to the crown.' To this the duke of Argyle anſwered, 'that, not being ſo well read in hiſtory as that noble lord, he would confine himſelf to what had happened in his own time; and, that he had obſerved, that his lordſhip had by turns, oppoſed all that had been offered, either for the intereſt of the crown, or the liberties of the people; of which he might eaſily produce ſeveral inſtances:' adding, 'that he did not much wonder there appeared already ſo much joy among a certain party over a repenting ſinner.' Upon the whole matter, the queſtion being put, whether this bill ſhall paſs? it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of ſixty-nine voices againſt thirty-ſix; but twenty-four lords proteſted againſt it.

The bill being ſent down to the commons, the lord Guernſey moved for the rejecting of it without being read; but his motion was declared to be unprecedented, and the bill read. Upon the queſtion for a ſecond reading, there aroſe a debate, of which the moſt remarkable paſſage was, that an eminent member, who had been in the moſt difficult times very zealous for the proteſtant ſucceſſion, ſpoke againſt the bill, and, among other things ſuggeſted. 'that it was an impoſition of the lords to take upon them to direct the commons in a matter which ſolely concerns them, as guardians of the rights and liberties of the people.' He was ſeconded by mr. Shippen; but the lord Coningſby made them ſenſible. 'that their objection was altogether groundleſs, and the reſult of their want, either of experience or memory; for, had they, like himſelf, been members of that houſe, when the triennial act was made, they might have remembered that the ſame was begun in the houſe of lords, who, as part of the legiſlature, are no leſs guardians of the liberties of the ſubject, than the commons themſelves.' Mr Fuller and the lord Guernſey ſpoke afterwards againſt the bill, but were anſwered by the lord Stanhope, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Cheſterfield; and a ſecond reading was at laſt carried by a majority of two hundred and ſeventy-ſix againſt a hundred and fifty-ſix.

In the mean time, ſeveral petitions were prepared in the country, and preſented to the houſe againſt the bill, particularly from Haſtings, Marlborough, Cambridge, and Abingdon. Then the bill being read the ſecond time, there aroſe a warm debate, which laſted from about two in the afternoon till near eleven at night.

Mr Lyddal ſpoke a long ſpeech for the bill, and, among other things, ſaid. 'If this opportunity be loſt, you may poſſibly never have another, or at leaſt ſo good a one, not only to conquer, but even to eradicate that ſpirit of jacobitiſm, which has dwelt long among us, and has more than once brought this nation to the very brink of ruin and deſtruction. Since, therefore, with much danger and difficulty we have at laſt ſecured our religion, laws, and liberties, when all was at ſtake from the treachery of the late miniſtry, and the unaccountable proceedings of the laſt triennial parliament, why ſhould you run the riſk of having a new one ſo ſoon, firſt choſen by French money, and then voting by French directions, ſince the king and his parliament exert their united power for the good of the public, and to retrieve the honour of the nation? why ſhould they not continue longer together, that they may finiſh what they have ſo unanimouſly and happily begun? Upon the whole, the electors and people of all the boroughs in England having, for ſeveral years paſſed, been bribed and preached into the pretender's intereſt, and a diſlike of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, it becomes rather neceſſity than choice to apply an extraordinary remedy to an extaordinary diſeaſe.'

After this and ſeveral other ſpeeches, it was carried for committing the bill; [e] and, the next day, a petition from the borough of Horſham was preſented to the houſe, ſetting forth, 'that they looked upon the bill as an overturning the conſtitution, and an infringement of their liberties;' at which expreſſions the houſe being offended, it was reſolved, that the petition ſhould be rejected. Then mr. Lechmere moved, 'that the committee have leave to receive a clauſe, to diſable perſons from being choſen members of either houſe of parliament, who have penſions during pleaſure, or any number of years.' But mr. ſecretary Stanhope having repreſented, that ſuch a clauſe would but clog the bill, and endanger its miſcarriage, part of it being derogatory to the privileges of the houſe of lords; and that, if any jealouſy were entertained of the members of the houſe of commons having penſions from the crown, a bill might be brought in, to exclude them; the motion for the clauſe was rejected, and a ſeparate bill againſt penſioners ſitting in the houſe was ordered to be brought in, which, having paſſed both houſes, received the royal aſſent. When the ſeptennial bill had gone through the committee of the whole houſe, it was read the third time, and the queſtion for paſſing it being put, a debate of two hours enſued. Thoſe, who ſpoke againſt the bill, were mr. Freeman, mr. Hungerford, mr. Fuller, mr. Wykes, the lord Finch, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Nottingham, and ſome others. They were ſeverally anſwered by ſir Richard Steel, mr. comptroller, ſir William Thompſon, captain Erle, mr. Tufnel, mr. Morris, and ſir John Brownlow [f]. After which, the

[e] Mr Haddon, a Scotch member, having ſpoken for the bill, mr. Snell, one of the repreſentatives for the city of Gloceſter, ſaid, 'it was no wonder, that they, who had betrayed the liberties of their own country, ſhould be ſo ready to give up their's.' Mr Smith animadverted upon this injurious reflection, and ſaid, 'that the member, who made that ſpeech, would not be ſo bold as to utter thoſe words any where elſe.' He was ſeconded by lord Coningſby; and, the diſpute being like to grow warm, the ſpeaker interpoſed, and ſaid, that, all the members of the houſe having the privilege of explaining themſelves, mr. Snell ought to enjoy the ſame. Hereupon mr. Snell ſaid, 'that he meant no perſonal reflection on mr. Haddon, and that he only ſpoke of the Scots nation in general:' by which pretended excuſe ſir David Dalrymple being provoked, ſaid, 'that this explanation, inſtead of extenuating, did but aggravate the offence;' for which he demanded ſatisfaction. Some other members calling to the bar, mr. Snell prevented any further proceeding, by begging pardon for any unguarded expreſſion he might have let fall.'

[f] Mr Hampden ſpoke for the bill, part of whoſe ſpeech was as follows:

'A principal argument for continuing the triennial bill is, that it is agreeable to the antient laws of this nation, that there ſhould be frequent parliaments. I find, by the laws I have looked over, that parliaments ought to be frequently held: but I found it no where laid down as a fundamental poſition of the nature of this conſtitution, that there ſhould be frequent elections. If gentlemen will look to the beginning of parliaments, they will find, in the 4th, 5th, and 36th of Edward III. that, for redreſs of divers miſchiefs and grievances which daily happen, a parliament ſhall be holden every year, or oftener, if need be. Let it then be conſidered, in what manner thoſe parliaments were held: when a king met his parliament, they uſed to ſit ten or twenty days, and then were prorogued or diſſolved; and there were frequent intermiſſions of parliaments, none being called for ſeveral years. By looking over the journals, we find the prorogations and diſſolutions of parliaments.

To come down to the time of Henry VIII. few of his parliaments ſat more than twenty days, though there was not a parliament met every year; and, from the 7th to the 25th of Henry VIII. there are no journals, and conſequently we cannot tell in what manner parliaments were held. Afterwards, there were ſeveral parliaments, but not every year, to the end of his reign.

A parliament was called the firſt year of Edward VI. and, in five years, ſat but four months. In Philip and Mary there were four parliaments, but the ſeſſions extreamly ſhort. From the 2d to the 5th, and from the 7th to the 13th of queen Elizabeth, no parliament met; and, from the 14th to the 25th of queen Elizabeth, the parliament ſat only from the 8th of May to the 30th of June; and, four years after, from the 8th of February to the 8th of March following; and, in eight years after, never ſat to do buſineſs, but were then diſſolved. There were ſix other parliaments called in queen Elizabeth's time; but never ſat long, unleſs that in the 39th of her reign, which ſat four months.

The parliament, the firſt of James I. ſat about four months, and, in three years after, ſat about eight days. That parliament was not diſſolved till the 9th of James, but ſat twice or thrice only. There were three other parliaments in his reign, but they met very ſeldom.

The ſeſſions in king Charles I. were much ſhorter than of late days, and very frequent prorogations; and, in the 16th of his reign, an act was paſſed, for preventing inconveniencies by long intermiſſion of parliaments; by which it was provided, that a parliament ſhould meet every three years; which law we find repealed in the 16th of Charles II. by reaſon that the proviſions in the former law were looked upon as a derogation to his majeſty's juſt and undoubted prerogative for calling and aſſembling parliaments, and might be an occaſion of manifold miſchiefs, and might endanger the peace of his people. This ſaid act is repealed, and a proviſion made therein, that becauſe, by the antient laws of this realm, in the reign of Edward III. parliaments are to be held very often, the ſitting and holding of parliaments ſhall not be intermitted above three years. In this king's reign, the long parliament was held; and, whatever corruptions they were tainted with, they could never be accuſed of favouring the cauſe of France, or attempting to enſlave their own country.

In king James II. that unfortunate prince, a parliament was held in May 1685, and ſat about two months, and was, at ſeveral times, prorogued to November 1687. Then the happy revolution took place; and, in the bill of Rights, 1 Guliel. & Mar. it is declared and enacted that 'all the rights and liberties, aſſerted and claimed in the ſaid declaration, are the true, antient, and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom, and ought to be firmly and ſtrictly holden and obſerved.' And, in the ſame bill, among this long catalogue of grievances, which precedes the ſaid declaration, there is not the leaſt mention made of want of frequent elections, but only, that parliaments ought to be free. In the ſixth of king William, this now-favoured bill for triennial parliaments was paſſed: and, upon this

bill paſſed by a majority of two hundred and ſixty-four, againſt one hundred and twenty-one; and, being ſent bac to the lords, received, ſoon after, the royal aſſent.

On the 26th of April, died that great man, and great patriot, the lord Sommers, whoſe character is drawn with great force and elegance by mr. Addiſon in his Freeholder.

The eſcape of the earl of Nithiſdale, and of mr. Forſter, had given ſufficient warning to the government, and ought to have doubled the vigilance of the jaylors; yet brigadier Mackintoſh, John Mackintoſh, his ſon, Charles Wogan, James Tolbot, Robert Hepburne, William Dalmahoy, Alexander Dalmahoy, and John Taſker, ſervant to mr. Butler, having knoced down the keeper and turnkey, and diſarmed the centinel, broke out of Newgate between eleven and twelve at night. Six more of the rebels went out of the priſon with them; but being unacquainted with the ſtreets, and turning into Warwick-Court, where they found no paſſage, they were forced to return into Warwick-Lane, and ſo fell into the hands of their purſuers. Mackintoſh and, ſome others were to have been tried the day after. The judges met in Weſtminſter-Hall for that purpoſe, but, receiving a meſſage, that the keepers of Newgate were employed in ſearching after the rebels, who had made their eſcape the court and juries adjourned. James Talbot, one of the fugitives, was re-taken at an houſe in Windmill-Street, in Piccadilly, and ſent bac to Newgate.

When the court ſat the next time, thirteen of the rebels[g] were arraigned, and pleaded not guilty; but upon application for time, ſome of them ſetting forth, that they had evidence upon the road, they had three weeks allowed to prepare for their trial.

Mr Richard Gaſcoigne was ſet to the bar, but by the indulgence of the court had ten days allowed him for bringing witneſs to town. His trial came on the 17th of May; and beſides the evidence of mr. Patten, mr. Forſter's chaplain, who depoſed that he ſaw mr. Gaſcoigne in mr. Forſter's company at Preſton, mr. Wye made oath, 'that, coming once to the dutcheſs of Ormond's, he ſaw the priſoner Gaſcoigne in her grace's cloſet. That being introduced, he told her grace he was juſt come from France, and had ſeen the duke but ſix days before, who was well, and would be here quicly from Bayonne, and the pretender from ſome other place. Upon which her grace called for a map, to find whereabouts St. Sebaſtian lay. That he was aſked by her grace what people ſaid at Paris, eſpecially in relation to ſir William Wyndham; and aſked mr. Gaſcoigne, whether it was true, which was ſaid in the public news, that he had letters found in his pocet of dangerous conſequence? Mr Gaſcoigne ſaid, 'he could not tell; but if it were ſo, a ſchool-boy would deſerve to be whipped for carrying ſuch papers in his pocet.' It being at that time generally diſcourſed about town, that ſir William Wyndham had ſurrendered himſelf, Gaſcoigne ſaid, 'he had ſent or carried him one of the proclamations' (but the evidence could not be poſitive which) and added, 'if he was taken, their deſign was ruined, for there were an hundred gentlemen, who waited only for a ſignal, and ſir William would be at the head of eight or nine thouſand men.' That the lady Rocheſter having aſked him (mr. Gaſcoigne) where ſir William was? the priſoner replied, 'whether, if he ſhould tell her ladyſhip, ſhe would not make uſe of it to perſuade him to ſurrender? But, if it were only to give ſir William notice of the proclamation, he told her, that he had already ſent him one.' Mr Wye further declared, 'that, when he was in the dutcheſs's cloſet, he ſaw a gentleman dreſſed in laced ſcarlet cloathes, whom he underſtood to be one of the Cotton's; and, having ſince ſeen mr. Cotton, knew it to be the ſame perſon.' There were ſome other circumſtances, which mr. Wye ſaid mr. Gaſcoigne told him, particularly, that the priſoner ſaid, 'he came to London to learn whether ſir William Wyndham made any diſcovery.' The jury, after a conſiderable ſtay, brought in mr. Gaſcoigne guilty of high-treaſon.

Henry Oxburgh was tried May the 7th, and made a very weak defence. His council, ſergeant Darnel and mr. Kettleby endeavoured to ſerve him by inſiſting on a miſnomer in the indictment, wherein he was called Oxborough, whereas his true name was Oxburgh: but that being overruled, the jury brought him in guilty of high-treaſon.

On the 26th of May, mr. John Hall of Otterburne in Northumberland was brought to the bar. This gentleman had been a juſtice of the peace in his county, and taken the oaths of allegiance and abjuration. He was found guilty by the jury, and gloried in his guilt at his execution. Oxburgh was the firſt of thoſe who ſuffered at Tyburn. Gaſcoigne had been a common ſharper, and having been bubbled by gameſters out of the money he had raiſed by the ſale of a ſmall eſtate in Ireland, ſupported himſelf afterwards by defrauding others. He was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn on the 25th of May, and died a papiſt.

John Hume, brother of the earl of Hume, was tried, and found guilty, May the 8th; John Farquharſon not guilty; and Alexander Menzies guilty. On the 12th Thomas Farquharſon and John Ennis were brought to their trials. There was a great uproar in the court upon the jury's bringing in Farquharſon not guilty, though the evidence was poſitive, 'that he was in arms with the rebels at Kelſo, and

occaſion, I cannot help obſerving, that it is ſome ſatisfaction, that the people abroad, who look upon the reign of that prince, as an uſurpation, ſhould be found of any one act that was paſſed in that time: and I hope from hence, they may in time, be more reconciled to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, which is in conſequence of that happy revolution.

If gentlemen will look over the writs of ſummons, and the return of thoſe writs, they will find no mention how long any parliament is to laſt; but the return makes mention of the perſons who are to ſerve in the parliament that is to meet and be held at ſuch a time at Weſtminſter. But it muſt be allowed, that the parliament is ſubject to the triennial act while it ſubſiſts; and therefore the advantages or inconveniencies of that law ought chiefly to be conſidered, in the matter now before us: and, in caſe an act be found prejudicial, if ſuch a veneration is to be paid to a law, as not to alter it from any conviction of its being inſufficient, or attended with ill conſequences, I think the legiſlator will become, in a manner, uſeleſs. I take the principal matter to be, to examine what benefit has accrued to the nation by virtue of this bill, and if the inconveniencies do not outweigh the advantages?

It is pretended, that by triennial elections, the people have an opportunity of laying aſide thoſe perſons with whoſe behaviour, in parliament, they are diſſatisfied, or ſuch, whom they apprehend to be under court influences: I deſire it may be conſidered, how very few examples there are, of perſons who, having accepted places, have not been re-elected. The reaſon is very obvious; becauſe the people who love expences, judge that a man, who has a place of profit, is much more capable of making an expence, than he that has none. But, ſuppoſing any gentleman ſo wicedly diſpoſed, as to ſacrifice his opinion to the lucre of a place; does not ſuch a perſon who has ſpent five or ſix hundred pounds at his election, and his circumſtances not very able to bear it, come more prepared for a court-temptation, than if he had enjoyed his ſeat in parliament, and been free from the trouble and expence of frequent elections? I appeal to gentlemen, if expences are not increaſed? and, if any inſtance can be produced, where they are abated, many more may be, where they are increaſed; ſo that the end of the bill, in this reſpect, is no way anſwered.

It is ſaid, that, expences being voluntary, it is the fault only of thoſe, who make them; but, when we obſerve the contagion of expences to be univerſally ſpread in the kingdom at the time of elections, and a diſſolution of manners occaſioned by ſuch expences, it is time for the legiſlator to interpoſe, and prevent the dangerous conſequences of ſuch an evil. Do, gentlemen, conſider the diſtractions occaſioned by elections, and the impoſſibility, conſidering the ſmall interval of elections, to heal up the wounds, which the animoſities of parties have occaſioned; ſo that ti is little better than living in a continual ſtate of warfare. This is no leſs a fatal, than, undeniable conſequence of this bill, which was calculated for the eaſe of the ſubject.

It is ſaid, the reaſon of this expedient, as it is called, is, becauſe the majority of this parliament are whigs: and, though it is allowed, that this parliament has acted for the ſervice of his majeſty and the nation, the proceedings of the laſt parliament are ſaid to be as meritorious of the king's good opinion, and the nation's, as what this parliament has done.

It is much inſiſted on, that the tories gave the civil liſt: that is true; but, had they not given it, I believe, the king would not long have been deprived of it. It is ſaid, the king was received here with the univerſal joy of his people: why did that ſatisfaction ceaſe ſo ſoon? has the king done any thing to loſe the affection of ſo many of his people? or, have his miniſters? if his miniſters, why hath the ſpirit of patriotiſm been ſo much wanting in gentlemen, as not to repreſent to the king, or in this houſe, the crimes of thoſe he employs in his ſervice? but, if no real handle for theſe diſcontents has been given, by king, or miniſters, then thoſe who pretended ſuch a zeal for the king and his ſervice, at his arrival here, acted a hypocritical part, and meant nothing leſs than what they now make profeſſions off. Let us conſider the preſent ſituation of the minds of the people, how exaſperated one ſet of them are at the neceſſary proſecutions of thoſe who ſo fatally concerted the ruin of their country; and to what degree that reſtleſs ſpirit influenced the people in the late rebellion; and how induſtriouſly a falſe and miſtaken cauſe of the church has been of late propagated in this nation.

From theſe and many other circumſtances of affairs, and ſymptoms of the ill temper of the nation, I think the diſpoſition of the people's minds far from being ſuitable to the buſineſs of an election, but rather for a reſtoration of that perſon, who, the deluded people have been taught, has alone a right to the crown, and came to free you from the oppreſſions you now lie under.

He concludes with ſaying, 'the reaſons why I am now for the bill are, to diſpoſe the people to follow their callings, and to be induſtrious, by taking from them, for a time, the opportunity of diſtracting one another by elections. To prevent ſuch who have the will, from the power of giving any new diſturbance to the government. To prevent another rebellion; there being juſt as much reaſon to expect one this year as there was the laſt. To chec that evil ſpirit in thoſe who have ſworn to the king, and roſe in arms againſt him, or abetted ſuch who have. To diſcountenance that ſpirit, which lately did ſo far prevail in this nation, as to approve of a moſt ignominious concluſion of a ſucceſsful war, by a ruinous peace. To render fruitleſs any concerted project of the regent, or any other foreign prince, to diſturb this nation, at a time, when elections, or the approach of them, have raiſed a ferment in the minds of the people; and to procure to the clergy an interval from being politicians, that they may be better able to take care of their flocs, in the manner the ſcripture has preſcribed.

[g] Charles Radcliffe.
Charles Widdrington.
Peregrine Widdrington, Eſquires.
John Thornton.
Robert Shaw.
Thomas Errington.
Philip Hodgeſon.
Donald Robertſon.
James Swinburne.
William Mackintoſh.
Angus Mackintoſh.
James Mackintoſh.
Alexander Macrudder.

at Lancaſter, where the pretender was proclaimed, and alſo at Preſton.' Two perſons who clapped and ſhouted were apprehended. One of them, who was ſummoned as a juryman, was fined 100l. the other 50l. and a year's impriſonment. The ſame jury, contrary to as full evidence as that againſt Farquharſon, acquitted Ennis likewiſe. The ſame day five rebel priſoners pleaded guilty; the two mr. Douglas's, captain Macquean, mr. Scrimſhaw, and mr. Skean, who received ſentence of death. Three days after came on the trials of Richard Townley and Edward Tildeſly. It was ſworn againſt mr. Townley, that he was not only among the rebels at Preſton, 'but that there was a troop called mr. Townley's troop, in which rode his coachman, his Butler, and poſtilion. It was ſworn againſt mr. Tildeſley, 'that a troop of the rebels went by his name alſo; and that he rode at the head of them with his ſword drawn.' Theſe two gentlemen had nothing to ſay for themſelves, but that they were forced to do what they did; and upon this ſlight defence, the jury acquitted them both.

Two days after mr. baron Montague came to the Marſhalſea-Court, and diſcharged the Surrey jury, after having reprimanded them for their behaviour in the late trials, eſpecially in the caſe of mr. Townley and mr. Tildeſley. The ſame day mr. Wogan was tried, and found guilty; and major Blair, retracting his former plea, pleaded guilty. Captain Lancelot Mackintoſh and Charles Radcliffe, brother to the late earl of Derwentwater, were likewiſe found guilty, and received ſentence of death.

Alexander Menzies petitioned the king for mercy, and was reprieved, as were the reſt of the perſons hitherto condemned on the like ſubmiſſion, or the interceſſion of their friends, excepting thoſe who are already mentioned to have been executed.

On the 30th of May came on the trial of mr. John Dalton. The evidence againſt him being poſitive, the jury found him guilty; upon which he deſired the court to intercede with the king for mercy.

Mr William Tunſtal pleaded guilty as to the being taken in arms, but not, as in the indictment, of any deſign of murdering the king, which, (he ſaid) never entered into his heart. But the court told him, 'that he, being a man of ſenſe, could not but know, had the rebellion ſucceeded, it could not have ended otherwiſe, ſince it was certain that his majeſty would not have run away, as the maſter they had declared for had already done.' The lord chief juſtice Parker adviſed him to draw up the ſtate of what he had to ſay in a petition, and he would recommend it to the king.

The next day Philip Hodgeſon, uncle to the lord Widdrington, Charles Peregrine Widdington, Donald Robertſon, Alexander Macrudder, Thomas Errington, John Nairne, ſon to the lord Nairne; George Seaton, who, before the battle of Dumblain, went by the name of the earl of Dumferling; John Stewart, dr. Patrick Blair, James Robertſon, William Grierſon, ſon of ſir Robert Grierſon, of Lagg; and John Carnegy, pleaded guilty to their indictments. But Francis Anderton, Baſil Hamilton, Archibald Rutter, William Shaſtoe, and William Paul, clerk, pleaded not guilty; which plea ſome of them afterwards retracted, and pleaded guilty, while others were tried and found guilty. The condemned rebels were reprieved from time to time; but, on the 13th of July, John Hall, and William Paul the clergyman, were executed at Tyburn.

Hall in his dying ſpeech declared, 'that he died a true and ſincere member of the church of England, but not of the revolution ſchiſmatical church, whoſe biſhops had ſo rebelliouſly abandoned the king, and ſo ſhamefully given up the rights of the church, by ſubmitting to the unlawful invalid lay-deprivations of the prince of Orange; but of the true catholic non-juring church of England.' Mr Paul likewiſe profeſſed himſelf a ſon of the church of England, but not of the ſchiſmatical church, whoſe biſhops ſet themſelves up in oppoſition to thoſe orthodox fathers, who were unlawfully and invalidly deprived by the prince of Orange. 'I declare, (ſays he) 'that I renounce that communion, and that I die a dutiful and faithful member of the non-juring church, which has kept itſelf free from rebellion and ſchiſm, and has preſerved and maintained true orthodox principles, both as to church and ſtate.' Yet this ſame man, in a petition to the lord chief juſtice King, after ſentence, had declared, 'that, through the grace of God, he had a deep inſight into, and a lively ſenſe of his crimes; which he did now at laſt deteſt and abhor from the bottom of his ſoul, and begged pardon of God, and king George, and his native country, againſt all which he had highly offended, and did now ſincerely repent, and declare his unfeigned ſorrow, in having been inſtrumental towards encouraging and promoting the ſame.'

And, in a petition to the king, 'he humbly begged leave, in all ſorrow of heart, to acknowledge his great and heinous offence, and did, from the bottom of his heart, aſk pardon of God, his moſt ſacred majeſty, and the church and nation.'

General Cadogan, whom the duke of Argyle had left in Scotland, had now extinguiſhed all remains of the rebellion, both by ſecuring the chiefs, and diſarming their dependants. About the middle of April, the marquiſs of Huntley, eldeſt ſon of the duke of Gordon, the lord Rollo, ſir Thomas Calder, and the laird of Tennaelue, were brought from the north of Scotland to Edinburgh, and committed to the caſtle. Glengary, a famous leader of the rebels, ſurrendered himſelf to the duke of Athol, which inclined many of the Highlanders to ſubmit, as did the greateſt part of the earl of Seaforth's vaſſals; and all the clans, except thoſe of the weſtern iſles, being reduced, two detachments, one of ſix hundred, the other of three hundred men, were ſent to thoſe iſles, under the command of col. Clayton, and lieutenant colonel Cholmondley, upon which all the rebels in the iſle of Skie ſubmitted to mercy. The rebels in the other iſlands followed their example, gen. Cadogan returned to Edinburgh, and from thence to London, where he arrived the 18th of May, having left the command of the forces in Scotland with general Sabine, and ordered the Dutch troops to march bac into England, where they embarked for Holland, after having received, both officers and ſoldiers, marks of the king's bounty for their good ſervices.

A court-martial ſitting at Edinburgh, made an order for the following Scots officers, who had deſerted from the Dutch ſervice to the pretender, to be hanged in effigy at the market-croſs, in the Cannon-gate, Edinburgh, and their names to be inſcribed round the gallows.[h]

Congratulatory addreſſes were preſented to the king from the city of London, and moſt of the communities in the kingdom, upon the entire ſuppreſſion of the rebellion; and the 7th of June was appointed to be kept as a day of thankſgiving.

On the 3d of May, mr. Harvey of Combe, who had been in the meſſenger's hands ſince he ſtabbed himſelf, was examined before a committee of the council, and ſent to Newgate. About a week after, mr. Thomas Harley, who had been formerly committed to the Gatehouſe by order of the houſe of commons, for his prevaricating anſwers to queſtions, that were put to him concerning his negotiations abroad, and was ſuppoſed to have been ſtill a priſoner, was found in a houſe in St. Martins-lane, by meſſengers, who were ſearching for ſome of the rebels, that had lately eſcaped out of Newgate. Mr Harley had a great parcel of papers before him, which were ſeized, and himſelf committed to the Gatehouſe.

The king, ſtrengthened by this late treaty with Spain, and by that which he was now certain of concluding with the duke of Orleans, and ſecure of having ſo faithful a parliament for five years more, thought he ſhould run no riſk in viſiting his German dominions this ſummer, where affairs of ſecrecy and importance required his preſence.

But it being provided, by the act for the further limitation of the crown, &c. 'that no perſon, who ſhould thereafter come to the poſſeſſion of the crown, ſhould go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without conſent of parliament;' the court was ſome time in ſuſpence, which way to get over that reſtriction. The aſking the parliament's conſent by a meſſage, or otherwiſe, being thought too derogatory to the royal prerogative, and ſome leading members of the houſe of commons being made ſenſible of it, ſir John Cope moved for repealing this reſtriction; which being agreed to, a bill paſſed both houſes for that purpoſe.[i]

[h] Theſe were:
Captain John Hepburne, enſign Patrick Smith, enſign Williams, Calderwood of Douglas's regiment, lieutenant Fleming, enſign Chalmers, and enſign Carſe of Lauder's; enſign William Creighton of Murray's, lieutenant Murray, enſign Dallas, enſign Boſwal, and enſign Robertſon of Collier's, and enſign Owen of Wood's regiment.

[i] Before the king went abroad, he made the following creations and promotions: Thomas, lord Coningſby, of the kingdom of Ireland, baron Coningſby, of Coningſby, in the county of Lincoln; ſir Richard Onſlow, baron Onſlow, of Onſlow, in the county of Salop; Thomas Newport, baron of Torrington, in the county of Devon; William Cadogan, baron of Reading, in the county of Berks; and ſir Robert Marſham, baron of Romney, in the county of Kent: viſcount Caſtleton in Ireland, viſcount Caſtleton, in England; ſir Henry St. John, viſcount St. John; George, lord Newburg, of

When the king came to the houſe of peers to paſs this and many other bills, and to put an end to the ſeſſion, the following ſpeech was by his order delivered to both houſes by the lord chancellor.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I cannot put an end to this ſeſſion without expreſſing to you my ſatisfaction in the proceedings of this parliament. The wholeſome and neceſſary laws, which have been paſſed with ſo much ſteadineſs, reſolution and unanimity, will, I truſt in God, anſwer thoſe good ends, which, it is evident, you have had in view, by defeating the deſigns, and reducing the ſpirit of our enemies, by encouraging our friends, and raiſing the credit and reputation of the nation abroad to ſuch a degree, as that I may reaſonable expect the fruits of a ſettled government; eſpecially being ſupported by a parliament, zealous for the proſperity of their country, and the proteſtant intereſt of Europe.

"I am confident, my conduct hitherto, in ſuppreſſing the rebellion, and puniſhing thoſe concerned in it, has been ſuch, as demonſtrates, that I deſire rather to leſſen their numbers by reclaiming them, than by making examples; but I am ſorry to find, that the numerous inſtances of mercy, which I have ſhewn, have no other effect, than to encourage the faction of the pretender to renew their inſults upon my authority, and the laws of the kingdom, and even to affect, with the greateſt inſolence, to diſtinguiſh themſelves from my good and faithful ſubjects, acting with ſuch folly and madneſs, as if they intended to convince the world, that they are not to be reduced to quiet and ſubmiſſion to my government, by ſuch gentle methods, as are moſt agreeable to my own inclinations.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

"I return you in particular my thanks for the ſupplies you have given; which, although they fall ſhort of the ſums you found neceſſary, and have voted for the ſervice of the whole year; yet, by the encouragement you have given to make them effectual, may, I hope, be ſo managed, as to carry on the current ſervice till another ſeſſion of parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I am very ſenſible, there are matters of great conſequence ſtill depending before you; but, as they have hitherto been poſtponed, out of abſolute neceſſity, by intervening affairs of a more preſſing nature, and of the moſt immediate concern to the peace and ſafety of the nation, I thought the ſeaſon of the year required, I ſhould defer your further proceedings till the next ſeſſion, rather than you ſhould be detained out of your reſpective counties longer than could be conſiſtent with your private concerns.

"I cannot doubt but that, during this receſs, you will uſe all your beſt endeavours to preſerve the peace of the kingdom, and to diſcourage and ſuppreſs all manner of diſorders, ſince, as the firſt ſcene of the late rebellion was opened and uſhered in by tumults and riots, ſo you may be aſſured, upon what pretence ſoever they are raiſed, they can have no other tendency, but to ſupport a ſpirit of faction, reſtleſs and unwearied in their endeavours to renew the rebellion, and to ſubvert the religion, laws, and liberties of their country.

"I deſign to make uſe of the approaching receſs, to viſit my dominions in Germany, and to provide for the peace and ſecurity of the kingdom during my abſence, by conſtituting my beloved ſon, the prince of Wales, guardian of the realm, and my lieutenant with the ſame."

After this ſpeech, the parliament was prorogued to the 7th of Auguſt.

Thus ended this long ſeſſion of the firſt Britiſh parliament, called by king George. This parliament, by the excellency and ſeaſonableneſs of the laws made by them, recovered their country in a great meaſure, out of its confuſions, and provided for its future peace and happineſs, under the preſent eſtabliſhment. Their unanimous and regular proceedings; the abſolute neceſſity of ſome acts, which were paſſed, and their diſinclination to extend them any longer than that neceſſity required; their manifeſt averſion to enter upon ſchemes, which the enemies of the nation had inſinuated to have been their deſign; together with that temper ſo ſuitable to the dignity of ſuch an aſſembly at a juncture, when it might have been expected, that very unuſual heats would have ariſen in an houſe of commons ſo zealous for their king and country, were ſufficient to quiet thoſe groundleſs jealouſies and ſuſpitions, which had been induſtriouſly propogated by the ill wiſhes to our conſtitution.

The king had but too juſt cauſe to complain of the freſh inſults of the diſaffected, notwithſtanding the many inſtances of his clemency. For on the 29th of May (king Charles's reſtoration) the jacobite and tory factions had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by wearing oaken boughs, and on the 10th of June, the pretender's birth-day, by wearing white roſes. But the ſpirit of diſaffection ſhewed itſelf no where more openly than at Oxford. On the 28th of May, the king's birth-day, all the windows that were illuminated there were broken to pieces, as were all the windows that were not illuminated the next day, being the anniverſary of the reſtoration.[k] To prevent the ill effects of this diſaffection, ſoldiers were quartered there, who, as they were chearfully and peaceably celebrating the prince of Wales's birth-day, were inſulted by both the ſcholars and townſmen. Stones were thrown into the windows of the ſtar-inn, where the officers and ſome loyal gentlemen were met, who were attaced by the diſaffected party, when they came out to drink the king and royal family's healths at the bonfire. Provoked by theſe affronts, the ſoldiers broke the windows of the diſaffected, and committed ſome other diſorders. When the vice-chancellor and the mayor ſent up their depoſitions to the court, they took no notice of the inſults the officers and ſoldiers had met with, but only of what the ſoldiers had done by way of repriſals. As this affair came before the parliament, it will be mentioned more largely hereafter.

On the 13th of June, general Maccartney, who had returned to England, ſome time before, took his trial for the pretended murder of the duke of Hamilton. Colonel Hamilton, who, in the queen's time, had given ſuch a poſitive evidence, that he ſaw general Maccartney give the duke his mortal wound, now deviated from it, and only averred, that he ſaw his ſword over the duke's ſhoulder. The falſehood of which appeared by the evidence of the two park-keepers, who ſtood firm to their former depoſitions, 'that they had taken the ſwords from general Maccartney and colonel Hamilton, when they went to the relief of the duke and lord Mahon.' And one of them depoſed that he had been offered two handfuls of gold, and a place of 100l. a year by the lord Bolingbroke, if he would ſwear, that mr. Maccartney killed the duke. The jury acquitted mr. Maccartney of the murder, and he was diſcharged of the manſlaughter by the formality of a cold iron, immediately made uſe of to prevent appeal. He was ſoon after reſtored to his rank in the army, and had the earl of Orrery's regiment given him.

The king before his departure appointed the prince of Wales guardian of the realm, and his lieutenant, during his abſence. The titles of duke of York, and Albany, and earl of Ulſter, were given to prince Erneſt, biſhop of Oſnaburgh, the king's brother, who, with prince Frederick, was alſo made knight of the garter. The duke of Devonſhire was made preſident of the council, and his place of lord-ſteward of the houſhold was given to the duke of Kent. The earl of Portland was made marquiſs of Titchfield, and duke of Portland. Theſe promotions were attended with unexpected diſgraces. The duke of Argyle and his brother, the earl of Ilay, were removed from all their employments.[l] They had both diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their

Ireland, lord Newburg, of Angleſey, in Wales; mr. Edgecombe was made one of the lords of the treaſury; mr. Methuen, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate; and mr. Hampden, one of the tellers of the exchequer. Mr baron Bury was declared lord chief baron of the exchequer, in the room of ſir Samuel Dodd.

[k] At the next aſſizes, among others, Wood, mancipal of Baliol, and mr. Sterling of the ſame college, were tried for curſing the king: but Sterling was acquitted. Mr Frank Nicholls, a commoner of Exeter college, about fifteen years of age, was tried for crying out, 'Ormond for ever;' and fined and impriſoned for the ſame. The political ſtate, for July 1716, ſays, that he was tried for curſing the king and government: but it is a miſtake, for he was tried only for the fact above mentioned, as appears by the record.

[l] A liſt of the duke's poſts and employments was made public, to this effect:

Governor and commander in chief, of all his majeſty's forces in Scotland; general of the king's armies; lord-lieutenant of the ſhire of Dumbarton; lord-lieutenant of the county of Surrey; privy-counſellor; colonel of the royal blue regiment of horſe; governor of the iſland of Minorca; governor of Port-Mahon, in the ſaid iſland; firſt gentleman of the bedchamber, and groom of the ſtole to the prince of Wales; and knight of the garter. Whether he was governor of Edinburgh caſtle at the time of his being thus diſmiſſed, is a doubt; but to all theſe is to be added a penſion of 2000l. per annum, granted him by the king. His brother was likewiſe chief lord of the juſticiary, and lord clerk-regiſter in Scotland. The hereditary governments, ſheriffdoms, &c. which the duke and earl poſſeſſed in Scotland, they could not be deprived of; neither could the earl be removed from his place in the juſticiary, which was, as thoſe of the judges are in England, quam diu ſe bene geſſerint, or rather for life. Of theſe preferments, poſts, and truſts, the duke was diſpoſſeſſed at once.

zeal and ſervices for the government; and the king had in ſome meaſure put his crown into their hands, by placing them at the head of his armies in Scotland. They had all along voted in the houſe of lords on the court ſide; and therefore their removal was the more ſtrange. Whatever might be the cauſe, their poſts were diſpoſed of, to ſhew there was no room to expect being reſtored. General Carpenter was made commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, and governor of Minorca and Port-Mahon, and the duke of Montroſe was appointed lord-clerk regiſter of Scotland, in the room of the earl of Ilay.

On the 7th of July, the king ſet out from St. James's, took water at the Tower, and arrived about two in the afternoon, at Graveſend, where he went on board the Carolina Yacht [m]. He was attended by mr. ſecretary Stanhope, mr. Boſcawen, comptroller of the houſehold, the officers of the green cloth, and moſt of his German miniſters, who embarked in other yatches. In Margate Road they met a ſquadron of men of war, commanded by admiral Aylmer; and they all made the coaſt of Holland the 9th of July in the morning. About four in the afternoon, the king went aſhore, and paſſed through Holland incognito; lay at Voorts, the earl of Albemarle's ſeat, and arrived at Hanover the 15th of July; and on the 20th, ſet out for Pyrmont, to drink the waters.

The king was abſent ſix months, during which, the ſituation of affairs in Great-Britain remained much the ſame, and all was at laſt as quiet, as if he had himſelf been preſent. The prince (doubtleſs by his orders) ſet ſeveral priſoners at liberty, and reprieved others [n]. The paſſage from Dover to Calais was opened, and paſſports no longer required to go from England to France. The king's enemies affected to believe and give out, that theſe proceedings were all owing to the prince's good diſpoſition, of which he would have ſhewn many more proofs, had it been in his power. This was carried ſo far, that addreſſes were preparing at Oxford and Gloceſter, and other places, to be preſented to the prince, to extol his wiſdom in the adminiſtration of affairs, and in particular, his affability and graciouſneſs to all perſons without diſtinction of parties. It was ſoon perceived, that this inſinuated a reflection upon the king and his miniſtry, and therefore it was declared, the prince would receive no addreſſes that were not directly made to the throne.

The papers and ſpeeches of ſome of the rebels that were executed, particularly of mr. Hall and mr. Paul, made great impreſſion on many people. Their execution, inſtead of leſſening, rather encreaſed the number of the jacobites; nor were they deterred from declaring themſelves. Seditious ſermons were preached, and libels againſt the government were publiſhed [o]. By theſe means a ſpirit of mutiny and rebellion was kept up among the diſorderly rabble. So great was the diſaffection to the government at Oxford, that ſoldiers were quartered there, to keep the ſcholars and townſmen within bounds. Nor were theſe riotous proceedings confined to England; for the pretender's friends at Edinburgh had like to have freed a great number of lords and gentlemen impriſoned there on account of the rebellion [p].

[m] The duke of Argyle, it was obſerved, waited that morning on the king and was for a few minutes in private conference with him. Pol. Stat.

[n] On the 4th of Auguſt the earl of Wintoun made his eſcape out of the Tower. On the 15th, mr. Farquharſon of Invercald was ſet at liberty out of the Marſhalſea, as was likewiſe the ſame day the laird of Mackintoſh, out of the Fleet-priſon. Mr John Mackintoſh, a lawyer, under ſentence of death, was alſo releaſed from Newgate; and mr. James Drummond, who was taken priſoner at Dumblain, from the cuſtody of a meſſenger. About the ſame time pardons paſſed the ſeals for ſome other priſoners, and in particular for Charles Radcliffe, brother to the late earl of Derwentwater, and for mr. Wogan; as likewiſe a further reprieve of three months was granted to the other rebel priſoners under ſentence of death. But mr. Radcliffe, making ſome difficulty of accepting the pardon, was detained in Newgate till he made his eſcape from thence on the 11th of December following; as mr. Bruce, another of the rebel priſoners, had done on the 20th of Auguſt. The lord Duffus, who, as captain of a man of war, muſt have abjured the pretender, and afterwards entered into his ſervice, by joining with the rebels in Scotland, was from Hamburgh brought priſoner to London, examined by mr. ſecretary Methuen, and committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower. Some time after fourteen of the rebel priſoners were diſcharged out of Newgate, George Seton, Charles Maxwell, Edmund Maxwell, William Dalmahoy, Alexander Forſter, Alexander Milne, Francis Congleton, Alexander Congleton, Thomas Anderſon, David Hall, George Skinner, William Dundaſs, merchants; and mr. Lyon. The ſame day the following perſons were releaſed from the Marſhalſea; mr. Winram, ſenior, mr. Crow mr. Cunningham of Wall, mr. William Scot, mr. Carruthers, mr. Murray, mr. Grierſon, and mr. William Maxwell. Butler and Samburn, two of the rebel priſoners, died in Newgate; and another Samburne made his eſcape out of it.

[o] The moſt noted pamphlet was publiſhed by Lawrence Howel (a nonjuring clergyman) entitled, 'The caſe of Schiſm in the church of England truly ſtated;' wherein are the following paſſages:

'The authority of the church of England, and conſequently the church of England itſelf, was with the deprived biſhops and clergy, and remains ſtill with their ſucceſſors, who alone have immediately adhered to her true conſtitutions and principles. That all, who departed from them, are at leaſt, in a ſtate of ſchiſm.

That the canonical metropolitan, archbiſhop Sancroft, was not only diſplaced, but a ſubject-preſbyter of his (dr. Tillotſon) was hoiſted into his room; and, when God had removed him, another (dr. Tenniſon) was ſet up in his place, as head of the ſchiſm. And under the biſhops, who actually did this, or thoſe, who approved what they had done, by joining in communion with them, in oppoſition to the true canonical biſhops, have all the parochial clergy acted, and joined with them, againſt the canonical biſhops; and being thus joined with them, they become ſchiſmatics: and thoſe, who have, or do ſtill continue to join with theſe parochial clergy, do join in the ſchiſm, and thereby become guilty of ſchiſm. Let them therefore have been never ſo canonically ordained, and placed over a flock, yet by cloſing with ſchiſmatics, they have forfeited all, and cannot diſpence the ordinances of God with any benefit; God's grace and influence, then and now, forſaking them. And to join communion with them is not only to loſe the benefit of the ordinance, but to join in the ſchiſm, is to join with thoſe, whom they ought to oppoſe with all their might, as violators and grand enemies of the unity and peace of God's church.'

In the concluſion, the author cites the ſecond canon of the church of England, and then proceeds to affirm:

,That by king, mentioned in this canon, is to be underſtood (according to the undoubted principles of the church of England) that perſon, who is poſſeſſed of the throne, according to the civil inſtitution of the Engliſh hereditary monarch. Whoſoever diſowns his authority, &c. by the canon, incurs the ſentence of excommunication, ipſo facto.

If king James II. had a right, the revolutioniſts and compliers were excommunicated by this canon; for, in depriving their rightful king, they diſowned his authority, &c. That he had a right, and continued claiming to his death, none can deny: witneſs his perſonal aſſertion of his right in Ireland, his public manifeſto at the treaty of Ryſwick (wherein he declares to the world, that that peace was founded upon the uſurpation of his kingdoms,) and other declarations to the ſame purpoſe; and his ſon (whoſe right, as a ſon, is as inconteſtable as his father's) hath often repeated the ſame. Now the violation of this ſecond canon, by the revolutioniſts transferring their allegiance from their lawful king to an uſurper (which is diſowning the lawful and rightful king's authority) renders them ipſo facto excommunicates; and the non-jurors, who have faithfully adhered to the doctrine and principles, are the only true church of England.

The ſtate of the caſe plainly appearing, it is no difficulty to find out the guilty perſons, who muſt be no other than thoſe, that violated the canon, by breaking through their allegiance, and conſequently are in an immediate ſtate of excommunication, and, as ſuch, they ought to be deemed, and treated by all, though no declaratory ſentence be pronounced by the proper judges.

The words of the canon being poſitive, there is no farther occaſion to enlarge on it. The only queſtion then is, whether there is ſuch a notoriety in our caſe? and truly, I think, there ſcarce ever appeared in the world, a more notorious and manifeſt caſe. The fact is evident to all; for, who is ignorant of the unnatural treatment of king James II. from his children and ſubjects? how his authority was trampled on, deſpiſed, and denied? and, after ſeveral attempts to recover his undoubted right, how he was forced to live and die an exile? nor is the caſe in the leaſt altered now; for they, that pertinaciouſly continued and gloried in their ſin then, do the ſame now; which makes the caſe ſo notorious that theſe offenders ought to be treated as excommunicates, ipſo facto, upon the authority of the canon, without waiting for the declaratory ſentence of a judge.

Let us now conſider the ſtate and condition of an excommunicated perſon, which is dreadful to any man; but, when it falls to be a clergyman's lot, it makes fatal work; for, 1ſt, it diveſts him of the power of exerciſing any eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; which, if he ſhould preſume to do, it renders his acts invalid and null. 2. Excommunication renders a clergyman, ſo long as he continues in that ſtate, incapable of any eccleſiaſtical benefit, or promotion; and, if he aſſume any, his inſtitution is void. 3. It makes the whole adminiſtration of his miniſterial office ineffectual. You can expect no return of prayers with him, with whom you ought not to communicate. He cannot, authoritatively, bleſs the people of God, who is, himſelf, under a curſe, and excluded from being a part of them. And here, I think, all thoſe, who have joined with ſuch clergymen, ought to conſider what they have done, in communicating with them, hitherto, and, whether they think they can, with ſafety, continue therein; for, in communicating with them, as ſchiſmatics, they make them ſchiſmatics; and, in communicating with them, as excommunicates, not only all their labour is loſt, but, inſtead of a bleſſing, they get a curſe.'

Mr Howel was apprehended in Bull-Head court, Jewin-Street, and, with him, was ſeized a large impreſſion of his pamphlet. Among his papers, was found an original inſtrument, of his being ordained a prieſt, by dr. Hicks, who ſtiles himſelf ſuffragan biſhop of Thetford: and alſo, the form of abſolution and reception of converts to jacobitiſm. He was committed to Newgate for high-treaſon. Upon the publication of this charge of ſchiſm on the church of England, a controverſy aroſe between the members of that church, and the non-jurors. Howel being brought to his trial, and the pamphlet proved to be his, he was fined 500l. and three years impriſonment, and ſentenced to be twice whipped. Upon which, he aſked if they would whip a clergyman? And was anſwered by the court, 'they paid no deference to his cloth, becauſe he was a diſgrace to it, and had no right to wear it; and they did not look upon him as a clergyman, in that he had produced no proof of his ordination, but from dr. Hicks under the denomination of the biſhop of Thetford; which was illegal, and not according to the conſtitution of this kingdom, which knows no ſuch biſhop.' As he received his ſentence with an air of haughtineſs, and behaved himſelf contemptuouſly to the court, he was ordered to be degraded, and ſtripped of the gown he had no title to wear, which was done in the court, by the executioner. But, a few days after upon his petition to the king, the corporal puniſhment was remitted.

[p] The moſt remarkable riot was that in London in the month of July. Some time before the breaking out of the rebellion, many of the well-affected to the government, in order to be ready on any proper occaſion to quell the outragious mob, that diſturbed the peace of the city of London, met in ſeveral public houſes, which, from the veſſel in which the drink was ſold, were called mug-houſes. The two moſt noted of theſe ſocieties were the mug-houſe, in Long-Acre, and the roe-buck in Cheapſide, being ſet up before the king's acceſſion. Their example produced ſeveral other of the like houſes in Saliſbury-Court, Taviſtock-Street, Southwark-Park, Covent-Garden, and other places. As theſe ſocieties were a terror and mortification to the diſaffected, ſo were they the object of their fury, of which they gave many inſtances. The day before, mr. Paul, the clergyman, was hanged, they fell upon the mug-houſe, in Southwark-Park, with their uſual cry of 'high-church and Ormond;' but the ſociety ſallying out upon them, after the windows of the houſe had been all broke, the mob retired. The execution of mr. Paul, who declared himſelf at the gallows to be their martyr, exaſperated them yet

Few occurrences happened during the king's abſence worth noting. The prince of Wales, in September, took a progreſs into the country, he ſet out the 24th, from Hampton-court, and arrived at Knowle in Kent, the ſeat of the earl of Dorſet, before noon, and at Tunbridge-wells about five in the evening. From thence he went to Haland in Suſſex, the ſeat of the duke of Newcaſtle, where he lay and came to Lewes about ten the next morning, and about nine in the evening to Stanſted, the earl of Scarborough's ſeat. The next morning, he proceeded to Portſmouth, and, having viewed the fortifications, docks, yards, and magazines, reviewed the regiments there, and went on board the guard-ſhip and bomb-ſhip, dined at lieutenant general Erle's, and returned in the evening to Stanſted, where archdeacon Boucher, one of the canons reſidentiary of Chicheſter, accompanied by the prebendaries and vicars of that cathedral, with many of the neighbouring clergy, were preſented to him by the lord Lumley. On the 27th, about nine in the morning, the prince left Stanſted, and, on a common near Rake, reviewed Wynn's dragoons. He came to Farnham about one, and near that place reviewed Evans's dragoons. In the evening he arrived at Guilford, and, about eleven at night returned to Hampton-court. Two days after, the Venetian embaſſador had a private audience, to notify the ſucceſs of the arms of that republic againſt the Turks, and the raiſing of the ſiege of Corfu, owing chiefly to the conduct of general Schuylenberg, commander of their army, though a proteſtant, and brother to the dutches of Kendal.

In the beginning of November, the princeſs of Wales was in extreme danger, having been ſeveral days in labour, but at laſt was delivered of a dead prince, who was privately depoſited in a vault in Henry VII's chapel.

About the ſame time the duke of Marlborough was taken ill at Blenheim-Houſe. His diſtemper being apoplectic, the fit ſo far impaired his health, that he never after could be ſaid to be perfectly recovered.

The ſtate priſoners that were in Edinburgh caſtle being removed to Carliſle, a commiſſion was iſſued to try them at that place. The priſoners gave the court little trouble, almoſt all of them pleading guilty. Some were condemned, and the reſt diſcharged; but, however, not one was executed. In December, brigadier Colin Campbell, the moſt obnoxious of all the priſoners, made his eſcape in diſguiſe. The laſt of the rebels, who were executed at Lancaſter and Preſton, were captain John Bruce, gentleman of the horſe to the duke of Hamilton, Thomas Shuttleworth, John Minkley, George Hodgſon, and William Charnley; theſe were hanged in October.

On the 6th of December, an accident happened, which gave occaſion to various conjectures. The prince of Wales being in one of the ſtage-boxes at the theatre in Drury-Lane, to ſee the tragedy of Tamerlane, mr. Freeman, a gentleman of Surrey, who had for ſome years paſt been troubled with fits of lunacy, came booted and ſpurred, and would have preſſed into the ſtage-box, near the place where the prince was. Being in a mean riding habit, he was ſtopped by the box-keepers, and a grenadier, who was upon duty; whereupon he drew out a piſtol, and ſhot the centinel in the ſhoulder. With great difficulty he was ſecured; and, being ſearched, two or three other loaded piſtols were found about him; which, together with his man's waiting for him with two horſes, at the end of the play-houſe paſſage, did not a little encreaſe the ſuſpicion of a treaſonable deſign againſt the prince. The report of the piſtol, and the diſturbance that followed it, occaſioned a great alarm within the houſe, particularly among the ladies; and, none rightly knowing the cauſe of the confuſion, the gentlemen and officers about the prince, and almoſt throughout the houſe, drew their ſwords; ſo that the players were a conſiderable time at a ſtand. But, mr. Freeman being ſent priſoner to the guard at St. James's, all was quiet again; the prince having all this while preſerved a great preſence of mind, and appeared to be under no apprehenſion. The ſoldier's wound did not prove mortal; but mr. Freeman's attempt of forcing the prince of Wales's guard coming within the ſtatute of treaſon, after he had been examined before the council, he was committed to Newgate, the rather, becauſe he was ſaid to have either killed, or mortally wounded a man two days before, in the country.

A conſiderable change began now to be made in the miniſtry. The earl of Sunderland, who had gone beyond ſea, under pretence of travelling for his health, had taken the opportunity of waiting upon the king at Hanover, and by his intrigues with the German miniſters there, particularly the barons Bothmar and Bernſdorff, and monſieur de Robethon, infuſed a jealouſy into him of the lord Townſhend and mr. Walpole; ſo that, on the 11th of December, an expreſs arrived in England from Hanover, and the next day it was publicly known that lord Townſhend was removed from his place of ſecretary of ſtate. This was however ſoftened with an account that his lordſhip was to be advanced to the poſt of lord-lieutenant of Ireland; the duke of Grafton, firſt lord-juſtice of that kingdom, being appointed colonel of the royal regiment of horſe-guards, lately commanded by the duke of Argyle; and the earl of Galway, the other lord-juſtice of Ireland, being to enjoy an honourable penſion during life. Two days after, the duke of Roxburgh was made ſecretary of ſtate, and keeper of the king's ſignet in Scotland. The lord Poleworth was appointed lord clerk regiſter, in the room of the duke of Montroſe, who was made keeper of the great ſeal of Scotland. The duke of Kingſton was appointed keeper of the privy-ſeal, and the earl of Sunderland ſole treaſurer of Ireland for life.

In this diſpoſition things remained till the king's return; and the lord Townſhend's removal affected no more for the preſent than himſelf; though the diviſions in the miniſtry ſeemed irreconcilable. [q]

more, and the ſociety at mr. Read's, in Saliſbury-Court, having diſtinguiſhed themſelves by demonſtrations of duty and reſpect to the prince and princeſs of Wales, at their return from Greenwich; the jacobites took ſo much offence at it, that on the 20th of July, they attaced mr. Read's houſe, and would have demoliſhed it, had not the company within ſent for a reinforcement from Taviſtock-Street, with which being joined, the mob fled with great precipitation. But they continued hovering about the houſe the following days: and hearing, that mr. Archibald Butler, a young Scots gentleman, who had been in the rebellion, but had received the king's pardon, was in the Temple-Walks, they ran thither crying out, 'high-church and Ormond.' Mr Butler got away from them as faſt as he could; and preſently one Vaughan a ſmall-coal-man, propoſed to them to go and revenge the affront they had received three days before at the mug-houſe in Saliſbury-Court. The mob, aſſenting to his propoſal, followed him to mr. Read's houſe, on which they fell furiouſly; but, meeting with a vigorous reſiſtance, they gathered recruits from the multitude, that crowded thither. Upon this alarm, and hearing they were determined to demoliſh the houſe, mr. Read appeared, and bid them keep off; otherwiſe he would ſhoot amongſt them. The Bridewell-boys, of whom Vaughan had been one, and the reſt of the mob, regardleſs of his fa ir warning, preſſing forwards, with great clubs and ſtics, mr. Read diſcharged a muſket, and ſhot Vaughan, their leader, who died on the ſpot. The riot continuing, the ſheriffs of London repaired to the place, who cauſed the proclamation appointed by act of parliament againſt riots to be read; but this not availing, and the rioters being become rebels, a party of horſe-guards was ordered by the privy-council to march to Saliſbury-Court to ſuppreſs them: and, upon their appearance, the mob diſperſed and fled from the purſuit of juſtice; which, however, overtook ſome of them; for John Love, Thomas Bean, a ſervant to Caſſils and Carnegie, two condemned rebels, then in Newgate, George Price, Richard Price, and William Price, five of the moſt active of the rioters, were ſeized, impriſoned, and tried upon the ſtatute, which makes it felony to demoliſh, or begin to demoliſh any houſe. The evidence againſt them proved their breaking the windows with ſtones and ſtics, pulling down the ſign, entering the houſe, fetching out the goods, treading upon them, and breaking them. It was ſworn at their trial, that one of the mob brought three bottles out of mr. Read's houſe, kneeled down, by the ſwan alehouſe door, and drank the pretender's health, by the name of king James the third. The evidence againſt theſe five rioters being very ſtrong, they were all found guilty, and received ſentence of death. The prince was very much inclined to ſhew mercy to one or two of the youngeſt of them; but, the dangerous conſequences of riots and tumults, in the heart of the metropolis, and the neceſſity of preventing the ſame, by exemplary puniſhment, being repreſented to the prince, he acquieſced in the courſe of juſtice; which had the good effect, that was foreſeen and intended, the putting a ſtop to the deſperate outrages of an enthuſiaſtical multitude. The five rioters were executed on a gibbet, erected, on the 21ſt of September, at the end of Saliſbury-Court, near the place where the crimes, for which they died, were committed. George Purchaſe acknowledged himſelf 'greatly guilty, and his ſentence juſt; praying God to forgive him this and all other his ſins. This, (he ſaid,) he raſhly committed, not conſidering, then, the unlawfulneſs and diſmal conſequences of ſuch a rebellious ſedition, as that was, which ſo much tended, not only to the ruin of private perſons, but to the great diſturbance of, and diſhonour to, the whole government.'

However, ſome party-zealots proſecuted mr. Read for the death of Vaughan, who had led on the mob to deſtroy his houſe. The witneſſes againſt him, at his trial, ſwore very ſtrongly againſt him. John Bill depoſed, that he believed, Vaughan did not belong to the mob in Saliſbury-Court, and had no ſtic in his hand. Charles Tuckey ſwore, that Vaughan had no ſtic. The ſame was ſworn by Catherine Bennet. Joſeph Harris depoſed, that Vaughan told him, he would not be concerned, but go to work. This being ſo directly contrary to the fact, known to ſo many hundreds of ſpectators, and fully proved by ſeveral of them, the jury acquitted mr. Read, who had 400l. paid him at the treaſury, to make good his loſſes and charges: and mr. Gill, at the roe-buck in Cheapſide, had 200l. allowed him, on the ſame account, his houſe having been ſeveral times attaced by the mob, of whom, one, the apprentice of mr. Heptinſtal, a printer, was ſhot, preſſing on as Vaughan did, notwithſtanding repeated warnings to keep off.

[q] The following particulars happened during the king's abſence. Thomas d'Aeth and Matthew Decker were created baronets. The penſion of 2500l. a year was taken from the earl of Nottingham.

Edward Southwell, James Vernon, and Andrew Carlton were appointed commiſſioners of the privy-ſeal, in the abſence of the earl of Sunderland.

Mr Bruce, a Scotch priſoner, changing cloaths with his ſiſter, made his eſcape out of Newgate.

In Auguſt there blew ſo ſtrong weſterly wind (which forced bac the tide, and drove forward the ebbing water) that the Thames lay perfectly dry above and below bridge, except a narrow channel about four feet deep, and twelve feet over.

Several of the ſchool-maſters of the charity ſchools in London, were re-

During theſe tranſactions at home, the king was not idle abroad. One of the principal ends of the king's journey to Hanover, was to provide againſt any future attempts of the jacobite party, by endeavouring to make alliances with all thoſe powers from whence the pretender might expect any ſupport. But this was an impoſſible undertaking, in the then ſituation of the affairs of Europe. The king of Spain pretended to have numberleſs complaints againſt the emperor. The evacuation of Catalonia had given great offence, as to the manner of doing it. A tribunal had been erected at Vienna for the affairs of Spain, and the eſtates of the Flemiſh, who had ſerved king Philip, were confiſcated. But theſe were ſlight grievances in compariſon of what was now in agitation. Sicily had been granted to the duke of Savoy, by the Utrecht treaty, on condition of returning to Spain, in caſe of failure of heirs. The emperor had looked upon this grant with the utmoſt concern. He had almoſt perſuaded the duke of Savoy to accept Sardinia in exchange, without the participation of the court of Madrid, and without any regard to the clauſe of reverſion. To all theſe occaſions of rupture were added the pretenſions of the two courts to the ſucceſſion of the Tuſcan dominions.

As to France, with reſpect to Spain, the two nations were united, but their governors were not ſo. King Philip and the duke of Orleans were ready to contend for the crown of Lewis XV. in caſe death ſhould remove him out of the world. Philip had renounced that crown, and upon that alone was founded the duke of Orlean's title. But, beſides that, the renunciation was generally conſidered in France, as of no great force; the emperor's conſtant refuſal to ceaſe ſtyling himſelf king of Spain, ſeemed entirely to annul it, as it was not reaſonable that one contracting party ſhould be obliged to ſtand to mutual engagements, to which the other refuſes to ſubmit. King George therefore could not be attached to France without offending Spain, nor could he be united to Spain, without giving offence to both the others.

The caſe was much the ſame with the northern powers, and it was ſtill more difficult for king George to manage them, ſo as to draw none of them upon himſelf. Denmark and Sweden were at war: the Czar had entered into a confederacy, which had taken from the Swede his German dominions: the princes of the empire beheld with regret the Ruſſians in their country. It was the buſineſs of thoſe who had called them in, and made uſe of them, to ſend them away. The acquiſition of the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which king George had gained as elector of Hanover, had enraged king Charles of Sweden. He durſt not, as king of Great-Britain, declare war againſt him (though he had done it as elector of Hanover) nor could he be reconciled with him, unleſs he reſtored the two duchies. The only way therefore was to compel that warlike prince to make peace. In this ſituation, it was neceſſary for king George to make alliances, and unite with thoſe who could moſt annoy him, in caſe they became his enemies. Being ſure of the good diſpoſition of the regent of France, he truſted to his miniſters the negotiations with that prince, and undertook himſelf the affairs of the north, where it is plain, he knew ſome enterpriſe was contriving in favour of the pretender.

The negotiation with France ſucceeded to his wiſh. The duke of Orleans, who had ſtill more need of a ſupport to mount the throne, in caſe of a vacancy, than the king had to maintain himſelf on that of Great-Britain, granted all that was deſired. The States-general, who aimed only at peace and ſecurity, readily came into a treaty, which embroiled them with no power they were concerned to manage, and which laid upon them ſcarce any freſh obligation. General Cadogan, the abbot du Bois, and penſionary Heinſius negotiated this affair with ſuch ſecrecy, that the treaty was finiſhed almoſt before it was known to be in hand.

By this treaty, the pretender, that his near abode might not encourage commotions in Great-Britain, was to depart immediately from Avignon, and go beyond the Alps; nor was he to be ſuffered at any time to come to return thither, or paſs through the French territories, under pretence of going to Lorrain, or even to ſet his foot in any place within the dominions of France, much leſs to ſtay there on any pretence whatſoever. This was accompanied with the renewing of the promiſes made at Utrecht, of abſolutely refuſing protection to the chevalier de St. George, and of aſſiſting him in any manner directly or indirectly. No refuge was to be given to the ſubjects of either party who ſhould be declared rebels. All that had been formerly agreed, concerning Dunkirk, was to be fully executed, and nothing was to be omitted that the king of Great-Britain ſhould think neceſſary for the entire demolition of the harbour, and for the removing all ſuſpicion that a new harbour was intended to be made on the canal of Mardyke, This treaty referred to a memorial ſigned at London in September, by monſieur Iberville, reſident of France, and lord Townſhend and mr. Methuen, ſecretaries of ſtate, containing the particulars required by king George to make him eaſy, and cure his ſuſpicions.

After theſe preliminaries (which might be conſidered as the purchaſe given by France for this alliance) it was added, that the true deſign of this treaty being to ſtrengthen the friendſhip eſtabliſhed by the late treatiesat Utrecht, the articles of thoſe treaties, as far as they concerned the contracting parties, were confirmed and ratified, particularly that the ſucceſſion to the crown of Great-Britain, in the proteſtant line, and to the crown of France in the family of Orleans, excluſive of the houſe of Anjou, ſhould remain in full force. A mutual guarantee was alſo given for the performance of theſe, and all the other articles, and for the defence of the dominions poſſeſſed by the three powers at the time of ſigning the treaty. Then was ſettled the ſuccours each ſhould give the party attaced, after fair means had been uſed to induce the aggreſſor to deſiſt from his enterpriſe. France and England were to furniſh each eight thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, and the States half that number. It was free to demand ſhips or money inſtead of troops, and to prevent all occaſion of diſpute, it was agreed that a thouſand foot ſhould be valued at 10,000 Dutch florins a month, and a thouſand horſe at 30,000. The ſuccours at ſea were to be valued in the ſame proportion.

The chief end of this treaty being to ſupport the ſucceſſions to the two crowns, that article was very largely explained. It was agreed, that if the kingdoms, countries or provinces of any of the allies were diſturbed with inteſtine diviſions, or by rebellions, on account of theſe ſucceſſions, or any other pretence, the ally ſo diſturbed ſhould have a right to demand aid, as in caſe of being attaced by a foreign power; that this aid ſhould be ſent within two months after demand, and the neceſſary expences advanced by thoſe of whom it was demanded, and no re-payment to be required till a year after the troubles ſhould ceaſe. In caſe this aid ſhould not be ſufficient, it was added, the whole forces of the other parties ſhould be employed, and, if occaſion required, war ſhould be declared againſt the aggreſſors.

As ſoon as this treaty was made public, it raiſed great murmurings, eſpecially in France, where it was openly ſaid, that the regent ſacrificed to his ambitious views, the honour and advantage of the nation; the condeſcenſion hitherto ſhewn for England, on account of the chevalier St. George, had been too great, but the preſent proceedings were ſhameful and mean: the demolition of Mardyke would be an eternal monument of the ſubjection of France to England: Lewis XIV. would never have conſented to it, and the unſettled ſtate of Great-Britain did not put her into a condition to impoſe laws: a prince who had no other intereſt but that of his people, would have taken the opportunity to finiſh a work ſo important and neceſſary: the expreſſions in the treaty, of doing whatever the king of Great-Britain ſhall judge neceſſary to remove his ſuſpicions, were of a very high ſtrain, and deragatory to the ſovereignty of the crown of France.

The king of Spain was highly offended at this alliance, and complained of it bitterly, affirming it belonged to the ſtates of the realm, not to foreigners, eſpecially the Engliſh, perpetual enemies to France, to decide pretenſions to the throne, in caſe God ſhould in his anger, call the young king to himſelf: and from that time he took meaſures to diſconcert this alliance.

This ſtrict alliance with France was found fault with even in England, where it was pretended that the ſucceſſion was ſufficiently ſecured by the treaty of Utrecht, and there

moved for diſaffection to the government. Dr Walton, rector of Whitechapel, was deprived alſo for diſaffection to the government, and was ſucceeded by dr. Shippen, of Brazen-noſe-college, in Oxford.

Margaret, eldeſt daughter of the lord Coningſby, was created baroneſs and viſcounteſs of Coningſby, of Hampton-court, in Herefordſhire, with limitation to her heirs male.

January the 4th, the triple league between Great-Britain, France, and Holland, was ſigned at the Hague.

Three days after the king's return, January 22d, came on the famous trial of Francia the Jew, for correſponding with the king's enemies. He was acquitted.

Thirty of the Preſton rebels having been put on board a ſhip to be tranſported, affidavits were made before the mayor of Liverpool, that they had maſtered the ſhip's crew, and carried the ſhip to France. One hundred of the ſame priſoners who had been confined in the Savoy, were ſhipped off for the Weſt-Indies.

was no occaſion for ſo many foreign troops, which might be called in on pretence of an invaſion, and perhaps be uſed for very different purpoſes. The king and regent diſregarded theſe murmurs, being ſatisfied that their mutual intereſts would oblige them to an inviolable performance of their engagements. The character of theſe two princes had a great reſemblance in many particulars, they had both great talents for government, and may be ſaid to have equally had an occaſion for them in their reſpective circumſtances, which were much the ſame. Alike diſſatisfied with the late adminiſtration of affairs, they obſerved the ſame conduct. None of the friends and creatures of Lewis XIV. were in favour with the duke of Orleans; as none of the friends and creatures of queen Ann were in favour with king George. The difference in their manner of treating them, entirely flowed from the different uſages of the nations they governed. King George delivered himſelf up to the wigs, who had been perſecuted in the late reign: the duke of Orleans ſeemed to give himſelf up to the janeſeniſts, whom Lewis XIV. had conſtantly ill-uſed: they changed miniſters almoſt as often one as the other: their competitors inſpired them with the ſame views, and almoſt the ſame precautions: they were alike even in their death, for both died ſuddenly. The duke of Orleans is ſaid to have had a more prompt and ready genius: the multitude and difficulty of his affairs never hindered him from purſuing his pleaſures, whereas king George was always attentive, always ſerious, and ſeemed an enemy to all amuſements; and therefore he was beyond compariſons, more regular in his manners and conduct; beſides he was more conſtantly attached to the party he had eſpouſed, and was never ſeen to waver between the wigs and tories, as did the duke of Orleans between the janſeniſts and moliniſts.

General Cadogan had much better ſucceſs in his negotiations with France, than the king had in his with the northern powers. Notwithſtaning all his endeavours, he could engage them neither to be reconciled, nor even to ſuſpend their reſentments. He ſeemed, however, to have ſucceeded in ſpite of the king of Denmark's deſire to preſerve his advantages, and the king of Sweden's eagerneſs to revenge and repair his loſſes. His Swediſh majeſty had preſented to the emperor and the diet pacific memorials, and even ſent plenepotentiaries to aſſiſt at the congreſs of Brunſwick; but all theſe hopes quicly vaniſhed. King George had, however, made that prince all the advances imaginable: had ſtrongly preſſed the emperor, the kings of Denmark and Pruſſia, and even the Czar himſelf, that the Ruſſians might march out of the empire: nay, it is ſaid, he had proceeded ſo far towards a ſeparate peace with the king of Sweden, as to offer to join with him againſt the Muſcovite, on condition only that he would renounce all pretenſions to the duchies of Bremen and Verden. King Charles XII. was intractable: incenſed at the war made againſt him, when he could not defend himſelf; and ſtill more at the peace, which they would compel him to make, on conditions, as he thought, both diſhonourable and hard, he breathed nothing but revenge, and was as much offended with the king of Great-Britain, as with the Czar and the king of Denmark.

As king George could not obtain the ceſſion he deſired, he took the beſt meaſures to ſecure his new acquiſitions, and compel the king of Sweden to remain quiet. It was given out, that the confederacy he had entered into was formed purely for the ſake of peace. It was agreed by the confederates, that each ſhould furniſh a certain number of forces and ſhips, not to make new conqueſts upon Sweden, but to oblige his Swediſh majeſty to ſit eaſy under his loſſes, and not endeavour to recover them. This rupture with Sweden was only detrimental to the trade of Great-Britain, but had like to prove fatal to the king; for, whilſt he was labouring for a peace in the north, in order to ſecure his German poſſeſſions, a ſcheme was contriving to deprive him of his Britiſh dominions.

The diſaffected in England, ſtill purſuing their deſigns in favour of the pretender, turned their eyes on the king of Sweden to accompliſh it. They knew how exaſperated he was againſt king George, and how glad he would be of a revenge: count Gyllenburg was the Swediſh reſident at London. The count was applied to, or perhaps made the firſt overtures. The affair was carried on, not only at London, but by baron Gortz, the Swediſh ambaſſador at the Hague, and by baron Sparre at Paris, with the Engliſh jacobites there, and other friends of the pretender. Baron Gortz, who was the projector of this plot, went to France, in order to bring things to the point he deſired, and becauſe the ſecret could be kept better at Paris than at the Hague. The Czar was alſo treated with, who was known to be offended with king George.

Theſe negotiations could not be ſo privately managed, but that they were ſuſpected by the court of England. In April, when the ſeptennial bill was in hand, intimations had been given that a ſecond invaſion was to be feared, and this apprehenſion was made one of the motives for continuing a houſe of commons, in which the king had ſo much reaſon to confide. Theſe ſuſpicions were indeed not very clear, but, in the ſituation of Europe at that time, it was not difficult to gueſs from what quarter the danger was to come. The good diſpoſition of the duke of Orleans had removed all uneaſineſs with reſpect to France. The king of Spain, wholly intent on his projects againſt the emperor, could not be ſuſpected of quarrelling with England. The north therefore was the only place from whence the ſtorm could be thought to proceed: this conjecture, the only reaſonable one that could be formed, determined king George to repair to Hanover, where he could beſt diſcover the intentions of his enemies. He ſucceeded in his deſign; at leaſt the public was, in a few days after his arrival at London, informed of the plot, by the ſeizing of count Gyllenburg.

1716-17] The king having finiſhed all his affairs abroad, ſet out from Hanover the 19th of January, N. S. and in ten days landed at Margate, from whence he proceeded to London.

It was expected the parliament would have immediately met, but their meeting was put off for ſome time, on account of a ſurprizing event. On the 29th of January, mr. ſecretary Stanhope communicated to the privy-council the informations, the king had received of a conſpiracy, which had for ſome time, been carried on to excite a new rebellion, and to favour a foreign invaſion. The ſame night major Smith, an Iriſh officer, who was no longer in the ſervice, and who, that very evening, had been playing at baſſet at the apartments in St. James's, was ſeized at his lodgings; and about twelve o'clock, lieutenant-colonel Blakeney, with a detachment of the foot guards, ſecured the houſe of count Gyllenburg, the Swediſh reſident. Not long after, major-general Wade, attended by the colonel, went and knoced at the door of the Swediſh miniſter, and being admitted, found him making up ſome diſpatches. Having, in a few words, made him a compliment, and acquainted him with his commiſſion to put a guard upon his perſon, and to ſecure his papers, he laid hold on ſuch, as were on the table, and demanded thoſe, that were in his ſcrutore. Count Gyllenburg's ſurprize raiſed in him an extraordinary emotion, which made him expoſtulate with ſome warmth about the law of nations being violated in his perſon; but having ſomewhat recovered his temper, he deſired leave to ſend for the marquiſs de Monteleone, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, that he might conſult with him how to act on ſuch an occaſion. But general Wade having poſitive orders not to let him ſpeak with any perſon, could not grant his requeſt. On the other hand, the count's lady having refuſed the keys of the ſcrutore, upon pretence that there was nothing in it but linen and plate, the general cauſed it to be broke open; and having found in it a great many papers, he ſealed them all up, and left a ſtrong guard upon the reſident. The ſame morning Charles Cæſar, formerly treaſurer of the navy, and member of parliament for the borough of Hertford; and ſir Jacob Banks, formerly member of parliament for Minehead, were apprehended, upon ſuſpicion of being in confederacy with count Gyllenburg.

There were ſeveral conjectures, as to the means of this important diſcovery. Some affirmed, the king had long before notice of the deſign from France; others, that the diſcovery was owing to an intercepted letter from count Gyllenburg to the lord Duffus, priſoner in the Tower: and others aſſerted, the lord Duffus accidentally revealed the conſpiracy to an Engliſh lord, his fellow priſoner, who diſcovered it to the government, and thereby merited his pardon. Be this as it will, it is certain, that the king and his miniſters had long before entertained ſuſpicions of the count's clandeſtine practices; which were not a little encreaſed upon the publication of a libel about September 1716, entitled, 'an Engliſh merchant's remarks upon a ſcandalous jacobite paper publiſhed in the poſt-boy, under the name of, a memorial preſented to the chancery of Sweden, by the reſident of Great-Britain.' Of which libel count Gyllenburg was ſuſpected to be the author, as afterwards appeared by his letters.[r]

[r] See note page 75, &c.

The ſecuring the perſon and papers of a public miniſter being an affair of an extraordinary nature, and ſome foreign miniſters having expreſſed their ſentiments of it at at court, they were given to underſtand, that in a day or two they ſhould be acquainted with the reaſons for proceeding againſt the Swediſh miniſter in ſuch a manner. Accordingly, the ſecretaries of ſtate, mr. Stanhope and mr. Mathuen, wrote a circular letter to the foreign miniſters of their reſpective diſtricts, who were pretty well reconciled to the proceedings of the court; only the marquiſs de Monteleone, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, ſaid, in his anſwer to mr. Stanhope: 'that he was ſorry no other way could be found out, for preſerving the peace of his majeſty's dominions, without arreſting the perſon of a public miniſter, and ſeizing all his papers, which are the ſacred repoſitories of the ſecrets of his maſter: and in whatever manner theſe two facts may ſeem to be underſtood, they ſeem very ſenſible to wound the law of nations.'

Not many days after the ſeizing of count Gyllenburg, baron Gortz, miniſter and favourite of the king of Sweden, was likewiſe ſecured in Guelderland, in the following manner: mr. Leathes, the Britiſh reſident at the Hague, received the king's orders to deſire the regents of that ſtate to conſent to the ſeizing of baron Gortz, with his two ſecretaries, mr. Stambke and mr. Guſtavus Gyllenburg; the baron having for ſome time been concerned in carrying on a correſpondence, and concerting meaſures with the Britiſh rebels in France, and with ſeveral perſons in England, by means of count Gyllenburg, for raiſing a rebellion in England, to be ſupported by a foreign force. Mr Leathes went immediately to Amſterdam, and diſpoſed the magiſtrates of that place to conſent to the ſecuring of baron Gortz, in caſe he ſhould come thither from France; and returned bac to the Hague. The ſame night baron Gortz arrived there, having heard at Calais of count Gyllenburg's being put under arreſt, which prevented his going over to England, as he intended. He had, on the 18th of February, a conference with the imperial miniſter, wherein he extolled the inclination of the king of Sweden to peace, and inſiſted on a reſolution about his laſt propoſitions; but the next day, he ſet out, a little before noon, in a poſt chaiſe, accompanied by general Poniatowſki, having, as it is believed, had ſome notice, that orders were given to ſecure him, which, indeed, he narrowly eſcaped; for, upon mr. Leathes's application, the council of the States of Holland met and paſſed a reſolution for ſeizing the baron and his ſecretaries; but before it could be executed, the baron and mr. Stambke were gone that morning for Amſterdam; ſo that only mr. Gyllenburg was then taken. A party of horſe was immediately ſent after the other two, and mr. Leathes followed them to Amſterdam, and learning where baron Gortz was lodged, he went, accompanied with the proper officers, to the houſe of M. Teitſen, a Swediſh merchant, and ſearched it; but the baron had left it ſome hours before. However a box was found, in which were twelve large packets of letters; and informations being given which way the baron had taken, ſome perſons were diſpatched after him, who ſeized him and mr. Stambke at Arnheim, by leave of the magiſtrates of that place, as they were taking coach to go on from thence. Mr Leathes, being returned to the Heague, waited on the deputies of the province of Guelderland, who thought fit to write a letter to the magiſtrates of Arnheim, ordering them to cauſe the baron and mr. Stambke to be kept in ſafe cuſtody. On this occaſion, all thoſe of the regency, who were applied to, entered readily into the reaſonableneſs of the king's demands, and gave all the aſſiſtance and diſpatch, that was conſiſtent with the known forms of proceeding in that country. It is obſervable, that, when baron Gortz was ſeized, he owned himſelf to have been the projector of the intended invaſion of Great-Britain by the king of Sweden, and that he had actually provided ten thouſand arms, and other neceſſaries for this ſervice, valuing himſelf very much upon what he had done in this affair, as thinking it extremely for the intereſt of his maſter, and a noble and glorious enterprize.[s]

The parliament of Great-Britain met on the 20th of February, according to their laſt prorogation; and the king being come to the houſe of peers with the uſual ſolemnity, and delivering a ſpeech into the lord chancellor's hands, it was by him read to both houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I was in hopes, that the ſucceſs which it pleaſed God to give us, in defeating the late rebellion, might have ſecured to the nation peace, plenty and tranquility.

My endeavours have not been wanting, during your receſs, to improve the happy proſpect, which was in view, by entering into ſuch negotiations, as I judged moſt conducive to thoſe good ends: and it is with pleaſure I can acquaint you, that many defects in the treaties of Utrecht, which very nearly affected the trade, and even the ſecurity of theſe kingdoms, have been remedied by ſubſequent conventions, the happy conſequences of which have already very ſenſibly appeared by the flouriſhing condition of our trade and credit.

By the alliance lately concluded with France and the States-General, we are ſoon to be eaſed of all future apprehenſions from Dunkirk and Mardyke. The pretender is actually removed beyond the Alps: his adherents are deprived of all hopes of ſupport and countenance from France; and even the aſſiſtance of that crown is ſtipulated to us in caſe of exigency.

It ſeemed reaſonable to expect, that ſuch a ſituation of affairs at home and abroad ſhould have recovered from their deluſion all ſuch of our ſubjects, as had unhappily been ſeduced by the craft and wickedneſs of deſperate and ill-deſigning men, and thereby have afforded me the opportunity, which I deſired, of following the natural bent of my own inclinations to lenity, by opening this ſeſſion with an act of grace. But ſuch is the obſtinate and inveterate rancour of a faction amongſt us, that it hath again prompted them to animate and ſtir up foreign powers to diſturb the peace of their native country: they will chooſe rather to make Britain a ſcene of blood and confuſion, and to venture even the putting this kingdom under a foreign yoke, than give over their darling deſign of impoſing a popiſh pretender.

I have ordered to be laid before you copies of letters, which have paſſed between the Swediſh miniſters on this occaſion, which contain a certain account of the projected invaſion: and I promiſe myſelf from your experienced zeal and affection to my perſon and government, that you will come to ſuch reſolutions, as will enable me, by the bleſſing of God, to defeat all the deſigns of our enemies againſt us.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

'I did hope, the putting an end to the late rebellion would have ſo far ſecured the peace and tranquility of the nation, that I might, conſiſtently with the ſafety of my people, have made a conſiderable reduction of the forces. But the preparations, which are making from abroad to invade us, oblige me to aſk ſuch ſupplies, as you ſhall find abſolutely neceſſary for the defence of the kingdom.

You are all ſenſible of the inſupportable weight of the national debts, which the public became engaged for, from the neceſſity of the times, the preſſures of a long and expenſive war, and the languiſhing ſtate of public credit. But, the ſcene being now ſo happily changed, if no new diſturbances ſhall plunge us again into ſtreights and difficulties, the general expectation ſeems to require of you, that you ſhould turn your thoughts toward ſome method of extricating yourſelves, by reducing, by degrees, the debts of the nation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I have an entire confidence in you, and have therefore nothing to aſk, but, that you would take ſuch meaſures, as will beſt ſecure your religion and liberties. While you preſerve thoſe ineſtimable bleſſings, I ſhall ſit eaſy and ſafe on my throne, having no other view but the happineſs and proſperity of my people.' [f]

The king being withdrawn, and the commons returned to their houſe, mr. ſecretary Stanhope laid before them copies

[s] To juſtify this invaſion, it was urged, that king George, as elector of Hanover, had aſſiſted the princes in confederacy againſt the king of Sweden, proclaimed war againſt him, aided the king of Denmark to take Bremen and Verden, and afterwards purchaſed theſe two duchies of him. And this year had given inſtructions to ſir John Norris to join the Daniſh and Ruſſian fleets in the Baltic; which the admiral did accordingly.

[f] Beſides the treaty of commerce with Spain (by which the three articles tacked to the treaty of Utrecht were revoked, and all the other grievances in trade removed) and the triple alliance between Great-Britain, France, and the States, the king had concluded another treaty with the emperor, May 16, 1716, which he did not think fit to mention to the parliament. By this treaty, there was to be perfect unity between them, and each was to reckon the advantage and loſſes of the other as his own. They were to defend one another in the poſſeſſion of all their preſent kingdom, provinces, and rights, and in caſe either of them was attaced, the other was to aſſiſt with eight thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, or with ſhips in proportion. No prince was to be admitted without common conſent; but the States were to be admitted, and even invited without delay, to accede to it. By a ſeparate article this treaty was not to extend to the emperor's wars with the Turks.

The deſign of this alliance was to rouſe the jealouſy of France, and incline the regent to haſten a treaty with England. Accordingly, when he heard of this treaty, he reſolved to enter into an alliance with Great-Britain and Holland, and the treaty (as hath been ſaid) was concluded at Hanover the beginning of the next year.

of the letters which paſſed between count Gyllenburg, the barons Gortz and Sparre, and others, relating to a deſign of raiſing a rebellion in Great-Britain, to be ſupported by an invaſion from Sweden. By theſe letters it appeared, that a deſign was formed to dethrone king George, and conducted in ſuch a manner, as almoſt to warrant ſucceſs. Artful papers were publiſhed to foment and encreaſe diſcontent and diviſion; the apparent tranquility, enjoyed in Great-Britain, was to be an occaſion of requiring and obtaining the reduction of the national, and diſmiſſion of the foreign forces; ſhips, bought at different places, were to aſſemble at Gottenburg by the end of March, when the eaſt-winds uſually blow, on board of which eight thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe were to embark, with artillery, ammunition, and arms for fifteen thouſand men. The great number of the diſaffected had been ſo far relied on, that the ſecret of the negotiation had been truſted in England but to very few perſons; nothing was tranſacted in writing; no treaty was made; the mutual concern for the ſucceſs of the undertaking was, as it were, the warrant for the promiſes that were given.

This method of treating prolonged the negotiation, but withal was a ſecurity againſt the ill conſequences of a diſcovery. Both ſides were equally deſirous of being concealed. The king of Sweden abſolutely refuſed to appear in the affair, till the time of execution; and the pretender's friends, with whom count Gyllenburg treated at London, would not engage for any thing till they had his maſter's word. They did not care to labour in vain; but as ſoon as they ſhould have the aſſurance of his aſſiſtance, money ſhould not be wanting, nor means to ſupport the affair. Upon this, baron Gortz ſpoke out more plainly. He ſent word, he had done nothing but upon the knowledge of his maſter's intentions, and had lately been empowered in form to proſecute the enterprize. He ſent a copy of his full powers which were unlimited, and it was viſible they were ſo extenſive, only becauſe there might be no occaſion to mention the affair, which was to be concealed from the miniſters at Stockholm.

This aſſurance removed all uneaſineſs and irreſolution; money was given; views were explained; means of ſubſiſting the foreign troops were particulariſed; a perſon was procured, who was perfectly acquainted with the coaſts where it was reſolved they ſhould land; ſhips of war were provided, from ſixty to ſeventy guns; merchant-men, that were to carry corn to Gottenburg, were to ſerve for tranſports. The ſcheme was well laid, and the execution ſeemed infallible; eſpecially, if the army had been reduced, and the Dutch forces ſent home. Twelve thouſand choſen Swedes, in a condition to receive thoſe that were ready to join them, would have quicly formed a powerful army: encouraged by ſuch an army, the people would have riſen on all ſides: the Highlanders would have all been in arms: the torrent would have encreaſed without ceaſing, and a battle would have decided the affair. Thus much is certain, the project was infinitely better concerted than the laſt year's: the continual motions of the Swediſh forces would have ſerved to cover the true deſign, till it would have been too late to oppoſe it; a few days ſufficed to convey them into Scotland or England. But a timely diſcovery confounded all theſe meaſures, and eſtabliſhed king George on the throne. [t]

[t] The reader may ſee all theſe particulars, at large, in the following abſtracts of the letters.

The firſt letter is from baron Sparre, to count Gyllenburg, dated at Paris, September 25, 1716; in which the baron acquaints the count, 'that three days before, he was informed, that he [count Gyllenburg] had entered upon buſineſs with ſome lords of the chief of the pretender's party: that they took it for granted, he was authorized to do ſo, by the king of Sweden; and, in a word, that he was inclined to believe, that his Swediſh majeſty would eſpouſe the intereſts of that prince. In the firſt place, adds the baron, I will tell you, that I ſhall be charmed with it; and then, that it is not from a motive of curioſity, that I aſk, whether what I have heard be true; but that I may co-operate with you, though indirectly, till I have powers like yours, with which, you know, we are obliged to proceed very cautiouſly. Do me the friendſhip to let me know, what there is in this matter, as ſoon as poſſible. I flatter myſelf, you will find your account in it.

The next is a letter from count Gyllenburg to baron Gortz, dated London, Sept. 29, O. S. Octob. 9, N. S. 1716; which, being very material, deſerves to be inſerted at length. 'In anſwer to your excellency's letter, ſays the count, of the 22d. paſt, I now do myſelf the honour to acquaint you, that every body here is of opinion, that either France is extreamly weak, or elſe that the regent aims at the throne, and is deſirous to purchaſe it of king George, at any rate; for, otherwiſe, it is thought impoſſible, that France could condeſcend to make ſo ignominious a ſacrifice, as ſhe does, of a work [Mardyke] which coſt her ſo much, and for which the late king would have undergone a ten years war. People go ſo far here, as to lay wagers, that the young king of France will be diſpatched, before a certain time, to make room for his uncle. But, if the report, which is current at preſent, proves true, that the young king is fallen ill of the ſmall-pox, it is very poſſible, that Providence may confound his vaſt projects, which, among other things, tend to ſet up the court of Hanover to ſerve France, in our ſtead, as a balance againſt the power of the emperor: and it was with this view, that France already offered, laſt ſpring, to conſent to guaranty to the Hanoverians the poſſeſſion of the duchy of Bremen. If the emperor conſiders well the time, at which France takes theſe ſteps, and England is ſo forward to anſwer them, he will find, that his laſt advantage over the Turks has begot a jealouſy in thoſe two powers, and has made them bethink themſelves in good time of ſecuring one another mutually, againſt his power. I know not with what deſign it is done; but the miniſtry at preſent give out, that the peace of the North is actually in agitation, and that it will be concluded to the ſatisfaction of the king of Sweden. My friends would perſuade me, that this is done, in order to quiet a little the minds of thoſe, whoſe eyes my paper [Remarks of an Engliſh merchant, &c.] has opened. Be that as it will, I can aſſure your excellency, that never any paper met with a more general approbation; and, if I might venture to give my opinion, I ſhould think it would not be improper to cauſe it to be printed in French, in Dutch, and even in Engliſh, at the Hague. Your excellency may be aſſured, that if theſe gentlemen here make any anſwer to it, I ſhall be ready to baffle them entirely, and that there is nothing in the world I ſhould ſo much wiſh for.

Whether they do this, or not, I intend to have ſeveral pieces ready againſt the meeting of the parliament, and to publiſh them by a little at a time, the impatience of the people here not ſuffering them to read long deductions: and if I had wherewithal to defray the expence, I would cauſe ſome of them to be printed immediately, and the papers to be conveyed into ſuch places, that it ſhould not be in the power of this court to hinder the impreſſion. The intimations, which have been made me, terminate in bringing in the pretender; but as I cannot enter upon that affair, without an expreſs order from the king, my maſter, I have avoided coming to particulars.

Ten thouſand men, tranſported hither from Sweden, would do the buſineſs; and I believe, we ſhall not be at a loſs for money.

I ſend you incloſed, the tranſlation of the paper, which has been publiſhed here.

Baron Gortz, in his anſwer, dated at the Hague, October 5—16, 1716, is of opinion, 'that hitherto, they need not be much diſturbed about the treaty between France and Great-Britain;' and adds, 'that the count's printed piece deſerves the approbation it meets with: that he has ſent it to the king, and will take care to get tranſlations of it into other languages printed. He deſires to know the expence of printing the other pieces of the count's compoſing: cautions him, not to make any mention, in his letters to the king, nor to his correſpondents in Sweden, of what has been inſinuated to him about the pretender: but that, in the mean time, he will run no riſque, in acquainting him with all the particulars on that head; and that, above all, it will be neceſſary to make him clearly underſtand, how ten thouſand men might do the buſineſs; that is to ſay, what ſcheme has been contrived, and what motive they propoſe to offer, to induce the king of Sweden to enter into this affair.'

Count Gyllenburg, in his anſwer, dated at London, October 12—23, 1716, tells baron Gortz, 'I ſay nothing to the alliance lately made by France. Laſt ſpring, France offered the Hanoverians their guaranty of the poſſeſſion of Bremen, and I doubt not, but they have now done it. How do we know, but this may produce good diſpoſitions at Vienna towards us? It was in jeſt only, that count Volkra told M. Petkum, that his maſter would enter into that alliance.

I am very glad, that my pamphlet meets with your excellency's approbation. I aſſure you, that to print the pieces, that will be neceſſary, will coſt me, at leaſt, ſixty pounds. Printers muſt be bribed to it, for they run great riſques, in printing any thing, that diſpleaſes the government: but I will keep an exact account of every penny.

I would begin with our treaty, and make ſhort remarks upon it. Afterwards, I will print extracts from the cuſtom-houſe, to ſhew the little neceſſity there is of the trade to Peterſburg and Riga, eſpecially this year. Then I will come to the Hanover declaration of war, and will examine it, if it be neceſſary. After that, I will proceed to every one of our enemies, and I doubt not, but to undecieve the nation.'

To this letter count Gyllenburg ſubjoins this remarkable poſtſcript:

'Your excellency will have ſeen, by my laſt to M. de Mullern, what I have written upon the ſubject in queſtion. You will be pleaſed to ſend, or keep bac, that letter, juſt as you ſhall judge convenient. However, I beg you would be pleaſed to inform me which you do.

There is no medium; either Bremen, or the Hanoverians, muſt be ſacrificed. The latter is not ſo difficult, conſidering the general diſcontent. Ten thouſand men would be ſufficient. The mal-contents require but a body of regular troops, to which they may join themſelves. That body, being tranſported in the month of March, when the eaſterly winds reign, and when it will not in the leaſt be dreamt on, will cauſe a general revolt. We muſt alſo have arms for between fifteen and twenty thouſand men, and as many accoutrements as can be got; for as to horſes, we ſhall have them here. Your excellency may eaſily judge of what advantage this will be to the king; and, in my poor opinion, we have no other courſe to take, unleſs we are willing to give up every thing. My friends are not in town, but I ſhall ſpeak with them ſome day the next week; and then your excellency may expect their ſcheme: in the mean time, I ſhould be of opinion, that, if the buſineſs could be done, without making uſe of a great many Engliſh, there would be the leſs riſque run; for I do not know, whether I ought to touch upon what the king muſt have further, for, although they will endeavour to do every thing, that I aſk; yet, as it muſt be by a contribution raiſed among a great many, it may happen, that there may be a falſe brother. Our men once landed, I anſwer for the reſt. In the mean time, I beg you would remember what I had the honour to write to you, laſt ſummer, concerning one N———. No body knows the ſea and the coaſts better than he, and he is a brave and honeſt man. In ſhort, it will be a glorious enterprize, which will put an end to all our misfortunes, by ruining thoſe, that are the authors of them. As to what I have to ſay of the time, the ſooner the better, after the trade of Gottenburg is ended, or before it begins.'

The next letter is from count Gyllenburg, to his brother, Guſtavus Gyllenburg, ſecretary to baron de Gortz, dated at London, October 16—27, 1716; in which the poſtſcript to baron Gortz, is only material, which is as as follows:

'I have ſince ſpoken with two of the principals, who have aſſured me, that there ſhall be ſixty thouſand pounds, ſterling, ready, as ſoon as I ſhall ſhew them a line from the king, which aſſurances under his own hand, that he will aſſiſt them. As for the ſcheme, I ſhall have it within a few days. One of them, who is the chief promoter of this affair, aſſured me, that we had nothing to apprehend from the regent on this occaſion.'

By a letter dated at the Hague, November 3, 1716, M. Guſtavus Gyllenburg acquaints his brother, the count, that he has given baron Gortz his letter of the 16—27 of October, to read, as well as the note therein incloſed; to which he made him the following anſwer: 'It is my repeated advice to forbear ſpeaking any thing at all of money; but to hear people only, ſo as to learn clearly what they are able and diſpoſed to do, and to acquaint me with it, without opening yourſelf to them.'

The letters being read in both houſes, raiſed the utmoſt indignation in all the well-affected to the government, and addreſſes were preſented, full of the moſt lively expreſſions of loyalty and zeal, and of reſentment againſt the proceedings of the late miniſtry. The lords, in their addreſs, ſaid, 'we are ſenſible, that the groſs defects and pernicious conſequences of the late treaty of Utrecht could not have been remedied, but by your majeſty's unwearied application fo- the good of your ſubjects, and by that juſt regard, which is paid by foreign potentates to your known wiſdom and integrity. It is with unſpeakable ſatisfaction, that we ſee your majeſty's endeavours ſucceſsful in ſuch conventions, as

The next letter is from count Gyllenburgh to baron Gortz, dated at London, November 4, 1716, as follows: 'In anſwer to what your excellency has done me the honour to write to me in the poſtſcript to your letter of the 16—27th paſt, I grant there would be no harm in hearing the inſinuations of this court, if they were made not only without my promiſing to make report of them to his majeſty, but alſo my giving them hopes of his majeſty's being reſolved to be reconciled to the Hanoverians, and to ſacrifice Bremen to them for ſome equivalent on the part of the Czar. But as, without that, they will make no overtures, for fear we ſhould make uſe of them to encreaſe ſtill more the diſtruſt which is between the northern allies, and ſo make an advantage of them; it is not in my power to get any thing particular out of them; nor am I able to ſay of what ſervice to us their aſſiſtance againſt the Czar would be; but if I were to gueſs by their diſcourſe who have been talking with me about it, as from themſelves, though I eaſily perceive it was by order of the miniſters, I ſhould believe, that if the preliminary, concerning Bremen, was ſettled, the Engliſh miniſters would be very well pleaſed to retrieve the falſe ſteps they have made, by talking loudly of the defenſive treaty between us, and by perſuading the nation to give us the ſuccours therein ſtipulated either in money or ſhips. I ſhould fancy alſo, that we might come to an agreement in relation to what they ought to help us to take from the Czar, by way of repriſal for our loſſes in Germany. On the other hand, and if we do not ſubmit to them, your excellency may be aſſured, that, as well to juſtify their paſt actions, as to force us to a compliance, they will prevail upon the mercenary parliament, which they have at preſent, to take vigorous reſolutions, and even to declare war againſt us. This is what we muſt expect. The Engliſh miniſters do not mince the matter; and they have already made it appear, that they will ſtic at nothing. They are all furious perſons. Sunderland, who is, in a manner, at the head of affairs, and who has got all the intereſt he has with the king of England, by having conſented to what has been done againſt us (being beſides our enemy) is at preſent at Hanover, to take his inſtructions from the Germains, and your excellency may depend upon it, he will execute them with all the boldneſs [effronterie] imaginable. Your excellency will therefore find, we ought to make uſe of this opportunity to enter into meaſures againſt people, who certainly will not do things by halves. We muſt either ruin them, or be undone ourſelves, that is, if it be in their power to bring it to paſs.

Poſtſcript. My friends are now in town. An expreſs, which came to them yeſterday from the pretender, will put them in a better condition for forming a plan. To-day they are going about it. There are only five or ſix of the moſt conſiderable perſons conſulted. They would know, in caſe we agree, whether the money muſt be paid here or elſewhere, or if it muſt be ſent over to Sweden. They have alſo aſked me, if we had any occaſion for ſea-officers, for then they could furniſh us with good ones.'

In another letter at London, November 13, 1716, count Gyllenburg made good his promiſe to baron Gortz, about giving him his ſentiments about the buſineſs contained in the baron's laſt poſtſcript. 'The ſum thereof, ſays the count, is what I have already hinted, that we muſt determine ſome way or other, and that very ſpeedily. We have not in my humble opinion, any time to loſe in conſultations. If we do not take advantage of their preſent animoſity, it will cool; for the court, that is to ſay, the prince's party, does all that is poſſible to gain them. With the moſt conſiderable, it would perhaps be neceſſary to go on roundly. They run the hazard of their lives and fortunes in declaring themſelves, ſo that they will not ſpeak but upon good ſecurity. And as to the people of the ſecond rank, beſides that it would perhaps be dangerous ſo much as to hearken to their propoſals, theſe propoſals of theirs are of ſo little conſequence, and ſo confuſed, that we ſhould not be able from them to form any idea of the affair. I ſhould likewiſe be of opinion, that, till I receive freſh orders from your excellency, the ſafeſt way will be to avoid all converſations of that kind.'

The next letter is from M. Guſtavus Gyllenburgh to the count his brother, dated at the Hague, November 17, 1716, the ſubſtance of which is as follows: 'On Tueſday laſt arrived here a letter from baron Sparre, importing, that he had hopes of ſucceeding in his ſolicitation to have M. Lench ſent to the king. In his letter was incloſed one from the duke of Ormond to baron Gortz, in which the duke ſays, that the king, his maſter, had ordered him to let him [Gortz] know, that he expects ſhortly a ſupply of money; that he will then remit ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling to his Swediſh majeſty, leaving the diſpoſal of it to him; and that he begs him to look upon this as an earneſt of his good will to him. The bearer of this letter added, that the remittances might be made either to ——, or to ——. M. Sparre has ſince told the ſaid baron in confidence, of the men of war which we have bought in France, which will be ready and delivered. And that we are ſoliciting the court of France to ſend a perſon to the Czar, to make advantage of the pacific diſpoſition he is now in. But as this ſolicitation meets with many obſtacles, and that beſides France does not appear over forward to do any thing for us, unleſs it be in concert with England, M. Sparre takes notice, that my lord Mar has a couſin-german, named Erſkine, with the Czar, who is phyſician and privy-councellor to that prince; which favourite has wrote letters to my lord Mar, giving a very particular account of the Czar, viz. That the Czar will not attempt any thing more againſt the king of Sweden; that he has fallen out with his allies; that he can never be friends with king George; that he hates him mortally; that he is ſenſible of the juſt cauſe of the pretender; that he wiſhes for nothing more than a conjuncture, in which he may be able to reſtore him to his dominions; that the Czar, having the advantage wholly on his ſide, cannot make the firſt ſtep; but if the king would make the leaſt advance, there would be very ſoon an accommodation between them. The pretender has ſent to deſire baron Sparre to procure him leave to retire to Stockholm. M. Sparre has returned anſwer that, as this would be the ſame thing as declaring war by ſound of trumpet, it would abſolutely ſpoil the buſineſs in hand.'

In this letter mr. Guſtavus Gyllenburgh incloſed the copy of another letter from baron Gortz to baron Sparre, dated November, 12, 1716, as follows: 'I ſtill look upon the ſending M. Lench as very uncertain, becauſe I am perſuaded, that France will not take any ſtep, that may give the leaſt ſuſpicion, or by which they may diſguſt England, before they have finiſhed the treaty of alliance, that is now depending. Yet methinks they might venture to intimate to the court of England, that they have a mind to ſend a perſon to the king, to ſound his majeſty's intentions more thoroughly touching a reconciliation, and in order to qualify themſelves the better to do good offices.

As to the affair of England, and the duke of Ormond's letter to me, of, which you have ſent me a copy, I cannot forbear telling you frankly, ſir, that, if my ſcheme upon it be not approved and complied with, I cannot enter at all into that affair. It is upon the foundation of my ſcheme, that I have actually opened the matter to the king; and it would directly ſpoil all to make me depart from it. Any reaſonable man will eaſily comprehend the impoſſibility, in this caſe, of ſettling a treaty in form. Doubtleſs it would be running too great a hazard on both ſides, to depend upon its being kept ſecret. The beſt way is, to prepare on each ſide the materials neceſſary for the work before us. When all is ready for execution, it will then be time enough to make treaties, if it be judged requiſite.

I do not know even, whether it would be right to do what is deſired under the name of lending aſſiſtance; and I am very much inclined to think, that it would be better to avow openly our own intereſt, and the concern we have for maintaining the Engliſh liberties.

Your friends muſt place ſo much confidence in us, as to furniſh us with what we want to put ourſelves into a condition of becoming uſeful to them. The ſum required is not exorbitant. Three hundred thouſand crowns may ſatisfy us at preſent, for we want nothing but to augment our naval force at Gottenburgh.

I do not ſee what hazards your friends can run in this; I will give them ſufficient ſecurity; and, from the humour all the world knows the king to be of, they may very ſafely conclude, that, if his majeſty ſhould not be able to ſatisfy this loan by a real aſſiſtance, he would do all he poſſibly could to reimburſe our friends, the rather, becauſe his majeſty would not have it known, that he had touched any money for ſuch a purpoſe as this is lent.

Theſe gentlemen might, however, the more to engage the king's affection, give their offer the turn expreſſed in my ſcheme; though, for my part, I will not accept it, on any conditions, that may diſtinguiſh it from a common loan. But all depends upon their determining ſpeedily, and beginning forthwith, by furniſhing the three hundred thouſand crowns for the men of war, without which they muſt not flatter themſelves, that any thing can be done. I am upon the ſcent of getting a fourth hundred thouſand even in England.

France cannot reproach us with this agreement, while no treaty or convention can be produced to prove it. What I ſaid above, of the cautious behaviour of the court of France towards England, is no doubt applicable likewiſe to the negotiating of an accommodation with the Czar. It is probable, the court of France would not proceed in a negotiation of that kind, but by concert with England; and you will grant me, that this would not by any means ſuit our intereſt. This reflection leads me into an opinion, that the canal of France is not at preſent the moſt commodious for us. It may ſuffice therefore to have offered to make uſe of that canal without preſſing the matter further. Nor can M. Lench be the manager of this negotiation. For going to, and coming from Sweden at the ſeaſon of the year we are now in, requires time; and if we come to any agreement with the Czar, we ought to conclude it within three months at the very fartheſt. The canal of my lord Mar ſeems to me to be alike inconvenient and impracticable, becauſe of the length of time which that circulation of correſpondence would unavoidably take up. Yet I cannot but think, that by the canal of the favourite phyſician, the good diſpoſitions of the Czar might be improved, if they are indeed ſuch as have been repreſented. If the Czar comes hither, and one can get a private converſation with the favourite, we might certainly carry things on far, ſuppoſing, as I ſaid, that what the favourite, has written be well founded. In the mean while I am contriving ſome other way.

If we fix upon a project, that is in any tolerable degree promiſing, I ſhall not be with-held by the difficulty and hardſhips of the voyage from being the bearer of it myſelf.

If in the mean time your friends would enter into my ſcheme, I ſhould be the more ſure of bringing the king to a thorough good liking of their buſineſs. But I will not venture to convey any thing of this to his majeſty, otherwiſe than by word of mouth. It is ſatisfaction enough to me to know originally, that I am in no danger of giving offence to Sweden by the part I take upon me to act in this affair. The fancy of the pretender's retiring to Stockholme ſurprizes me: it would be blazing abroad our ſecret intelligence by ſound of trumpet.'

On the 12—23 of November, 1716, baron Gortz wrote from the Hague the following letter to count Gyllenburgh: 'I told you in my letter of Friday, that I deferred anſwering yours of the 13th, which I am now going to do. You ſay, ſir, that, as to the affair you are preſſed about, it would be neceſſary to go roundly to work with the principals. I am entirely of the ſame opinion. The buſineſs then is to ſpeak plainly. I believe, ſir, it will be thought a ſufficient proof of our frankneſs to declare, as you may do, that nothing is more natural, nor more ſweet, than to revenge an affront one has received; but that, in point of prudence, it ought to be maturely conſidered, whether the paſſion of revenge can produce the deſired effect. If your people do but make the leaſt reflection upon this rule, they will undoubtedly perceive, that it is entirely their buſineſs to make the ſucceſs of the enterprize, which they deſire, appear probable to us. After that it will be likewiſe proper, that they ſhould help us in ſettling the neceſſary points, that is, that they ſhould aſſiſt us with money. As I run no riſque with you, ſir, I make no ſcruple of telling you in confidence, that the buſineſs in hand has for ſome time been part of my correſpondence with embaſſador Sparre.

The principal members of the preſent court of Avignon, offer, on the part of their maſter, 60,000l. ſterling to engage the king's affection, I remonſtrated thereupon, that the delicacy of the conjuncture ought to caution us againſt cloſing too haſtily with this offer; but that I propoſed to treat upon the foot of a common loan; and that, in that caſe, being furniſhed with the king's full power to negotiate money for his majeſty's ſervice, I might accept it, giving them aſſurances on the king's part, for repayment, that if at the ſame time they would communicate to me a plan of the principal affair, I would not fail to ſend it to the king; and that, in caſe his majeſty ſhould be unwilling to enter into the deſign in queſtion, he would at leaſt pique himſelf upon taking care, that the ſum, which I ſhould have borrowed in his name, ſhould be punctually diſcharged; ſo that the lenders would run no riſque of their money, but that, on the contrary, they would have put it out to a good advantage, and that, in ſhort, the offer being made upon the foot before mentioned, without ſtipulating any other conditions than being reim-

have already given new life to our trade and credit; and particularly in the treaty lately concluded with France and the States-General. As your majesty has, by this treaty, recovered to us, in so great a measure, those advantages, which might have been expected from a glorious and successful war, and were given up by a treacherous and dishonourable peace; we beg leave to congratulate your majesty upon an alliance, which opens to us so fair a prospect of an undisturbed succession, an equal balance of power, and a flourishing commerce.

We return your majesty our most humble thanks, for your majesty's most gracious condescension, in having laid before your parliament the discoveries concerning the intended invasion; and cannot but regard, with the utmost horror and indignation, the malice and ingratitude of those, who have encouraged such an attempt against their king and country.

We are sorry to find that your majesty's lenity has been ineffectual towards reclaiming a faction, who have rendered themselves so obnoxious to your justice.'

When this address was reported to the house, a bebate arose on account of the lord Coningsby's urging it very earnestly, that the peace of Utrecht was treacherous and dishonourable. The bishop of London asserted the contrary,

burſed, the king might be more effectually wrought upon by that mark of their good will, than by directly ſollciting the ſuccours they deſire. I added to all theſe intimations, that, in caſe the king reliſhed the project of a revolution to be brought about in England, it might perhaps do better to give this enterpriſe the turn of its being intended to revenge the unworthy proceedings of the kings of England, and to maintain the Engliſh liberties.

You have herewith, ſir, the copy of a pecuniary contract, which I have juſt now ſettled with ſome private perſons in this country. You will find by it, that there is a conſiderable advantage to be made, which it was neceſſary to allow to ſtrangers, ſince no body in Sweden had courage enough for it. If your people had a mind to engage in it abſtractedly from the grand affair, I would admit them forthwith as far as the ſum of three hundred thouſand crowns. The king's printed patent, whereof you have herewith a copy, ſufficiently ſecures every individual perſon from all frauds with regard to the ſtate's bonds, upon which the money is advanced.

But they muſt determine ſpeedily, or lay aſide all hopes, as I have juſt now obſerved to ambaſſador Sparre in a poſtſcript, which I communicate to you.

If the thing be taken upon the foot before mentioned, it may go on; but otherwiſe nothing can be done. In a word, we muſt have money, and, after that, we muſt know what they are in a condition to do in England, and what part they expect the king ſhould take, to put this deſign into motion, and to ſupport it.'

In anſwer to baron Gortz, count Gyllenburg wrote to him the following very remarkable letter, dated at London, December 4, 1716: 'As ſoon as I had received your excellency's letter of the 23d paſt, I went to one of the principals at his own houſe, with whom I have had a long and intimate friendſhip. I ſhewed him your excellency's letter which I enforced the beſt I could. Whereupon he aſked me, whither I had ſpoke of it to any one of his party? and I telling him I had not, he deſired me, for the love of God, not to do it. We were made to believe from Avignon, ſaid he, that all went on currently; that baron Gortz had accepted our offer, and had given poſitive aſſurances, on the part of the king of Sweden, of his aſſiſtance. We have been preſſed on the affair of the money, and to form a ſcheme; and we have actually applied ourſelves to both the one and the other. In the midſt of all this, here are three poſts arrived from Avignon, and no farther ſigns are ſhewn of ſo much haſte. This change has very much perplexed us, we not knowing to what to impute it, unleſs the prince's indiſpoſition. But all is now become clear. They were too ſure of their point at Avignon; they reckoned immediately on the aſſiſtance of the king of Sweden; and now they are afraid, on one hand, of damping our courage, by owning frankly, that they had deceived themſelves; and, on the other, they dare not, upon an uncertainty, engage to ſupply them with money, being ſenſible, it is the laſt we ſhall give them, if we ſhould find it employed to any other purpoſe than we deſigned; and without direct aſſurances firſt given of our having the ſuccours we need. You ſee, therefore, continued he, of what conſequence it is, if you wiſh us well, that you do not make known, to any perſon, what I ſee our court of Avignon conceals with ſo much care. If you act otherwiſe, you will deſtroy the credit of the chevalier de St. George here, which perhaps will be of neceſſary uſe to you, and you will make his adherents your implacable enemies; for, if their deſign fail, they will be regardleſs, whether Sweden periſhes or not; and yet you know, that it is they, who have hitherto defended your cauſe, as well in the country, as in the parliament of England, and who have obliged your enemies to act with more caution and reſerve than they would otherwiſe have done. You will ſtill have occaſion for their aſſiſtance in the next ſeſſion of the parliament of England, which your enemies are preparing to incenſe terribly againſt you, as well by pamplets, which are now actually in the preſs, as by petitions of the merchants, who have loſt their ſhips, and who now meet twice a week to conſult. Now, ſaid he, to return to baron Gortz's letter, give me leave to tell you freely, that, if the queſtion was explicitly and ſimply, whether we ſhould aſſiſt the king of Sweden, and we conſented, it might then be worth while to aſk, what ſecurity we required, and what gain we inſiſted on? but this is not the caſe at preſent, nor ever will be. For I muſt own to you very ingenuouſly, that there are very few amongſt us, who have any concern for the intereſts of foreign princes, any longer than while they affect our own, and that even very palpably: 'Manus noſtræ oculatæ ſunt; credunt quod vident: Our eyes are in our hands; what they ſee we believe.' So that for you to flatter yourſelves, that, out of reſpect or friendſhip, we ſhould part with our money to any whatſoever, would be to know nothing of us. You can never alter our minds on that article: ſo you muſt juſt take us as we are. As for gain, can we hope for greater in any country, than what we have at home, without riſquing our money? Do we not make 7 or 8 per cent. by the public funds; and this upon the ſecurities of the parliament of England, and are paid punctually every quarter? That, this queſtion being utterly unſeaſonable, it is neceſſary to form another, and let that be, whither we are willing, by a pecuniary ſubſidy, to merit the aſſiſtance of the king of Sweden? To that I anſwer roundly, let us but be aſſured on the part of his majeſty, upon whoſe bare promiſe we will rely, more than on all the ſecurities and engagements of others: I ſay, let us only be aſſured, that by our money we ſhall merit his help, and actually have it. After this, let us but know what you would have us to do, and we will make ſuch efforts, that his majeſty ſhall not repent of giving his royal word to aſſiſt us. But, ſir, added he, what muſt we think, when, after a negotiation of three months or more, we are yet in uncertainty upon what ought to be the chief ſpring of all our undertakings, and are to merit by our money, not the help we aſk, but barely an anſwer whether we ſhall obtain it or not? How can we run into expence, expoſe our friends, and, in ſhort, endanger our fortunes and lives when perhaps his majeſty's refuſal may ſtop us ſhort; ſubject, among other things, to the fear of being betrayed by thoſe who ſeeing the ill ſucceſs of our projects, and that there is nothing to be hoped for more on our ſide, may endeavour to make their fortune, by ſtriking in with our enemies, and ſacrificing us?

Let us examine all this and you yourſelf will acknowledge, we ſhould hazard too much in following thoſe, who leave us in ſuch uncertainty. But, on the other hand, what does the king of Sweden riſque? Is not our government his enemies in every reſpect; and will it not aſſiſt them more this enſuing year? What can be ſaid againſt him, if, after the example of Scipio he carries the war into their country, who have been deſirous, and are ſtill ſo to carry it into his? This diverſion will be ſo much the greater, as it will be unexpected; and there is the more reaſon to hope for ſucceſs, becauſe the whole country is diſaffected. It is alſo probable, that half the army will be diſbanded by the parliament of England; and it is certain great part of that army will deſert on the approach of a ſufficient body of troops.

But, ſuppoſe this enterprize ſhould not ſucceed, would this government be more bent upon the entire ruin of the king of Sweden than it was before? and, when king George's deſire to have the country of Bremen is ſatisfied, will our government be leſs ſollicitous by what means to prevent the Czar's aggrandizing himſelf? let me beg you, ſaid he, to repreſent all this to Baron Gortz; and I am ſure he will change his opinion; that he will not let ſlip, by chaffering, an opportunity ſo beneficial for the king of Sweden, and ſo glorious for himſelf. Tell him likewiſe, if you pleaſe, that there is nothing more proper than what he demands as to a ſcheme; and the means of ſupporting the affair. But he muſt give us the encouragement to ſee, that we are not labouring in vain, and running all hazards without any fair proſpect. One poſitive aſſurance given at Avignon will put all in motion; but, without that, all will flag. As to the colour, which the king of Sweden may put upon his enterprize, I ſhall always have that opinion, ſaid he, which baron Gortz himſelf would have me entertain of his ſcheme, namely, that the king of Sweden intends ſincerely to reſtore the chevalier. But I am much afraid, that the reſt of my party will take this affair in quite another light; that is to ſay, that they will imagine, his Swediſh majeſty, having not given any promiſe to our chevalier, nor declared for him, will make no other uſe of this enterprize, than only to compaſs his own deſigns, excluſive of the chevalier, and to oblige king George to come to better terms. But in this he will find himſelf deceived; for the greateſt part of the nation being at preſent inflamed with jacobitiſm, and ſet a longing for the return of him, whom they believe their lawful ſovereign, they will not join any perſon, who does not declare openly for him; on the contrary, perceiving it is only a foreign quarrel, which draws the king of Sweden hither, vexed to ſee their expectations fruſtrated, and not knowing how far his majeſty's reſentments may go, and who will be expoſed to his vengeance, or who be exempt from it, they will fall into the common humour of the nation, which is to unite all, notwithſtanding their paſt feuds againſt a foreign power.

This is ſo true (continued he) that, if the chevalier de St. George had not an Engliſh father, and been born in England, all his pretentions would avail him nothing with the common people; who when the conteſt ſhall be only between foreigner and foreigner, will certainly declare for him in poſſeſſion, without much regard to the juſtice of the cauſe.

For what remains, (added he) I entirely agree, that the maintaining of the church of England ought to be the topic in the king of Sweden's manifeſto. This is the more neceſſary, becauſe it would ſerve to ſettle the minds of ſuch, as are diſturbed about the chevalier's religion. His majeſty likewiſe would act in his known character, which is to be on all occaſions, ſollicitous for the welfare of the proteſtant religion.

This, ſir, is what was moſt material in my converſation with my friend, who, I aſſure your excellency, is a man of ſolid judgment, and ſo well informed of what paſſes at Avignon, that he told me a long time ago what was negotiated there on our part, though I took no notice of it, while I ſaw nothing particular about it, either in your excellency's letters, or in thoſe of monſieur Sparre. He even told me, that a certain relation of my lord Mar's was confident of doing us very good offices with the Czar; and that it had been intimated to baron Sparre. But, being tender of intruding into the provinces of others, I reckoned your excellency would be better informed of this the direct way.'

In anſwer to this letter baron Gortz wrote the following letter, dated at the Hague, December 11, 1716, to count Gyllenburg: 'I have received your agreeable letter of the 4th inſtant. I ſhall have the honour to anſwer the contents of it, that the ſtronger the reaſons are, which are alledged to make us enter into the affair you know of, the more ſhould people be perſuaded of the true deſire, that we have to undertake the thing. It is ſuperfluous to ſuggeſt motives to us, and we have no need of a ſpur. As I run no riſque with you, ſir, I will freely tell you, that, even before my departure from Sweden, we were already on our ſide, diſpoſed to this expedition. It is eaſy to believe, that thoſe diſpoſition are ſince increaſed, in proportion as the animoſity of the court, where you are, hath continued increaſing. There is therefore now no other queſtion, but of the means to ſatisfy our juſt deſire of revenge. We have in Sweden troops more than enough for that purpoſe; but what ſuſpends our entering upon actions is that,

Firſt, We have not the ſhips neceſſary as well for tranſporting the troops, as for the convoy itſelf.

Secondly, We do not know how it is propoſed to maintain the troops, when they ſhall be arrived at the place intended.

Thirdly, Horſes muſt forthwith be found to mount the cavalry. It is well known, that when one enters into an open country, the firſt impreſſion muſt be made by the cavalry.

Fourthly, We muſt know the number of troops, that is thought requiſite for this expedition, in order to regulate thereby the armament of the ſhips.

It is true, ſir, that, for ſeveral months laſt paſt, we have had ſome preliminary negotiation upon theſe matters with the court of Avignon. They have declared themſelves very well ſatisfied with the manner, in which we

and ſaid, 'he himſelf drew up the inſtruments of that treaty, and, in his opinion, it was as good a peace, as had been concluded for theſe forty years paſt.' Lord Coningſby replied, 'he did not intend any perſonal reflection on any perſon; but the venerable prelate who ſpoke laſt, might remember, that about two years ago, when the miniſters who made the late peace were impeached, his lordſhip declared, he was kept in the dark, and ſcarce knew any thing of what was doing at Utrecht.'

The commons, in their addreſs, obſerved, 'that they could not, but with the higheſt reſentment and indignation, look upon the obſtinate and inveterate rancour of thoſe, who were again endeavouring to imbroil their native country in blood and confuſion: and that it was aſtoniſhing to find, that any, who called themſelves proteſtants, could be ſo inflexible and reſtleſs in their endeavours to impoſe upon us a popiſh pretender, and rather venture to ſubject the kingdom to a foreign yoke, than depart from their darling and avowed deſign of altering and ſubverting the preſent happy eſtabliſhment in the proteſtant ſucceſſion.' They conclude, 'we are all but too ſenſible of the unſupportable weight of the national debts, and therefore will not neglect to apply ourſelves with all poſſible diligence and attention to the great and neceſſary work of reducing and leſſening by de-

we have ſpoken to them, and have promiſed not only to give the neceſſary explanations upon the advances of money propoſed, but alſo to furniſh inſtantly wherewithal to prepare on our ſide, during this winter, every thing, that concerns the firſt ſtep; being themſelves of opinion, that if any thing be intended to be done, it muſt be entered upon immediately after the obſtacles, which a hard winter might bring to navigation, are removed; but hitherto all this has ended only in vain hopes. However, I have not, on my part, loſt any time for this enterprize. I have beſtirred myſelf to find out men of war; I have actually found out ſome, and have even made bargains for purchaſing ſix of between ſixty and ſeventy guns, all armed and rigged; and they are to be delivered at Gottenburg in the beginning of the month of March. The advance of money which I aſked from the court of Avignon, was only deſigned for the purchaſe of thoſe ſhips: and the ſum did not exceed ſixty thouſand pounds. If I have propoſed the expedient of furniſhing us with this money upon the foot of a common loan, it was only done, ſir, with a view, the better to ſecure thoſe, that were concerned on both ſides, from the danger of a diſcovery, and thoſe that ſhould give the money, againſt the accidents, in caſe any ſuch ſhould be, that might render the deſign impracticable. It is alſo the fear either of ſome treachery or diſappointment, which cannot be foreſeen, that will hinder us from declaring before we come to the place where we are to ſhew ourſelves.

Our friends will have nothing to object againſt this precaution, if they will but conſider that, if we throw off the maſk too ſoon, and ſhould afterwards miſs our blow, we ſhould give the Engliſh miniſters a very good argument to carry the nation into a war againſt us, into which they would not have a great deal of trouble to draw Holland alſo.

This is a riſque of the laſt conſequence; and would they have us run into it, ſir, for a trifle? I do not know how elſe to ſtile the money buſineſs in queſtion.

The naval armament at Gottenburg cannot be uſeful to us, unleſs, for the deſign, which they propoſe to us, and the money we aſk will not be ſufficient even for that armament.

As to the reſt, however juſt and ſolid I allow your friend's reaſoning in other matters, yet I cannot reconcile the opinion, which your friend ſeems to have of the good faith of the king and his intereſt, with the fear which is nevertheleſs ſhewn, that we have no other end than to procure for ourſelves the reſtitution of the duchy of Bremen.

Pray, ſir, which way can the king of Sweden better ſecure to himſelf the recovery and poſſeſſion of his ſaid duchy, than by reducing king George to be nothing more than an elector of the empire? By which means the king of Sweden will make himſelf be courted by the houſe of Lunenburg, as in former times. Can good faith and a man's word be put in the ſcale againſt ſo ſolid and ſo evident a reaſon, after we have experienced how little account ought to be made of a ſecurity founded in words or in treaties? To be ſhort, ſir, the queſtion is with us, an affair already decided; nothing remains but to conſider the means.

As I underſtand the matter, thoſe, that ſhall furniſh the money, will be in no danger; they may give it under the name of Dutch merchants, and under pretext of the great gain, that is to be made in dealing with me. The better to colour the thing, they may even give commiſſion to ſome Engliſh merchants, to make an agreement with me upon the foot of the contract, which I have had the honour to communicate to you. After this there would remain no other riſque than that of loſing the money, in caſe the deſign ſhould not be executed; but, if they had the leaſt confidence in the word of the king, this ſcruple would vaniſh immediately. His majeſty piques himſelf too much upon performing his engagements, to leave any room to miſtruſt him We have freſh proofs of this; notwithſtanding the vaſt expence, that we are obliged to bear, his majeſty would have the pretenſions of mr. Cook, and the other merchants in France, touching the money advanced to him in Turkey, ſatisfied, and I have actually paid thoſe creditors.

To conclude, I muſt tell you again, ſir, that they muſt come to a reſolution ſpeedily, or think no more of the affair for all the next year.

It would alſo be neceſſary, that thoſe, who mean us well, ſhould labour to get half the troops that are now on foot in England, broken, and to hinder any naval armament till the month of May.

It concerns us alſo to know, for our direction, what number of regular troops will remain, after they ſhall have got one half of them diſbanded. I reckon, that we might employ from ten to twelve thouſand Swedes in this expedition; amongſt whom there ſhould be four thouſand horſe.

When things ſhall be put upon the foot above-mentioned, I intend to go into Sweden myſelf, to puſh on the execution; for I do not like to rely on the care of others in ſuch a particular. I had alſo rather concert this affair directly, and with you, than by the other way, which I think too long.

My lord's relation hath indeed ſent word, that the czar has ſome diſpoſitions to peace, which we will not fail to make advantage of, that we may be in a condition the better to puſh on the affair in queſtion. The czar is to be here very ſpeedily. If it could be ordered, that the ſaid relation of my lord Mar ſhould ſpeak to me, I ſhould quicly perceive what might be done there. You will eaſily judge, ſir, that an agreement with the czar would give great weight to the other affair.'

In anſwer to this letter, count Gyllenburg, on the 18th of December, N. S. 1716, wrote the following to baron Gortz: 'I received, two days ago, the letter your excellency did me the favour to write me of the 11th, and I have not deferred the execution of your orders one moment. I hope to be able to give you an account of them by the next mail. In the mean time I ſhall have the honour to anſwer to your excellency's poſtcript, that I ſhall not fail to govern myſelf as you there direct. If I have hitherto done otherwiſe, it has been, that I might not be accuſed of not repreſenting matters as they were on one ſide and the other, leaving it afterwards to our miniſters to make choice of that, which they thought moſt proper. Your excellency, according to your wonted goodneſs, will forgive me, however, for ſaying, that, in my opinion, whatſoever reſolution we take, it would, notwithſtanding, be well to keep the people here in good humour; that is, that we ſhould ſeem not entirely to reject their propoſals, for otherwiſe they will be prying into the motives, which render us ſo intractable, and will perhaps diſcover the true one, in which caſe they will cauſe it to miſcarry. Beſides, a little hopes would make them put off longer the puſhing the affair in parliament; and I think that is what your excellency ſeems to deſire. Methinks, to this end, it would be neceſſary, that your excellency ſhould write Petkum an anſwer, who complains of having received none to his letters, to ſhew your acknowledgement of the pains he has taken, and to deſire him to go on, in order to keep the miniſters in the ſame good way, till your excellency has received an anſwer to the account which you have given his majeſty of the whole affair; and then we may act with more vigour. As Petkum generally ſhews all his letters to Townſhend and Bothmar, I fancy they will thereby be eaſily perſuaded to believe what they wiſh. If this letter comes before the arrival of king George, it will perhaps prevent the impreſſion, which the Germans and Sunderland will be apt to make with their uſual violence at their firſt coming over.'

The two next letters relate principally to bills of exchange, ſhipping, corn, ſalt, &c. for Sweden; but in one from count Gyllenburg to baron Gortz, dated at London, December 29, 1716, he writes as follows:

'I am once more obliged to defer the departure of my expreſs till Friday, one of the principal of our friends being not yet returned to London; but he will be here to-morrow. I have the letters ready for the phyſician, but dare not venture them by the poſt. While I am waiting for the principal of my friends, I ſhall diſpatch to-morrow a gentleman to the czar, to endeavour to poſſeſs him with pacific thoughts. I have given him letters for my brother, that he may introduce him to your excellency, who will give him ſuch inſtructions, as you ſhall judge neceſſary. He is a Muſcovite by birth, and having been a long time known to my friend, and perhaps even employed on the like meſſages, he aſſures me, that we may put entire confidence in him. I have intimated to him, that he may alledge, for the pretext of his voyage, his natural inclination to ſerve the czar, by which he was induced to diſcover to him, that king George is making all the offers imaginable to acquire Bremen of the king of Sweden, at the expence of the czar, who is to be the ſacrifice of that acquiſition. Your excellency will add what other hints you judge convenient. I ſhould think, however, it might be proper, that this man ſhould be kept ignorant of the canal of the phyſician. I have another letter for him, which may introduce my brother to his acquaintance, and then he may convey meſſages between your excellency and the phyſician, till your excellency ſhall think fit to have an interview with him. We are aſſured here, that king George will have none with the czar; and they ſeem to be very little ſatisfied with that prince.

Your excellency will have the goodneſs to remember what I had the honour to write to you in my laſt, about my lord Sunderland. I have learnt ſince, that that lord does all he can to make thoſe of his party fond of king George's project to open a port at Harbourg: aſſerting, that England will gain more by it, than even by its Weſt-India trade. One ſees very well whither all this tends. I am working againſt it. A member of parliament has deſired me to inform him of the ſituation and nature of that port.'

On the 1ſt of January, count Gyllenburg writes thus to baron Gortz, after a long account of private buſineſs, hiring of ſhips, &c. 'Since writing what goes before, my friend has been with me, and has told me, that the money, as far as twenty thouſand pounds, was ready, if I would but give my acquittance, that I had received it for the uſe of the king my maſter, and this only, that he might have ſomething to ſhew to thoſe, who made this collection, ſuppoſing, that hereafter they ſhould aſk for it. I anſwered him, that I could not give any ſuch acquittance, without your excellency's order, which I would write for this poſt. He told me likewiſe, that they had already, by order of the court of Avignon, remitted eight thouſand pounds to baron Sparre.

Since writing theſe lines, the Dutch mail of the 25th is juſt come in, by which my brother adviſes me, that your excellency was ſetting out upon your journey. It will therefore be unneceſſary to ſend the expreſs, eſpecially ſince the two letters intended are now become uſeleſs. I will, however, ſend a duplicate of this next Monday by the French poſt, together with the pieces above mentioned.

Your excellency will receive, this day, the copy of a letter, which M. Petkum writ yeſterday to baron Sparre, the contents of which confirm the ill intentions of thoſe warm men, into whoſe hands the management of affairs is going to be put: particularly if it be true, as mr. Petkum has aſſured me, that my lord Townſhend to whom he read the ſaid letter, owned, that what he had writ, in relation to our affairs, was true. All that we have to flatter ourſelves with, is, that the miſunderſtanding, which there is among theſe gentlemen, may perhaps be of ſervice to us. Thus much, at leaſt, is certain, that, if we ſet ourſelves in earneſt about the great work, the ſucceſs cannot poſſibly fail.'

The next is a letter from count Gyllenburg to baron Gortz then at Paris, dated at London, January 7, 1716-17, as follows: 'Yeſterday I received the letters your excellency did me the favour to write me of the 29th paſt. That concerning the conduct of this court came very ſeaſonably. I gave it to read to one of the principal whigs with whom I have found means of contracting a friendſhip. As I am to dine with him to-morrow, I ſhall know what effect it has had. He is already in a good way, and I queſtion not but may be carried yet further by ſuch juſt reaſoning.

M. Petkum is charmed with your excellency's letter to him. He exclaims publicly againſt the Hanoverians for the groſs falſhood they have told of him. I believe him innocent as to this fact. He has told me, he will write himſelf to your excellency by this poſt. Mr Walpole's reply is remarkable. My friend, who is one of the champions of the whigs, has told me the ſame thing. If it be not the effect of the preſent diſcontent, and the court does not find expedients to regain thoſe people, I do not know whether the court will ever venture to bring that matter upon the ſtage; but I ſhall not be ſatisfied with that.

I am trying to get it brought into parliament my own way. My friend is labouring that point with me, and, to that end, is endeavouring to inform

grees, this heavy burden, which may prove the moſt effectual means of preſerving to the public funds, a real and certain ſecurity.'

The convocation alſo preſented a very loyal addreſs, wherein was the following paragraph: 'we have ſeen, in the late declarations of ſome of theſe men, who, nevertheleſs, call themſelves by the name of proteſtants, what we muſt look for, ſhould a popiſh prince ever ſit upon the throne of theſe kingdoms. Whilſt they allow us no better a character than that of ſchiſmatics and heretics, of men cut off from the communion of Chriſt's church, and all the hopes of ſalvation, what can be expected from profeſſed papiſts, who account no better of them (however they may flatter themſelves) than they do of us; but that both they and we ſhall be utterly deſtroyed by them?'

But the univerſity of Oxford did not ſhew themſelves ſo loyal; for, at a meeting of the vice-chancellor, and other heads of the univerſity, dr. Dunſter, warden of Wadham-College, having made a motion for an addreſs to the king, and being ſupported by dr. Wynne, biſhop of St. Aſaph, and by the warden of Merton-College; dr. Smalridge biſhop of Briſtol, deſired to know the ſubject of the addreſs. Biſhop Wynne readily anſwered, that they might addreſs upon theſe three heads: 1. The ſuppreſſion of the late unnatural rebel-

himſelf thoroughly of the whole. It was for him, that I demanded the other day of your excellency the particulars of Harbourg; and it is likewiſe upon his requeſt that I beg your excellency will ſend me, as ſoon as may be, all that you ſhall be able to pic up in relation to the treaty concluded between Hanover and our enemies; particularly, if you can procure the agreement, by which the aſſiſtance of an Engliſh force is ſtipulated to them. Your excellency ſees hereby what I am now doing on one ſide and the other; that is to ſay, with regard to our friends. I can do nothing before I have received your excellency's orders upon my laſt.'

The following letter from baron Gortz, to count Gyllenbnrgh, is dated from Paris, January 8, 1717.

I could not acquaint you before this day, that I am now authorized to enter into the affair, which you know of; and that I am allowed the liberty to do in it whatever I ſhall think convenient. You will be able to judge of this yourſelf by the incloſed copy of the full power, that has been ſend to me. Which way ſoever I turn this affair, I do pot ſee, that we can engage in it upon any other foot than that which I propoſed to you at the firſt. As intereſt is the moſt certain ſecurity of treaties, and what we are ſollicited to undertake is of ſo great importance to us, and the moſt expeditious means to re-eſtabliſh our affairs, that can be deviſed; no man can doubt, that we ſhall apply ourſelves to it heartily and earneſtly; and that we could wiſh for nothing better, than to do it without the concurrent aſſiſtance of others, if the juncture of time would ſuffer us to diſpenſe with that aſſiſtance.

The only thing I ſee wanting for our purpoſe are men of war and tranſports. Of the firſt I can have two in Holland, and ſix in France, all rigged and armed; and thoſe, who have the diſpoſal of them, oblige themſelves to deliver them in that condition at Gottenburg in the month of March. The laſt we ſhall not want, but we muſt immediately put our hands to the work, which requires money. Mr Sparre had aſſured me, that I ſhould find an hundred thouſand crowns ready here; but I learnt at my arrival, that our friends, far from doing what they had promiſed, are now grown cool; ſo that I thought beſt, ſir, to deſire you to preſs your friends to a ſpeedy reſolution, whether on the foot propoſed they will forthwith ſupply us with money, which we muſt have to purchaſe thoſe men of war, or not. In caſe they will, it is neceſſary they ſhould order it to be paid to me here as ſoon as poſſible, that I may put thoſe, who are to furniſh me with the ſhips, upon getting them ready. If they will not, this buſineſs ought to be broken off entirely, without thinking any further of it.

To loſe four weeks more would be loſing all, for this year at leaſt; and afterwards the circumſtances of affairs will ſo change, that there can be no thinking of it any longer.

For the reſt, our intention was to tranſport twelve thouſand men; eight thouſand of them infantry, and four thouſand cavalry, of which five hundred mounted. We were to carry with us a ſufficient train of artillery, arms for ten or twelve thouſand men more, with requiſite ſtores of ammunition. We were to land at the places, whither we ſhould be directed; ſo that we ſhould have carried with us all that is neceſſary excepting horſes, which we expected to find in the country; and all might have been executed without the leaſt umbrage being taken; provided, that on the other ſide the ſecret was kept. Mr Sparre tells me, that the reaſon of the coolneſs of theſe gentlemen in this country is the treaty between this court and England, and the enſuing departure of the pretender out of this country. For my part, I take this reaſon to be a very weak one; for as this treaty, and the departure of the pretender out of this country, muſt make the court of England think themſelves in perfect ſafety, and deprive them of the pretext of keeping up their troops, our enterprize is become more eaſy, and more ſure. And to imagine that this court, at the bottom of their heart, would not be better pleaſed to have the pretender on the throne of England than the elector of Hanover, eſpecially if the firſt continued to carry himſelf well towards this court, is to have a wrong notion of its intereſt, and of the private ſentiments of the duke regent.

Mr Sparre tells me further, that our friends here think we ſhould not have occaſion for any more men of war than thoſe eight, which we have at Gottenburg; but they are to know that thoſe ſhips are but of forty guns each; ſo that it would be hazarding too much, and expoſing a body of choſen troops (for ſuch we ſhould take on this expedition) for three or four large ſhips would be ſufficient to give them chace, and to take them all. But, when we ſhall have the eight ſhips, which carry from ſixty to ſeventy guns, nothing leſs than a ſquadron could oppoſe them, and before they could be fitted out, the blow would be ſtruc.

To conclude, ſir, I wait here for a ſpeedy yea or no; and I continue to adviſe you not to ſend any account of this matter to the court; for our miniſters themſelves are ignorant of it, and know not for what intent they have been obliged to give the turn they have to the full power, which they diſpatched. 'Aut nunc aut nunquam; now or never,' as well for our friends as our enemies.

When you have fixed this affair, at leaſt for what relates to the men of war here, I am very deſirous you ſhould come over to meet me in Holland, under pretext of being ordered thither; and that you ſhould put the court in hopes of returning with ſome acceptable offer, to the end we might concert together all that remains for our enterprize; after which I would ſet out myſelf for Sweden, to order every thing for making ſure of the execution. I communicate to you the ſubjoined copy of the full power, which his majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to give me:

We Charles, by the grace of God, king of Sweden, Goths and Vandals, great prince of Finland, duke of Schonen, Eſtonia, Livonia, Carelia, Bremen, Verden, Stetin, Pomerania, Caſſubia, and Vandalia, prince of Rugen, lord of Ingria and Wiſmar, Palatine of the Rhine, duke of Bavaria, Juliers, Cleves, and Bergues, &c. do hereby make known, and atteſt, that whereas we have committed to the fidelity and dexterity of the moſt illuſtrious and noble, our intirely beloved baron Gortz, privy-councellor of the moſt ſerene duke of Holſtein, and chief-marſhal of his court, various affairs for our ſervice, to be tranſacted in thoſe places where he ſhall reſide: and whereas the preſent circumſtances of the times and affairs do not eaſily permit, that we ſhould be able to furniſh him with particular credential letters (commonly called a full power) for every ſeveral tranſaction: to prevent therefore all delay, which might thence ariſe, we have judged it neceſſary to conſtitute by theſe preſents him, the ſaid baron Gortz, our miniſter plenipotentiary, and to grant him full power, as by virtue of theſe preſents we do grant him full power to treat and conclude, in our name, with all and ſingular perſons of what condition ſoever, all matters, which may relate to our ſervice, and be for our intereſt; promiſing on our royal word, that we will approve and ratify, and put entirely in execution, whatever the ſaid baron Gortz ſhall ſo tranſact and conclude. In ſure teſtimony whereof we have cauſed our ſeal to be affixed to theſe preſents, and ſigned the ſame with our own hand.

Given at Lund in Schonen, the 23d day of October, 1716.

CAROLUS.
(L. S.)
H. G. de Mullern.

On the 13th of January, N. S. 1717, baron Gortz wrote from Paris the following letter to count Gyllenburg:

'I am to acquaint you, that our friends here are charmed with my ſcheme. They have cauſed one hundred thouſand livres to be paid me down, and have promiſed to get the reſt paid to me in Holland, to the ſum of one million of guilders. I will go therefore, and give orders for working with all poſſible diſpatch on the men of war, and for providing and bringing together all neceſſaries. I ſhall alſo go bac with all expedition to Holland; whence you will have further advice from me. I ſhall wait there with impatience coming of your expreſs, and of the perſon, who is to ſpeak to the phyſician.'

At the ſame time mr. Guſtavus Gyllenburg wrote to the count his brother, the following note:

'After the baron had ſigned his letter to you, he ordered me to tell you in his name, that it is abſolutely neceſſary our friends ſhould determine ſpeedily, and cauſe the money to be remitted, and paid to us, without any delay; for otherwiſe we cannot have the men of war from this country time enough.'

Upon the receipt of baron Gortz's letter of the 8th of January, with the king of Sweden's full power, count Gyllenburg wrote an anſwer to the baron at Paris, dated at London, January 15, 1717, wherein he begs leave to know, 'whether his excellency would have him, for the future, add the title of plenipotentiary to the direction of his letters. As to our affair, continues he, I went immediately to the houſe of one of the principal of my friends, and, without taking notice of any coldneſs of the gentlemen in France, I told him, in order to engage him to ſpeak, that I had juſt received your excellency's orders to give ſuch an acquittance, as had been demanded of me. He ſeemed very well pleaſed, and told me in anſwer, that he, who had the direction of the whole affair, being gone again into the country, and being not to return before Saturday next, nothing could be done till Monday; but that then he queſtioned not but I ſhould be ſatisfied. We ſhall ſee what that gentleman will ſay at his return; and unleſs the gentlemen in France have made my friends here alter their opinions (which I do not yet find they have) I hope all will go as we would have it; and, in caſe that ſhould happen ſo, I am very much of your excellency's opinion, that we ſhould leave all thoſe gentlemen to their ill deſtiny, and go another way to work.

My whig friend was charmed with your excellency's letter, which he read over and over. Many others of the ſame party begin to change their language in our favour. I ſend my brother a little piece, which is juſt publiſhed at my charge, and writ in a pretty moderate ſtile. There is ſomething in it of my own. What is ſaid in the poſtſcript, in praiſe of the prince, is in order to gain the princes's party, which is already well inclined towards us.

If your excellency thinks it proper to order me to Holland, I ſhould be of opinion, that you ſhould ſend the like orders to monſieur Petkum, on pretence, that you would receive information from us both together, concerning the poſture of affairs here with regard to our common intereſts. That would not give any umbrage, and we might eaſily find out ways of amuſing M. Petkum.'

Before this letter reached baron Gortz, he writ another to count Gyllenburg, dated at Paris, January 16, 1717, N. S. as follows:

I have juſt now received your letters of the 1ſt, 2d, 4th, and 7th. You may depend upon it, ſir, and aſſure your friends, that the expedition to England does at preſent take up all our thoughts and attention. It will depend but upon two things; one is, the procuring four or five ſhips of war; and the other is money. I know where to get the former, but I can do nothing without the other. I cannot ſign the contracts that are offered me. Your friends muſt take care to remove that obſtacle, and to provide for the other ſquadron. There is not a moment to loſe: the time is very ſhort: our friends on this ſide have aſſured me, that the money ſhould be ready forthwith. By your letters, I am to believe, there are 20,000l. ready. I herewith ſend you the acquittance, which I have given here, that you may draw yours conformably to it, which you will exchange hereafter for mine, which I will ſend you, after you have let me know the names of the creditors, and that you have received the money. We are here agreed upon the plan of our enterprize; and I am promiſed a man to be ſent to Holland, who will bring me what farther informations may be wanting. You may likewiſe aſſure your friends, that our prince will certainly be of the party; but I conjure you to give nothing in writing about this negotiation, except what relates to the acquittances upon the foot above-mentioned.

I do not expect to hear from you any more here, but in Holland; and, if your man ſhould have been got thither in my abſence, he would have found Stambke fully inſtructed.

I herewith ſend you bac the contracts ſigned according to your deſire.

lion: 2. The king's ſafe return: 3. The favour ſhewn by the court to the univerſity, in granting their late requeſt, that the officers of Sterne's regiment, quartered at Oxford, ſhould not burn publicly, on the day of his majeſty's arrival, the effigies of the Devil, Pope, Pretender, Ormond, Mar, and others. The biſhop, Smalridge, replied, 'the rebellion had been ſuppreſſed long before; a thankſgiving had already been obſerved for it, and therefore he thought it now too late to addreſs upon that ſubject.' As to the ſecond, 'there would be no end of addreſſes, if they made one upon ſuch an occaſion.' And as for the third, 'the late favour they had received, was overbalanced by having a whole regiment quartered upon them.' Dr Charlett, the maſter of Univerſity College, urged, 'that there was no precedent for addreſſing a king, who returned from his German territories.' Dr Gardiner was againſt addreſſing, to ſave charges, on pretence, that they were out of caſh. Dr Cobb and others made other objections, and ſo the motion for addreſſing dropped. But the univerſity of Cambridge did not follow their example, but preſented a loyal addreſs, wherein they owned the king to be their only rightful and lawful ſovereign. [u]

Three or four days after their addreſs, the commons paſſed a bill for prohibiting all commerce with Sweden, as long as the king ſhould think it neceſſary for the ſafety and peace of the nation. The bill was approved by the lords, and received the royal aſſent. The trade with Sweden was of great moment to the merchants, but the indignation was ſo general in both houſes, that the bill met with little oppoſition. Before the ſupplies were ſettled, the commons voted ten thouſand ſeamen for the year 1717. Then they took into conſideration the eſtimates of the land-forces. In the debate, the tories alledged, that the late rebellion being ſuppreſſed, and the Swediſh conſpiracy ſeaſonably diſcovered, there was reaſon to hope, the counties would be ſoon eaſed of the grievous burden of quartering ſoldiers; but, if it appeared that the king of Sweden perſiſted in his deſign to invade Great Britain, they would all readily give their votes for keeping the preſent forces on foot. The contrary party urged the neceſſity of taking ſpeedy and vigorous reſolutions in relation to the army. At length it was reſolved, without dividing, that the ſum of 959,943l. ſhould be granted, for maintaining the guards, garriſons, and land-forces for the enſuing year. Not long after, they paſſed the mutiny and deſertion bill, by which the ſoldiers were exempted from arreſts for debts. When this bill was before the lords, the licentiouſneſs of the army, and the diſorders committed by the ſoldiery, particularly at Oxford, were complained of, and a motion was made, that, before they paſſed a bill in their favour, they ſhould enquire into the riot, which happened in that city on the prince of Wales's birth-day. The court inſiſted on the neceſſity of paſſing the bill without delay; but readily conſented, that the Oxford riot ſhould be enquired into. Some lords of the other ſide, who were apprehenſive that the univerſity would get no credit by ſuch an examination, endeavoured to wave it, by propoſing a general enquiry into the conduct of the army. This was oppoſed by the court lords, who obſerved, that they ought not to arraign a conſiderable body of men, againſt whom there was no legal complaint; and that ſuch a proceeding could

The poſitive promiſe of letting them have iron puts me under ſome difficulty, becauſe I had no thoughts of preparing for ſo great a quantity. As to your money, you may keep an account of what your ſhall receive, four thouſand crowns. I have not yet propoſed to the king that augmentation; but I am in hopes of obtaining it for you.

In the mean time, employ all your ſkill, in order to give the court all the trouble, that is poſſible, in the next ſeſſion, in relation to their conduct in the affairs of the north; and tell me from whence proceeds the good diſpoſition wherein Walpole ſeems to be.'

The form of the acquittance mentioned and incloſed in this letter of baron Gortz to count Gyllenburg, is as follows: 'I, the underwritten plenipotentiary of his majeſty the king of Sweden, acknowledge to have received of for the ſervice of his Swediſh majeſty, the ſum of which the ſaid has found means of lending to his ſaid majeſty, the ſum of I promiſe, on the part of his majeſty, in virtue of the full power, which I have from his ſaid majeſty and which I have produced in due form, to cauſe to be repaid to the ſaid or his order, in the ſpace of two years, to commence from the date of this acquittance; ſo that every four months there ſhall be paid a ſixth part of the principal, together with intereſt at the rate of one half per cent. by the month, and ſo on, to the full payment of the total ſum. In virtue and token whereof, I have ſigned theſe preſents, the eleventh of January, 1717,

The baron de Gortz.

The next letter is from count Gyllenburg to baron Gortz, dated at London, January 18, 1717, N. S. as follows:

'My friend, that directs the whole affair, came bac from the country laſt Saturday night, as I had the honour to acquaint your excellency, that he would in my laſt. He hath this day let me know, that upon a letter which he received from my lord Mar, to remit forthwith 20,000l. into France, to the queen dowager of England, who was to pay it to us, he had actually remitted that money, which he hoped was already paid to your excellency. He aſked my pardon for not having communicated this to me ſooner, having been obliged to go into the country, the moment the affairs was diſpatched. He added, that he had deſired further orders from my lord Mar, with reſpect to the place, where the reſt of the money ſhould be paid. I doubt not but that baron Sparre has already had advice of all this, and that he has acquainted your excellency with it; which, however, I beg you would forthwith let me know, that I may quiet the minds of my friends here, who imagine, that the ſaid baron doth not act in concert with your excellency in an an affair, wherein the leaſt miſunderſtanding might do a great deal of miſchief. I have told them, that your excellency deſigned that I ſhould come to you in Holland, to concert every thing with you; with which they were very well ſatisfied. But I have told them, that I will not go thither with empty hands, and that they ought at leaſt to get 10,000l. ready for me to carry with me. I have alſo deſired them to get me a letter from the brother of the czar's phyſician, which might ſerve to introduce me to him, if your excellency think fit to employ me to ſpeak to him. I cannot expreſs to your excellency my concern, that the affair above-mentioned ſhould have taken a turn, which I did not expect; and which, for ought I know, may not be pleaſing to your excellency. Even my friends are diſatisfied at it, every thing being done unknown to them. But, as they are obliged to have great regard for the director of the affair, who is a perſon of very great conſequence, they muſt ſeem to be ſatisfied. If your excellency, after this, thinks it neceſſary for me to come to Holland, I beg your orders therein, as ſoon as poſſible, that I may take my meaſures.

After I had written theſe lines, I received the favour of your excellency's of the 13th, from whence I perceive, with a great deal of pleaſure, that our affair is begun. I read it to one of my friends, who told me, that that was the ſum, of which he had ſpoken to me ſome days ago, and which I mentioned in one of my former; that he then believe it to be 8,000l. but that it was but 6,500l. which exactly anſwers that, which has been paid to your excellency, and which makes part of the 20,000l. that has been remitted. He has promiſed me to haſten the reſt, but I ſhould think, that it would be neceſſary that our friends in France, from whom they expect the orders, ſhould pray them to diſpatch it with all haſte. He has given me hopes, that I ſhall have a good ſum with me, when I go to Holland.'

The next letter is of count Gyllenburg to baron Gortz, dated at London, January 23, 1717, in which he writes thus:

The day before yeſterday I received the favour of your excellency's of the 16th. The incloſed triplicate of that which I had the honour to write to your excellency by the laſt poſt, will ſhew you the train that our affairs are in In the mean time, I have told our friends, that your excellency thought my voyage to Holland abſolutely neceſſary, in order to concert with me the neceſſary meaſures for the enterprize; but, that your excellency would by no means have me ſtir from hence, without carrying with me what money ſhould be neceſſary. That it therefore lay upon them now to make the beſt uſe of the time, which was ſo precious to us, and to put me in a condition of going with the firſt opportunity.

They promiſed me to do their beſt, that my voyage might not be deferred longer than the end of the next week. In caſe I can by that means bring them to haſten their diſburſement, it will afterwards depend upon your excellency's pleaſure, whether I ſhall go to pay my reſpects to you or not.

Your excellency may be aſſured, that I do all in my power to traverſe the ill deſigns of our enemies. The printed piece incloſed, wherein I have ſpoken entirely as an Engliſhman, is a ſmall ſpecimen of what is to follow. I do not know whether mr. Walpole's expreſſions were the effect of his firſt rage, on account of his brother-in-law, my lord Townſhend's being removed, or whether they came from his heart. We ſhall be better able to judge of thoſe gentlemen after the king's arrival, when it ſhall appear, if they have reaſon to be ſatisfied; for it is from thence, that they will form their ſcheme of politics.

It is ſtrongly reported here, that your excellency has made a declaration, that the king having waved all preliminary demands, has accepted the emperor's mediation, and agreed to ſend his plenipotentiaries to Brunſwick. I moſt humbly beg your excellency will let me know what truth there is in it.'

The next letter is from baron Gortz to count Gyllenburg, dated at Paris, January 27, 1717, N. S. wherein he ſays: 'Yours of the 18th, with the duplicate, is come ſafe to my hands. Your friends are in the wrong, to imagine that mr. Sparre and I do not act in concert in this affair.

He has communicated every thing to me with the greateſt exactneſs, and not being authorized himſelf to enter upon this affair, nor to receive the money, he left all to my diſpoſal. I have even put into his hands acquittances, where the ſum is left in blanks, that he may make uſe of them in my abſence, as ſoon as the money is come. The friends which are in France ſhall be writ to, to preſs thoſe in England to furniſh as ſoon as poſſible, the million of Dutch guilders, which we have agreed on; and I muſt needs tell you, that I cannot take the leaſt ſtep in relation to the ſhips, which are abſolutely neceſſary to us for carrying on this enterprize, before I am in poſſeſſion of that whole ſum; for, if I ſhould begin, and the money afterwards not come in, the ſum employed upon this occaſion would be loſt; not to ſpeak of the diſgrace it would be for me to have entered upon an affair, without being able to go through with it.

As for your voyage into Holland, that likewiſe depends on the payment of this money. When you have ſecured that point, you will do me a pleaſure in coming over to me, furniſhed with all the informations tending to the execution of our deſign, which may ſtill be wanting. I will write next poſt to Petkum to come along with you.'

[u] Theſe addreſſes were followed by a long one from the diſſenting miniſters, in which they ſaid:

'We think it the particular honour of the proteſtant diſſenters, that their ſtrict adherence to the intereſt of your illuſtrious family, before your majeſty's acceſſion, and their loyalty to it ſince, have drawn upon them ſo much of the fury of their fellow-ſubjects; we are not conſcious what elſe could render us obnoxious to them: our principles being, as we hope, the moſt friendly to mankind, and amounting to no more than thoſe of a general toleration to all peaceable ſubjects, univerſally love and charity for all chriſtians, and to act always in matters of religion, as God ſhall give us light into his will about them.

We do not much expect or deſire any thing that ought to give any one the leaſt diſturbance; we only wiſh that under your majeſty, as the common father of all your loyal people, thoſe of our perſuaſion might not want capacity, as we hope your majeſty will find they never want an inclination to promote the true intereſt of the proteſtant religion, and of their country.'

not but be disagreeable, and even injurious to the king, who, by his prerogative, has the command of the army; and, if any abuses and disorders are committed by the soldiers; the complaints ought first to be laid before him: but, since it had been moved to enquire into the Oxford riots, which had indeed made a great noise, and been examined in council, they ought to address his majesty, that he would be pleased to cause all the papers, relating to that affair, to be laid before the house. The address was resolved and presented, and the papers being laid before the lords, there arose a great debate. The archbishop of York, and the bishops of Rochester and Chester, endeavoured to justify the university, alledging, among other things, 'that for forty years past they had not paid any regard to the birth-day of any prince of Wales, or even of the prince sitting on the throne, by making public rejoicings: that the university had a method of expressing their loyalty more consistent with the dignity of their founders, and the characters of their persons, than illuminations, bonfires, and firing of guns: that, as for the mayor and magistrates of the city of Oxford, they had this to plead for their excuse, that they were ignorant it was the prince's birth-day: that, the several affidavits and informations, upon which the mayor and magistrates grounded their complaints, having been sent up to court, copies of the same were returned to the officers of the regiment quartered at Oxford, in order to give them an opportunity to justify their proceedings; which produced another set of affidavits and depositions in behalf of the officers: that the magistrates had no opportunity to make any replication in their own defence; and therefore it was moved, that the house would come to no resolution, upon the foot of the two sets of affidavits but that they would adjourn the further proceedings, and appoint a day, when they would hear the persons concerned in these informations. They insisted upon this method, because nothing could set this matter in a truer light, than the cross-examining and confronting the evidences on each side; urging, that this method, their lordships very well knew, was the constant practice of the courts below, and even of all the hearings of the bar of their lordships house: and that their lordships had never yet refused to admit of a replication: that as to the disrespect to the prince regent, charged upon the university, for the neglect of ringing the bells on his royal highness's birth-day, of the sixteen colleges in the university, only three had any bells to ring: and that it appeared plainly by the affidavits taken before the mayor and magistrates, that the riotous proceedings were occasioned by the insolence and rude behaviour of the soldiers, encouraged by several members, of the university, calling themselves the constitutional club; and by the neglect of the commanding officers of the regiment, in not issuing proper orders to suppress the disturbance.' The duke of Bucks, the earl of Abingdon, the lords Harcourt, Trevor, North and Grey, and some others, spoke also in favour of the university and magistrates of Oxford.

The lord Coningsby, who spoke first on the other side, said, 'that he knew the usage of the university to have been otherwise than had been represented; and gave a short account of the behaviour in the reigns of king Charles II. and James II; and distinguished between their past and present loyalty.' He owned, 'that, in these two reigns, they had expressed their loyalty in a most extraordinary manner, and had made such great advances to countenance an unlimited power in the prince, that, if Providence had not miraculously interposed, they had, as far as in them lay, destroyed the liberties of their country, which would have involved the university in certain ruin.' The lord-chancellor, the duke of Kingston, the earl of Sunderland, the lord Parker, the lord Townshend, the lord Cadogan, and some other peers who spoke on the same side, observed in general, 'that the disrespect to the prince regent, charged upon the university and city of Oxford, was manifest; because the major of the regiment did, about ten of the clock in the morning go to the mayor, and complained, that he had shewed no regard to the prince's birth-day, by ringing the bells; to which the mayor returned a shuffling answer, pretending he did not know it to be the prince regent's birth-day. That upon this the major told him, he would draw out the regiment to celebrate the day with proper rejoicings, which he did accordingly; but that the mayor, instead of joining in the rejoicings, with a vast mob after him, filled up the public streets; and some of his attendants insulted the soldies on their march, and gave them opprobrious language, crying out, 'Down with the round-heads.' That they proceeded so far in their insults, as to throw dirt and stones at the soldiers, and even attempted to disarm some of them. That the house, wherein the officers of the regiment, and some of the collegians met to celebrate the festival, was in an insolent manner assaulted, and the windows broke by stones thrown from the opposite house of one Hurst, an ironmonger, upon which the soldiers, to revenge the affront, began likewise to break windows, of which the major was no sooner informed, but he immediately went out and bid them desist. That it was indeed affirmed in some of the affidavits produced in behalf of the university and magistrates, that a certain collegian went round the bonfire, and encouraged the soldiers to break the windows of Hurst, and all that were not illuminated; but, that the same was contradicted by no less than five or six persons, who upon oath declared, that the colgian was from seven till ten that evening in their company, and had not stirred from the house all that time. That, upon the mayor's applying to the major of the regiment, the latter gave immediate orders for patrols to go through the city, and send home to their quarters all the soldiers they should find in the streets. And that, the patrols being insulted by some of the mayor's attendants two or three of the soldiers fired, but with powder only, pursuant to the orders given them.' During this debate, the earl of Abingdon offered a petition from the vice-chancellor, and the mayor, and magistrates of Oxford, praying to be heard; and insisted, that it should be received and read: but it was urged on the other side, that the house being in a grand committee, the receiving any petitions was irregular. Then it was moved, that the chairman should leave the chair; which being carried in the negative, the debate was resumed, and about six o'clock in the evening the two following resolutions were agreed to by a majority of sixty-five against thirty-three.

I. Resolved, 'That the heads of the university, and mayor of the city, neglected to make any bublic rejoicings on the prince's birth-day; but some of the collegiates, with the officers, being met to celebrate the day, the house where they were assaulted, and the windows were broken by the rabble: which was the beginning and occasion of the riots that ensued, as well from the soldiers as the scholars and townsmen; and that the conduct of the major seemed well justified by the affidavits produced on his part.

II. Resolved, That the printing and publishing the depositions, upon which the complaints relating to the riots at Oxford were founded, while that matter was under the examination of the lords of the committee of council, and before they had time to come to any resolution touching the same, was irregular, disrespectful to his royal highness, and tending to sedition.'

1717] The commons, proceeding upon the supplies, among other things granted 24,000l. for the payment of four battalions of Munster, and two of Saxe-Gotha, which the king had taken into his service, to supply the place of such as during the rebellion should be drawn from the garrisons of the States-general to the assistance of England. This occasioned a great debate. It was said, as these troops did not serve, they ought not to be paid. It was replied, by the treaties it was agreed that they should be paid whether they served or not, and the circumstances of the times made such an agreement necessary. It was moved, and the question put for an address to the king, that the instructions given to those who transacted the treaties for the six battalions, might be laid before the house, but it passed in the negative by a majority of one hundred and sixty-five against thirty-eight. It was believed these treaties were called for, and the addresses moved by some gentlemen, with a design to bring a censure on the German ministers. About 5,500l. was also granted to make good the damages and losses sustained by the tumultuous and rebellious proceedings in several counties, particularly the demolishing the meeting-houses. The money voted for the army, navy, and other particulars, amounted to above two millions and a half.

To raise these supplies, the commons granted a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, and the malt-tax. While these things were transacting, mr. secretary Stanhope delivered to the house the following message from the king:

'His majesty being desirous, above all things, not only to secure his kingdoms against the present danger with which they are threatened from Sweden, but likewise to prevent, as far as possible, the like apprehensions for the future, thinks it necessary that such measures should be early concerted, as may conduce most effectually to this end.

And, as this may require some expence, his majesty hopes that his commons will, by their assistance at this

iuncture, enable him to make good ſuch engagements, as may eaſe his people of all future charge and apprehenſions upon this account.'

The conſideration of this unexpected meſſage was deferred till the next day, when mr. ſecretary Stanhope made a motion, 'that a ſupply be granted to enable his majeſty to concert ſuch meaſures with foreign princes and ſtates, as may prevent any change or apprehenſions from the deſigns of Sweden for the future.' He urged the advantage and ſecurity that would ariſe to the nation, by enabling his majeſty to reduce the king of Sweden; and what confidence they ought to repoſe in the king's honour, wiſdom and œconomy, in the management of what money ſhould be thought neceſſary for that ſervice. Mr Shippen replied, 'that it was a great misfortune, that ſo wiſe and excellent a prince as his majeſty was as little acquainted with the uſage and the forms of parliamentary proceedings, as with the language of our country. That, if he knew either, he would not have ſent a meſſage, which, he was ſure, was unparliamentary and unprecedented; and therefore it was his opinion, that the ſame was penned by ſome foreign miniſter, and then tranſlated into Engliſh. That, ſince the king's acceſſion to the throne, there had been reflections caſt in that houſe upon the laſt miniſtry, as if they had betrayed the intereſt of their country. That, on the contrary, they had often been told, that his majeſty had retrieved the honour and reputation of the nation, the effects of which had already appeared in the flouriſhing condition of trade. That, after all this, he could not but be very much ſurprized, to find a motion made for a ſupply of money to enable his majeſty to enter into new meaſures, to ſecure his kingdoms againſt any future apprehenſions from the Swedes. That the neceſſity that was urged for this, ſeemed to be inconſiſtent with the account of thoſe glorious advantages, which his majeſty had obtained for us. And he could not help being of the opinion, that if the new alliances and meaſures to be concerted were ſuch, as were to be obtained purely by the force of our money, that ever the happineſs or the ſecurity of the nation could be the conſequence of ſuch counſels: for, whenever foreigners come to taſte the ſweetneſs of Engliſh money, we might depend upon it, that their adherence to our intereſt would laſt no longer than we continued to ſupply their neceſſities.' Mr Hungerford, who ſeconded mr. Shippen, ſaid, among other particulars, 'that, for his part, he could not underſtand what occaſion there was for new alliances; much leſs, that they ſhould be purchaſed with money. That it muſt needs be very ſurpriſing to the whole world, that a nation, not long ago the terror of France and Spain, ſhould now ſeem to fear ſo inconſiderable an enemy as the king of Sweden; eſpecially when we had ſo good a fleet at ſea, and ſo great an army at land.' Some other ſpeeches were made on the ſame ſide, which gave mr. Stanhope occaſion to ſay, 'that he was ſorry to find gentlemen grow ſo warm upon a ſubject of this nature: that the king was a prince of that integrity and honour, and had already given ſuch convincing proofs of his tender care for the true intereſt of the nation, that they might entirely depend upon his wiſdom in this matter: and therefore he was of opinion, that none would refuſe compliance with this meſſage, but ſuch as either were not the king's friends, or who diſtruſted the honeſty of his miniſters.' This gave offence to ſeveral members; and mr. Lawſon, one of the knights of the ſhire for Cumberland replied, 'That he was very much ſurprized to find ſuch unguarded expreſſions fall from that worthy and honourable gentleman, for whom, he was ſure, the whole houſe had a very great regard. But, ſince he had thought fit to ſpeak ſo openly, he hoped he might well be juſtified in ſaying, that if every member of this houſe, that uſed freedom of ſpeech on any ſubject of debate, muſt be accounted an enemy to the king, when he happens not to fall in with his miniſters; he knew no ſervice they were capable of doing for their country in that houſe; and therefore it was his opinion, that they had nothing elſe to do but to retire to their country ſeats, and leave the king and his miniſters to take what they pleaſed.' Mr Boſcawen, comptroller of the houſhold, ſir Gilbert Heathcote, mr. Horace Walpole, and ſome other gentlemen baced mr. Stanhope's motion; but mr. Grimſtone, member for St. Alban's, and ſome other wig members, ſpoke againſt it, on the other ſide; and what is ſtill more obſervable, was the ſilence of mr. Walpole, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury. However, it was moved and reſolved, that the houſe would in a committee conſider on the 8th of April of mr. Stanhope's motion for a ſupply. Mean time the king was addreſſed for a copy of the treaty made by king William, with the king of Sweden, in 1700, which was read and examined. With the treaty there was printed, and delivered to the members, an account of the damages ſuſtained by the Britiſh ſubjects in ſhips and lading confiſcated in Sweden, amounting to above 69,000l. and of the loſſes ſuſtained by the Muſcovite company, amounting to above 45,000l.

It was now obvious, that there was a miſunderſtanding among the king's miniſters, and that the wigs were divided. This more plainly appeared, in the courſe of the debate about mr. Stanhope's motion for a ſupply againſt Sweden. For, when it came to be reſumed on the day appointed, it was urged by thoſe who oppoſed it, 'that it was unparliamentary to grant a ſupply, before the occaſion was known, and an eſtimate of the expence was laid before the houſe. That the king's meſſage about this matter was ſo unprecedented, that his miniſters ſeemed to be divided about it; and that it was a great misfortune ſuch diviſions ſhould happen among the miniſtry; for then a parliament cannot have a true information of things. That they could not eaſily apprehend, what occaſion there was to make new alliances, ſince we had a ſtanding army in Great-Britain, and a conſiderable fleet at ſea, which ſufficiently ſecured his majeſty's kingdoms againſt any dangers from Sweden. That if we deſigned to make an offenſive war againſt the crown, why did we not ſend part of our forces on board our fleet; eſpecially, ſince we were now ſecure at home, both by the ſuppreſſion of the late rebellion, and by the concluſion of the triple alliance, which the regent of France had begun faithfully to perform, by cauſing the pretender to paſs the Alps? however, if the court inſiſted on the neceſſity of entering into new engagements againſt Sweden, they thought it proper to addreſs his majeſty, to acquaint the houſe with the nature of thoſe engagements, and the ſum that was requiſite to make them good.' To this it was anſwered by mr. Stanhope, and ſome others, 'that the diſcovery of the late conſpiracy, carried on by the Swediſh miniſters, in conjunction with the diſcontented party at home, ſufficiently evinced the neceſſity of a ſtanding army in Great-Britain. That the treaty of triple alliance ſeemed indeed to ſecure us againſt any danger on the part of France; but it was to be obſerved; that treaty had met with ſo great oppoſition at the French court, that, had not the regent ſticled ſtrenuouſly for it, the ſame would have infallibly miſcarried: and, though hitherto we had all the reaſon imaginable to command the honeſty and candour of that prince, yet in good policy we ought not to depend on that treaty any longer, than it ſhall be the intereſt of France to obſerve it.' And, as for the addreſs, 'the ſame would be injurious to the king's prerogative of entering into ſuch alliances, as his majeſty thinks neceſſary for the ſecurity of his dominions, without communicating the ſame to his parliament: which prerogative was grounded on very good reaſons; for, if the crown was obliged to impart the ſecret of affairs to ſo great a number of perſons, the moſt important negotiations might thereby miſcarry.' Sir Gilbert Heathcote, who ſpoke on the ſame ſide, mentioned the great loſſes and damages, which the Britiſh ſubjects had ſuſtained by their ſhips being made prize, and confiſcated in Sweden; and, beſides thoſe contained in the printed account, which was that day delivered to the members, produced a liſt of other loſſes; concluding, 'that, the king of Sweden having ſeveral times refuſed to make ſatisfaction for the ſame, and, on the contrary, his miniſters having endeavoured to raiſe a new rebellion in his majeſty's dominions, there was a ground to declare war againſt him.' To this mr. Gould replied, 'that, the Dutch having ſuſtained as great loſſes by the Swedes, they had an equal concern with Great-Britain to declare war againſt them; and therefore it would be proper, before we proceeded further, to engage Holland, in the firſt place, to prohibit all commerce with Sweden, as we had done.' Mr Stanhope ſaid, 'he made no doubt, but the States would readily come into any meaſures, that ſhould appear neceſſary for the good of both nations in general, and to obtain ſatisfaction for the late depredations of the Swedes in particular: that they had lately given ſignal inſtances of their firm adherence to the crown of Great-Britain, in cauſing the Swediſh miniſters to be ſeized in their dominions upon his majeſty's deſire: but that the form and conſtitution of their government, and the good of their ſubjects, who muſt ſubſiſt by trade, did not permit them to take ſuch vigorous and ſpeedy reſolutions, as could be wiſhed; and therefore it would not be fair to exact the ſame from them.' Mr Craggs preſſed the neceſſity of making

new alliances againſt Sweden, from the late doubtful conduct of a northern potentate (meaning the czar of Muſcovy) who, by his inactivity againſt Sweden, and the poſts ſome of his troops had taken, gave great umbrage to the empire.' On the other hand, to the great ſurprize of the generality of the aſſembly, the ſpeaker and mr. Smith, one of the tellers of the exchequer, declared, that, though they were not againſt the ſupply, they were againſt demanding and granting it in ſuch an unparliamentary manner: and the ſpeaker propoſed, that part of the army ſhould be diſbanded, and the money thereby ſaved applied towards the making good ſuch new engagements, as were thought neceſſary to be entered into. But general Mordaunt, and ſome others, ſhewed how unſafe and impolitic it would be, at this juncture, to diſband any of thoſe troops. Mr Caſwell cloſed the debate with obſerving, 'that he had rather pay others for fighting than fight himſelf: that he thought it more advantageous for Great-Britain to carry the war abroad, and enjoy peace at home, in order to improve our trade, and reduce our public debts: and, as the employing foreigners againſt Sweden would be a far leſs expence than national troops, he therefore was for complying with his majeſty's meſſage.' At laſt the queſtion was put, and it was carried for a ſupply, by a majority of fifteen voices only; one hundred and ſixty-four againſt one hundred and forty-nine.

The next day, this reſolution being reported to the houſe, a ſhort debate aroſe. The aſking and granting ſupplies without an eſtimate of the expence was inſiſted on again as unparliamentary, and it was propoſed, either to preſent an addreſs to the king to aſſure him, that the houſe would effectually make good all the engagements he ſhould think proper to enter into; or that the king be deſired to diſband part of the army, and apply the ſavings towards the new alliance. Both theſe expedients were rejected by the ſpeakers on the other ſide, and mr. Hampden in particular, ſaid, 'he remembered, that, about ten or eleven years before, a great man in that houſe made a motion for allowing and providing for about nine hundred thouſand pounds, which the government had expended, without laying any eſtimate before the commons.' To this the ſpeaker, who was the perſon meant, ſaid, he wondered that gentlemen would bring in as a precedent a buſineſs, which was tranſacted ſo many years ago, and which was not parallel to the preſent caſe. Mr Hampden replied, 'he did not mean to reflect upon mr. ſpeaker, ſince he had the honour to vote with him upon that occaſion.' After ſome other ſpeeches, the reſolution for granting a ſupply was agreed to, though by a majority only of four votes, one hundred and fifty-three againſt one hundred and forty-nine.

The carrying of this vote, by ſo ſmall a majority, could not but give the king ſome uneaſineſs; and it being evident, that the great oppoſition which the court found on this occaſion in the houſe of commons, chiefly proceeded from a party of which the lord Townſhend was ſaid to be the head; mr. Stanhope wrote that very evening, by the king's command, a letter to acquaint him, that his majeſty returned him thanks for his paſt ſervices, but had no farther occaſion for him as lord lieutenant of Ireland.

The next morning mr. Walpole waited upon the king to reſign his places of firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, and chancellor of the exchequer. The king ſhewed great regret to part with him, and with many kind expreſſions endeavoured to perſuade him to keep his poſt; but though mr. Walpole aſſured him, that he would never ſwerve from his duty to ſo good and gracious a maſter: Yet at the ſame time he repreſented, how impoſſible it was for him to ſerve him in the preſent circumſtances of affairs. Mr Methuen and mr. Pultney, ſecretary at war, followed mr. Walpole's example, and the ſame morning reſigned their reſpective places.

On the 12th of April, the commons, in a committee of the whole houſe, conſidered of the ſupply againſt Sweden; and, mr. Stanhope having made a motion for granting to the king 250,000l. to enable him to concert meaſures againſt Sweden, there was for a minute or two a great ſilence in the houſe. Mr Pulteney, who broke it firſt, expreſſed his ſurprize at it; and added, 'he had not yet ſaid any thing to this matter, becauſe he thought it inconſiſtent with decency to oppoſe a motion that came from the court, while he had the honour to be his majeſty's immediate ſervant; but that, having reſigned his place, that he might act with the freedom becoming an Engliſhman, he could not forbear declaring againſt the granting a ſupply, in a manner altogether unparliamentary and unprecedented. That he could not perſuade himſelf, that any Engliſhman adviſed his majeſty to ſend ſuch a meſſage; but he doubted not, the reſolution of a Britiſh parliament would make a German miniſtry tremble.' The lord Finch ſeconded mr. Pulteney, and objected to ſome ſteps which had been taken in relation to the affairs of the north, alledging, 'that it appeared by the memorial preſented by the Ruſſian miniſter, and by the anſwer which had been returned to the ſame, that ſuch meaſures were purſued, as were likely to engage us in a quarrel with the czar.' Mr Stanhope, in a long ſpeech, vindicated the king and his miniſters, in relation both to the czar and the king of Sweden. With reſpect to the czar he obſerved, 'that hitherto he had been obliged to be ſilent; but he was now at liberty to ſet this matter in a clear light, and to acquaint the houſe, that the coldneſs which appeared of late between the king and the czar, proceeded from his majeſty's refuſing to become guarantee of his czariſh majeſty's conqueſts; and from his ſolliciting the czar to withdraw his troops from the duchy of Mecklenburgh. That, as to the firſt, his majeſty's conduct deſerved the applauſe and thanks of a Britiſh parliament, ſince it appeared, that his majeſty was tender not to engage the nation in foreign quarrels. That this indeed had been his principal care ſince his happy acceſſion to the throne; and he might aſſure them, that Great-Britain was entirely free from any engagements, and at liberty to follow ſuch meaſures, as beſt ſuit with her intereſt. That as for the inſtances which his majeſty has cauſed to be made with the czar, and the meaſures he may have concerted to get the Ruſſian troops out of the duchy of Mecklenburgh, his majeſty has acted in all this as elector and prince of the empire. That he was perſuaded, all the gentlemen there would agree with him, that the king's dignity, as king of Great-Britain, was never underſtood to tie up his hands with reſpect to his intereſts in Germany, and as prince of the empire: But, beſides, he muſt deſire gentlemen to conſider, that, long before his majeſty's acceſſion to the crown, Great-Britain was in ſtrict union with the emperor and empire; ſo that if, by virtue of antient alliances, the emperor ſhould require Great-Britain to uſe theſe inſtances with the czar, which the king has made only as elector, of Hanover, Great-Britain could not avoid complying with his requeſt. That, in relation to Sweden, the king's conduct was not only blameleſs snd unſpotted, but worthy of the higheſt commendations. That in the late queen's time, Great-Britain interpoſed to procure a neutrality in the north, whereby the king of Sweden might have preſerved his poſſeſſions in the empire. That the regency at Scockholm agreed to this overture; but that the king of Sweden rejected it with hautineſs, and the utmoſt ſcorn, declaring, he would uſe thoſe as his enemies, who ſhould pretend to impoſe ſuch a neutrality upon him.

That, during the whole courſe of that negotiation, the king, then elector of Hanover, uſed all friendly offices in favour of Sweden. That the ſame having proved ineffectual, through the king of Sweden's obſtinacy; and the king of Denmark having, by the fortune of war, reconquered the duchies of Bremen and Verden, his majeſty, as elector of Hanover, had purchaſed the ſame with his own money for a valuable conſideration. That although it was never in his majeſty's thoughts to engage Great-Britain in a war to ſupport that acquiſition; yet, if gentlemen would give themſelves the trouble to caſt their eyes upon the map, and ſee were Bremen and Verden lie, he hoped they would not be indifferent as to the poſſeſſor of thoſe two duchies, but would agree with him, that their being in the king's hands ſuits far better with the intereſt of Great-Britain, than if they were in the hands either of the czar, who gives already but too much jealouſy in the empire, or of the king of Sweden, who endeavoured to raiſe a new rebellion in Great-Britain, and harbours our fugitive rebels.'

This ſpeech made a great impreſſion upon the majority. However, mr. Smith thought fit to anſwer mr. Stanhope, and ſaid, 'he had already declared his reaſons for oppoſing the granting this ſupply in ſuch an extraordinary manner; and ſome expreſſions that had eſcaped a gentleman in the miniſtry, inſtead of making him alter his opinion, rather confirmed him in it. That he did not pretend to be thoroughly acquainted with affairs abroad; but, having had the honour to ſit ſo long in that houſe, where ſo great a variety of buſineſs, both foreign and domeſtic, had often been debated, he might preſume to have ſome knowledge of them. That however he would not ſay any thing to what had been advanced by the honourable member who ſpoke laſt; but if an eſtimate of the conduct of the miniſtry in relation to affairs abroad was to be made by a compariſon of their conduct at home, he was ſure they would not

appear altogether ſo faultleſs as they were repreſented. Was it not a miſtake, (added he) not to preſerve the peace at home, after the king was come to the throne with the univerſal applauſe and joyful acclamations of all his ſubjects? was it not a miſtake, upon the breaking out of the rebellion, not to iſſue a proclamation, to offer pardon to ſuch as ſhould return home peaceably, as had ever been practiſed before upon ſuch occaſions? was it not a miſtake, after the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion, and the trial and execution of the principal authors of it, to keep up animoſities, and drive people to deſpair, by not paſſing an act of indemnity and grace, by keeping ſo many perſons under hard and tedious confinement, and by granting pardons to ſome, without leaving them any means to ſubſiſt? is it not a miſtake not to truſt to a vote of parliament for making good ſuch engagements as his majeſty ſhall think proper to enter into; and, inſtead of that, to inſiſt on the granting of this ſupply in ſuch an extraordinary manner? is it not a miſtake to take this opportunity to create diviſions, and render ſome of the king's beſt friends ſuſpected and obnoxious? is it not a miſtake, in ſhort, to form parties and cabals, in order to bring in a bill to repeal the act againſt occaſional conformity?' To this ſpeech mr. Stanhope replied, 'that he had the honour to ſerve his majeſty ſince his happy acceſſion to the throne, but, as there were other perſons (ſome of them in, and others out of place) who had a greater ſhare than himſelf in the adminiſtration of affairs, he left it to them to juſtify themſelves. That, however, he would clear a principal point, by aſſuring the aſſembly, that he had ſome time ago the king's orders to draw up an act of indemnity [v].

Mr William Young, ſon of ſir Walter Young, ſaid, 'that ſome days before he had been againſt the motion for granting a ſupply upon the king's meſſage, becauſe he thought it unparliamentary; and it was then his opinion to addreſs the king to enter into ſuch engagements, as his majeſty ſhould think proper; and that the commons would make good the ſame. But that, ſince the majority of the houſe had determined to grant a ſupply, they had brought themſelves into this dilemma, either to grant what was aſked as neceſſary for the ſervice, or to tell the king, that ſervice muſt remain unperformed, which they, in a manner, determined to be neceſſary, by granting a ſupply. This ſpeech was ſupported by ſir John Brownlow, and mr. Gould, who owned, 'that we could not carry on our trade to the Baltick, without bringing the king of Sweden to reaſon: and therefore he was for granting this ſupply.'

Mr Walpole, who cloſed the debate, ſaid, 'that, having already ſpoken for the ſupply, he would not refuſe the court his vote; and, the ſum being named, he was for granting it. [w] Upon this, moſt of the tory members, who were divided among themſelves as to the ſum, going out of the houſe, it was carried, 'that a ſum not exceeding 250,000l. be granted, to enable his majeſty to concert ſuch meaſures with foreign princes and ſtates, as may prevent any charge or apprehenſions from the deſigns of Sweden for the future.' Which reſolution was afterwards paſſed in form.

By this time there was almoſt a total change in the miniſtry. The earl of Sunderland was appointed ſecretary of ſtate, as was alſo mr. Joſeph Addiſon: mr. Stanhope was made firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, and chancellor of the exchequer; lord Torrington, mr. Wallop, mr. Baillie of Jerviſwood, and mr. Micklethwaite were the other commiſſioners of the treaſury; ſir William St. Quintin, mr. Methuen, and mr. Edgecombe, being removed, mr. Craggs was declared ſecretary at war; mr. Charles Stanhope, coadjutor to mr. Lowndes, ſecretary to the treaſury; and mr. Joſeph Micklethwaite, ſecretary to mr. Stanhope, as chancellor and under treaſurer of the exchequer. The earl of Orford reſigned his place of firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty, which was given to the earl of Berkley. The reſt of the commiſſioners of the admiralty were mr. Aylmer, ſir George Byng, mr. Cockburne, and mr. Chetwynd. The duke of Bolton was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland; and his place of lord chamberlain of the houſhould was beſtowed on the duke of Newcaſtle. The duke of Devonſhire reſigned his place of preſident of the council.

The commons, having been adjourned during theſe changes, met again the 6th of May. All the expedition poſſible had been uſed to fit out a fleet for the Baltick, conſiſting of twenty-one ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and fire-ſhips. This fleet, under the command of ſir George Byng, arrived at Copenhagen the 11th of April, in order to ſail into the Baltick, to obſerve the motions of the Swedes. An expreſs of his arrival in the Sound came juſt before the meeting of the parliament. The king thought proper to acquaint the parliament with the news, which, as it was unexpected, could not but agreeably ſurprize both houſes. To this end he came to the houſe of lords, and delivered to the chancellor the following ſpeech:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'It is with great ſatisfaction, that, after this ſhort receſs, I can acquaint you with the certain advice I have received, that my fleet is ſafely arrived in the Sound, which, by the bleſſing of Almighty God, will ſecure theſe kingdoms againſt any immediate danger of an invaſion.

I have, by this means, an opportunity, which is very acceptable to me, of making a conſiderable reduction in our land-forces, having eſtabliſhed it as a rule with myſelf, to conſult the eaſe of my people in every thing, ſo far as is conſiſtent with their ſafety. And, for my own part, as I ſhall always place my greatneſs in the proſperity of my ſubjects, ſo I ſhall always deſire, that my power may be founded in their affections.

It is upon theſe conſiderations, that I have given orders for the immediate reduction of ten thouſand men.

That nothing may be wanting in me to quiet the minds of all my ſubjects, I have likewiſe given directions to prepare an act of grace; and, however it may be received by thoſe,

[v] Mr Barrington Shute anſwered mr. Smith more at large, and ſaid, 'that the king was indeed come to the throne with the joyful acclamations of moſt of his ſubjects; but that the diſaffection that appeared ſoon after, did not proceed from the ill conduct of his miniſters, but ſolely from the removal of ſome perſons in great employments. That, nevertheleſs, in the changes that were then to be made, his majeſty had followed the rules of prudence, juſtice, and gratitude, ſince he advanced thoſe, who in the worſt of times had given undoubted proofs of their affection and attachment to his intereſt, in the room of thoſe who had been preferred in the laſt reign, as the fitteſt inſtruments to deſtroy the proteſtant ſucceſſion, even before it took place, and who had ſince been in open rebellion againſt his majeſty. That, as for the other miſtakes charged upon the adminiſtration, they might be reduced to theſe two, the not paſſing the act of Indemnity, and the deſign to repeal the Occaſional bill. That, as to the firſt, there were various opinions about it; and, conſidering the reſtleſs ſpirit of the diſcontented party, it was hard to determine, whether an Indemnity was a proper way to reduce them, ſince it was notorious, that the repeated inſtances of clemency, which his majeſty had given ſince his acceſſion, have been abuſed and deſpiſed. That, as to the repeal of the act againſt the Diſſenters, nothing, in his opinion, was either more juſt or reaſonable; and he could not but wonder, that a gentleman, who had been turned out of his employment in the laſt reign, and reſtored ſince the king's coming to the crown, ſhould account it a miſtake, on the other hand, to make his majeſty's undoubted friends eaſy.' Mr Smith, after an explanation demanded and given, about his being turned out of place and reſtored, replied to the laſt part of mr. Shute's ſpeech, 'that he ever was for allowing liberty of conſcience to the diſſenters, and had even voted againſt the Occaſional bill; but that, the ſame being paſſed into a law, it was his opinion, that it could not be repealed without diſquieting the whole nation.' The deſign mentioned in theſe ſpeeches, of repealing the Schiſm and Occaſional conformity acts, took its riſe from hence: mr. Hillerſden, member for Bedfordſhire, and mr. Tuckfield, member for Aſhburton, happening to meet at a tavern, and complaining to each other of the breach of court promiſes, with regard to the diſſenters, came to a reſolution each of them to invite three members to meet the next night at the ſame place. When theſe met, they all entered into the ſame way of thinking; and, when they parted, every one agreed to invite their friends. In a little time, the number increaſed to above two hundred members of the houſe of commons, who, on the 26th of March, had a meeting at the roſe-tavern, near Temple-bar, in order to conſult together, 'whether the bill for repealing the act againſt Occaſional Conformity ſhould be brought in?' The lord Moleſworth, mr. Jeſſop, ſir Richard Steele, and ſome others, made ſpeeches, to ſhew the reaſonableneſs and juſtice of eaſing the diſſenters of thoſe hardſhips, which had been put upon them in the laſt reign, chiefly upon account of their zeal and affection for the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and of putting them in a capacity to ſerve their king and country; urging, that they had reaſon to believe, that ſuch a bill would be very acceptable to the king. The majority of the aſſembly inclined to this opinion: but mr. Tufnel, who had conſulted a perſon in a high poſt, and found, that the court were apprehenſive, ſuch a bill would meet with ſtrong oppoſition in the houſe of peers, made a ſpeech, wherein he ſaid, that, as for his own part, he had already ſo often declared againſt the Occaſional act, that he hoped nobody would ſuſpect him of entertaining any doubt concerning its repeal. For, beſides the reaſonableneſs and juſtice of it, they ought, out of gratitude, to take off a mark of infamy, which the enemies of the proteſtant ſucceſſion had put on them, who appeared moſt zealous for it. But that, in his opinion, the queſtion now before them was not, whether the repeal of the act was reaſonable and juſt, for he hoped, the whole aſſembly were ſatisfied as to that; but whether the bringing of it in ought not to be put off till a more favourable opportunity?' Several members were of a contrary opinion; but, mr. Stanhope having declared for it, the aſſembly agreed to meet again about a week after, and debate on the affair. At the meeting, the lord Moleſworth was choſen chairman. Several ſpeeches were made to ſhew the neceſſity as well as reaſonableneſs and juſtice of bringing in the bill for a repeal at this juncture; and a miniſter of ſtate having ſent an intimation, that moſt of the obſtacles, that might have obſtructed its paſſage, were removed, it was reſolved to conſider further of the affair. But though the debate was again reſumed; and though it was reported, that ſix or ſeven biſhops, being made ſenſible of the hardſhips put on the diſſenters by theſe acts, had promiſed not to oppoſe the repeal, yet the matter took not effect at this time.

[w] Mr Walpole, upon bringing in a bill concerning the window-tax, juſt after the reſigning his places, told the houſe, 'he now preſented the bill as a country gentleman, but hoped it would not fare the worſe for having two fathers, and that his ſucceſſor would take care to bring it to perfection. Pr. H. C.

who are obſtinately bent on the ruin of their country, I promiſe myſelf, that it will raiſe a due ſenſe of gratitude in all ſuch, as have been artfully miſled into treaſonable practices againſt my perſon and government, and preſerve them from ſtanding in need of the like mercy for the future, when ſuch an inſtance of clemency may not be expedient for the public welfare, as it would be agreeable to my own inclinations.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

'I thank you for your readineſs to ſupport me in the preſent juncture of affairs, and for the ſupplies, which you have given me; and do promiſe you, that they ſhall be employed for the uſes, to which you deſigned them.

I ſhall order ſuch faithful accounts to be laid before you the next ſeſſion, as will make it appear, there was no other view in aſking any particular ſupply, than to prevent a much greater expence, which the nation muſt have unavoidably incurred without it.

I muſt recommend to you, as I did at the beginning of the ſeſſion, to take all proper methods for reducing the public debts, with a juſt regard to parliamentary credit.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'The year being ſo far advanced, I hope you will go through the public buſineſs with all poſſible diſpatch and unanimity; it being my intention to meet you early next winter, that the ſitting of parliament may be brought into the more uſual and convenient ſeaſon.'

The lords immediately voted an addreſs of thanks, which they preſented the next day. The like addreſs being moved for in the houſe of commons, and reported, mr. Shippen propoſed an amendment. Inſtead of, 'the reducing ſuch a body of land-forces is the moſt acceptable pledge you could give your people of your tenderneſs for them,' he propoſed to ſay, 'that nothing could more endear his majeſty to all his ſubjects than the reducing the land-forces to the old eſtabliſhment of guards and garriſons, ſuch as his majeſty found it at his acceſſion to the crown.' To ſupport this motion, he repreſented the danger of a ſtanding army, urging, that in Cromwell's time a force, much leſs than what will remain in Great-Britain, had, after the intended reduction, overturned the monarchy, aboliſhed epiſcopacy, put down the houſe of peers, and drove the commons from their ſeats. He was ſeconded by mr. Bromley, and ſupported by mr. Herne and general Roſs; but they were anſwered by mr. Stanhope, who ſaid, 'that the member, who ſpoke firſt, could not pitch upon a properer juncture to move for the diſbanding of the army, eſpecially, if the news was true, that the pretender deſigned to come incognito to Paris, to confer with a certain prince;' (meaning the czar of Muſcovy, who was now arrived at Paris.) To this purpoſe it may be obſerved, that the very day before Ibberville received advice from France, that the pretender was arrived at Baſil, in Swiſſerland, and had a few days after been ſeen at Old Briſack; upon notice whereof, the regent of France had ſent orders to all the governors of the frontier towns, not to ſuffer him to enter the kingdom of France: but it was ſoon after known, that the pretender had not ſtirred from Italy. However, mr. Stanhope, to the great ſurprize of the oppoſite ſide, was ſupported by mr. Walpole, and alſo by mr. Pulteney, who declared, 'that, before the diſcovery of the late Swediſh conſpiracy, while he had the honour to ſerve as ſecretary at war, he had received ſuch directions, as ſhewed his majeſty's intentions, at that time, to reduce ſtill a greater number of forces than at preſent: and therefore he did not doubt but his majeſty would do it, as ſoon as the ſafety of his kingdoms would admit of it.' Adding, 'that, in his opinion, the nation had no reaſon to fear any thing from an army, who, for near thirty years paſt, had given ſignal proofs of their firm adherence to the proteſtant intereſt, and of their zeal to maintain the liberties of their country; and, if there was any danger at preſent, it was only from foreign counſels.' The queſtion being put upon mr. Shippen's amendment, it was rejected by a majority of one hundred and eighty-eight againſt eighty-three; and the commons, with their ſpeaker, preſented their addreſs to the king.

In order to paſs a cenſure on lord Cadogan, mr. Pulteney acquainted the commons, that he was apprehenſive of ſome miſmanagements and imbezzlement of public monies in relation to the ſix thouſand Dutch troops, and the ſervice in North-Britain. Upon this it was reſolved to addreſs for an account of the money given for the pay and tranſportation of theſe forces, and of the diſtribution of the extraordinaries and contingencies for ſervice performed in Scotland during the rebellion. But, after all the enquiry into the affair by mr. Pulteney, mr. Walpole, and others, nothing material was found againſt the lord Cadogan. In the laſt day's debate. mr. Lechmere urged, 'that the enquiry was altogether frivolous and groundleſs: that, as it was the reſult of party pique and malice, ſo it had no other view, than to blacken and aſperſe a perſon, whoſe greateſt crime was, that he had real bright qualities, that eclipſed the tinſel merit of others: that this enquiry was of the ſame nature with thoſe, that had formerly been ſet on foot againſt the duke of Marlborough, the lord Townſhend, and an honourable member of that houſe; and he hoped would have the ſame end: that it looked very ſtrange, that the perſons, who now appeared the hotteſt in this enquiry, ſhould have been ſilent about theſe pretended frauds, while they were in place. But that it was ſtill more ſurprizing to hear them exclaim, with ſo much rancour and bitterneſs, againſt a noble lord, of whom they had been heard to ſay, that the ſpeedy ſuppreſſing of the rebellion in Scotland was, under God, owing to his activity and indefatigableneſs; and that, if another general had the management of that affair, he would have made it a ten years war.' After both parties had maintained the debate ſeveral hours, mr. Stanhope moved, 'that the chairman leave the chair.' Which was carried in the affirmative by two hundred and four voices againſt one hundred and ninety-four. This was looked upon as a great victory on the court ſide; for, had the tories and their new allies, as mr. Shippen called them, gained their point, it was apprehended, that they deſigned, not only to have paſſed a cenſure on lord Cadogan, but alſo to have carried the enquiry further, that they might have an opportunity of returning thanks to the duke of Argyle, his rival in the buſineſs of Scotland. Moſt of the Scots members voted for lord Cadogan; but, though mr. Hungerford ſpoke in his favour, yet he voted with his enemies; and the lord Finch and ſir Thomas Hanmer were abſent from the houſe that day.

The principal buſineſs of this ſeſſion was, the reduction of the national debts, which the king had earneſtly recommended to the commons in his ſpeeches from the throne. The national debt, by means of long and expenſive wars, carried on in ſupport of the revolution, and conſequently in defence of the religion, laws, and liberties of Great-Britain, was become very large and heavy. And therefore the circumſtances of time, high credit, and low price of money, prompted thoſe, whoſe province it was, to conſider of proper means to make uſe of that favourable opportunity, that the public might ſhare in the common advantage of the flouriſhing ſtate of public credit. For it was thought juſt and reaſonable, that the public ſhould have the ſame liberty, every private man has, to pay off his debts when he is able; or to reduce the high intereſt, which neceſſity had ſubjected him to, as ſoon as he could borrow the money elſewhere at more eaſy rates; unleſs his creditors would conſent to accept of the common rate of intereſt upon good ſecurity. This method of redemption, among the many ſchemes that were propoſed for reduction of the public debts, was choſen by thoſe who had the management of the affair.

The national debt was conſidered under two heads, redeemable and irredeemable debts. The redeemable, or ſuch debts as had been provided for by parliament with a redeemable intereſt of ſo much per cent. the public had a right and power to pay off whenever they were able, either by providing money for ſuch proprietors as inſiſted upon money, or by offering new terms, in diſcharge of all former conditions, which offer, if accepted by the proprietors, was to be deemed an actual redemption of the firſt debt, as if it had been paid off in ready money.

As for the irredeemable debts, or the long and ſhort annuities (ſo called from the greater or leſſer number of years they were granted for) nothing could be done without the abſolute conſent of the proprietors. The only method therefore to treat with them was to offer them ſuch conditions as they ſhould think it their intereſt to accept.

Upon theſe principles (as will preſently be ſeen) were founded the reſolutions taken by the commons with relation to the public debts.

Mr Walpole who was then at the head of the treaſury, and chief projector of the ſcheme, gave the firſt hint of it by a motion in the houſe of commons, which was agreed to, 'that whoever ſhall advance or lend any ſum, not exceeding 600,000l. for the ſervice of the public by ſea or land, ſhall be repaid the ſame with intereſt at 4l. per cent. out of the firſt aid to be granted this ſeſſion of parliament.' The putting the intereſt of this intended loan ſo low as four per cent. gave reaſon to ſurmiſe, that thoſe, who had the management of the treaſury, deſigned to put on the ſame foot the

intereſts of all public funds: whereupon mr. Lechmere made a long ſpeech, obſerving, 'that ſeveral ſchemes and propoſals for reducing the national debts had been printed and diſperſed; which gave the perſons concerned in the public ſecurities the greater uneaſineſs, becauſe there was reaſon to apprehend, thoſe ſchemes came abroad with the privity and countenance of men in great places: that the general alarm, which this had occaſioned among monied men, might very ſenſibly affect public credit, and be, at this juncture, of very dangerous conſequence. To prevent which he thought it neceſſary, and therefore moved, that the houſe ſhould come to a reſolution, effectually to make good all parliamentary engagements.' To this unexpected motion mr. Walpole replied, 'that his majeſty having, with great tenderneſs, recommended to them, from the throne, the reducing, by degrees, the debts of the nation; and the commons having in their addreſs promiſed to apply themſelves, with all poſſible diligence and attention to that great and neceſſary work, they ought to exert themſelves to make good that promiſe, and appoint a day to take that important matter into conſideration. And he did not doubt but the commons would then ſhew all poſſible regard to juſtice and public faith. He owned, there had been indeed ſeveral ſchemes publiſhed relating to the reduction of the national debts; but that the ſame were made by private perſons; and he durſt aſſure the houſe, without the participation of any of his majeſty's miniſters; and therefore not to be regarded; but that, in a ſhort time, ſuch propoſals would be laid before the houſe, as, he hoped, would give them ſatisfaction, and meet with their approbation.' He therefore moved, that mr. Lechmere's motion might be thus altered, 'that this houſe will effectually make good the deficiencies of all parliamentary engagements;' which, after a ſhort debate, was approved, and a day was appointed to conſider of the national debt.

By this time the ſurmize, that force would be uſed in the reduction of the public debts, had heightened the uneaſineſs of monied men and ſtoc-jobbers, in ſome, to a degree of extravagance and madneſs, in others, of ſullen diſcontent, ſo that many did not ſcruple to inveigh againſt the preſent adminiſtration, as if the public debts were to be ſpunged off, and all ſeemed combined to diſtreſs the government, by not advancing any money towards its ſupport; by which means in three days not above 45,000l. was ſubſcribed to the loan of 600,000l. in the land-tax. This diſappointment, at ſo critical and dangerous a juncture, furniſhed mr. Lechmere with matter for another ſpeech on the 8th of March, when, the commons being in a grand committee on the ſupply, he told them, 'he was ſorry he was obliged to take notice, that their late vote for a loan at four per cent. intereſt was like to prove ineffectual; and, as the preſent exigency required a ſpeedy ſupply, ſo he thought it neceſſay, and therefore moved, that a day be appointed to conſider further of that matter.' Mr Robert Walpole declared, 'that he ſeconded this motion, there being the greater neceſſity for it, becauſe he was informed, that ſome ſtoc-jobbers, in order to deter the parliament from purſuing the deſign of reducing the public debts, had formed a combination to diſtreſs the government, and ruin public credit, which was the occaſion, that the late vote for borrowing 600,000l. at four per cent. had not the deſired effect.' To this mr. Lechmere anſwered, 'that as none but the moſt wiced of men could enter into ſuch a combination againſt the good of their country; ſo the honourable member, who ſpoke laſt, would do well to name them, that the honeſt might ſhew the utmoſt reſentment and indignation againſt them. But, that, in his opinion, the ill ſucceſs of the loan was rather occaſioned by ſome reflections, on the monied men and ſtoc-jobbers, and by certain maxims lately advanced, that the parliament may exert its authority to extricate themſelves by reducing the national debts: that ſuch maxims could not but alarm any perſons concerned in the public ſecurities; and the more, when they ſaw, that a ſlur had been put upon the motion made three days before, that all parliamentary engagements ſhould effectually be made good. That he ſtill thought ſuch a vote abſolutely neceſſary, both to remove people's fears and jealouſies, and to vindicate the honour and juſtice of the nation: that the ſame was entirely agreeable to his majeſty's ſentiments, who, in his firſt ſpeech to this parliament, had been pleaſed to recommend to the commons, in a particular manner, the ſtrict obſervance of all parliamentary engagements, than which nothing could more contribute to the ſupport of the credit of the nation: with which opinion of his majeſty the commons did entirely concur; and that he could not believe any of his majeſty's miniſters could be ſo regardleſs of his honour, and known equity, or put ſo hard a thing upon him, as to make him, in the leaſt, contradict what he had, in ſo ſolemn a manner, declared from the throne. 'He added, that, the commons having already appointed a day, to conſider the ſtate of the nation with relation to the public debts, he would not anticipate that important affair: but he could not forbear declaring, on this occaſion, his private opinion, that it would be the greateſt ingratitude, as well as injuſtice, in the leaſt to wrong thoſe perſons, who had ſupported the government in the moſt preſſing exigencies, and moſt perilous junctures, and who, on all occaſions, had ſhewn their zeal and affection for the proteſtant ſucceſſion. That he had nothing to ſay as to ſuch public ſecurities, as were redeemable by parliament; but, as to annuities granted for term of years, he would be poſitive, that they could not be meddled with, without breaking in upon parliamentary engagements, and violating the public faith; ſince thoſe annuities were not to be looked upon as debts, but as a ſale of annual rents for a valuable conſideration, of which contract the parliament had propoſed and made the terms and conditions, and the rentees became purchaſers upon the parliamentary faith and ſecurity. And that, beſides the injuſtice of breaking through a national contract, thoſe annuities could not be touched without occaſioning great confuſion and diſpute in private families, by reaſon that moſt of theſe annuities had been ſettled for portions, jointures, and the like.' Upon this mr. Walpole declared, there never had been a deſign to uſe any compulſion with relation to the annuities: that, indeed, an alternative might be offered to the proprietors of the ſame; but it ſhould be in their choice, either to accept or refuſe it. And, as for ſuch funds as were redeemable, nothing would be propoſed, that ſhould not entirely conſiſt with juſtice and public faith. [x]

Three days after, the commons ordered to be laid before the houſe, an account of the public debts at the exchequer, diſtinguiſhing what the funds were; when granted; what term remained; how much the original money was; how much had been paid off, and how much unpaid; and what the annual intereſt was, that was payable for the ſums advanced. [y]

On the day appointed to conſider of the national debt, mr. Walpole, having in his hand the account of the public debts at the Exchequer, made proper remarks upon them, and then communicated his ſcheme, both for paying off, or reducing the intereſts of redeeming funds, and for ob-

[x] The commons having ordered, that the ſums advanced for the ſervice of the public ſhould be repaid with 5l. per cent. the whole loan of 600,000l. was immediately filled up.

[y] An account of the Public Debts at the Exchequer as they now ſtand, diſtinguiſhing what the funds are; when granted; how much the original principal money was; how much has been ſince paid off, and how much remained; and what the annual ſums are that are paid or payable for the principal ſums advanced, with the rate of intereſt, excluſive of the deficiences of parliamentary grants.

LOTTERIES.	The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual ſums.
10l. Lottery, Michaelmas, anno 1710, by way of annuity.				
Act of the 8th of queen Anne, 9l. per cetn.				
Charges a duty of 3s. per chaldron on coals, and an additional duty on windows, for the term of 32 years.	1500000	———	1500000	135000
10l. Lottery, Michaelmas, anno 1711.				
Act of the 9th of queen Anne, 6l. per cent. and the principal to be repaid.				
Charges a ſubſidy of tonnage and poundage upon exported goods from the 8th of March 1710, a duty of 2s. a chaldron on coals from the 8th of March 1710, an aditional duty of a half-penny a pound on tallow-candles, and 4d. a pound on wax-candles, from the 25th of March 1711, for the term of 32 years.	1928570	262500	1666070	135000

fering an alternative to the proprietors of annuities; which was generally approved. After which the commons came to the following reſolutions:

I. That all the public funds, redeemable by law, that do not exceed 5l. per cent. per annum, be redeemed according to their reſpective proviſoes or clauſes of redemption, contained in the acts of parliament for that purpoſe, or (with conſent of the proprietors) be converted into an intereſt or annuity, not exceeding 5l. per cent per annum, redeemable by parliament.

II. That his majeſty be enabled to borrow of any perſon or perſons, bodies politic or corporate, ſuch ſum or ſums of money, as ſhall be requiſite to redeem the ſaid redeemable funds, at any rate, not exceeding 5l. per cent. per annum, and to ſecure the ſame upon the funds ſo to be redeemed.

LOTTERIES.	The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual Sums.
Claſs LOTTERY, Michaelmas, anno 1711.				
Another act of the 9th of queen Anne, 6l. per cent. and the principal to be repaid.				
Charges 700l. a week out of the poſt-office, from Michaelmas 1711; the duty on leather, &c. 1d. a pound, from the 24th of June 1711; new ſtamp duty on bills of leading, almanacs, licences, and certificates, from the 1ſt of Auguſt 1711; duty of 5s. a week on eight hundred hacney-coaches, from the 24th of June 1711; and 10s. per ann. on two hundred hacney-chairs, from the 24th of June 1711; and a duty of 6d. a pac on cards, and 5d. a pair on dice, from the 11th of June 1711: all for the term of 32 years.	2602200	76230	2525970	186670
10l. LOTTERY, Chriſtmas, anno 1712.				
Act of the 10th of queen Anne, 6l. per cent. and the principal to be repaid.				
Charges the duty of 1d. a pound on ſoap, from the 10th of June 1712; 15s. per centum ad valorem on foreign printed, painted, or ſtained linen, 6d. a yard on ſilks, 3d. a yard on callicoes, and 2d. a yard on linen and ſtuffs, printed painted, and ſtained in Britain, from the 20th of July 1712; ſeveral duties on paper, paſtboard and books, from the 24th of June 1712; a new ſtamp duty on ſurrenders, 2s. 3d. on every transfer of ſtoc in any company, and the ſtamp duty on news-papers, &c. from the 1ſt of Auguſt 1712; all for the term of 32 years.	2341740	83220	2258520	168003
Claſs LOTTERY, Michaelmas, anno 1712.				
Another act of the 10th of queen Anne, 6l. per cent. and the principal to be repaid.				
Charges the additional duty of a half-penny a pound on leather, from the 1ſt of Auguſt 1712; 1s. a pound on coffee, 2s. a pound on tea, and 20l. per cent. ad valorem on drugs, from the 1ſt of Auguſt 1712; duty of 8d. an ounce on gilt wire, and 6d. an ounce on ſilver wire imported, from the 1ſt of July 1712; and a duty of 2s. 4d. upon policies of inſurance, &c. all for the the term of 32 years.	2341990	29925	2312005	168003
Civil Liſt LOTTERY, Michaelmas, anno 1713.				
By letters patents of the 13th of October 1713, and by an act of the 11th of queen Anne, 4l. per cent the principal to be repaid.				
Charges the civil liſt revenues with the annual ſums of 35000l. for the term of 32 years.	633010	33820	599190	35000
LOTTERY act, Michaelmas, anno 1714.				
Act of the 12th of queen Anne, and the 1ſt of king George.				
Blanks, 5 per cent.			1157360	
Prizes, 4 per cent.			719040	
			1876400	
and the principal to be repaid.				
Charges a duty of 1d. a pound on foreign ſoap, and a half-penny a pound on ſoap made in Great-Britain, from the 2d of Auguſt 1714; additional duty on paper, &c. from the ſame time; coals exported on foreign bottoms, 5s. a chaldron, and on Britiſh bottoms, 3s. a chaldron, and the deficiency to be yearly computed at Michaelmas, and to be be made good out of any unappropriated money, for the term of 32 years.	1876400	64300	1812100	116573 12
For the Bank upon their annuities.				
Act of the 5th and 6th of king William and queen Mary.				
Charges five-ſeventh parts of the ſecond additional 9d. per barrel exciſe, for raiſing 1200000l. granting to all perſons liberty to ſubſcribe any ſum, not exceeding 2000l. in one name, for which an annuity of 100000l. ſhall be paid, and the ſubſcribers be incorporated by the name of the governor and company of the Bank of England, from the 1ſt of Auguſt 1694, to the 1ſt of Auguſt 1705; when, upon a year's notice, and repayment of the capital, the corporation to ceaſe.	1600000	———	1600000	100000
And by an Act of the 7th of queen Anne, 6l. per cent.				
The bank lent 400000l. more without any additional intereſt (that is to ſay) they reduced the intereſt of their primitive ſtoc from 8l. to 6l. per cent. which, with 4000l. per ann. for management, fills up the original 100000l. annuity; this 400000l. and the 1200000l. to be repaid before the corporation be diſſolved.				
Act of the 5th of queen Anne, 4l. 10s. per cent.				
Charges the duty upon houſes or windows, from the 1ſt of Auguſt 1710, for ever, for raiſing 1500000l. by iſſuing exchequer bills to that value; by this act the bank undertook to circulate thoſe bills, upon the conſideration of 4l. 10s. per cent per annum, and exchequer bills to be iſſued for the intereſt, till the fund commences. The bank to remain a corporation till the bills be redeemed.	1775027 17 10½	———	1775027 17 10½	106501 17 6
And by another act of the 7th of queen Anne, 6l. per cent.				
It was enacted, that the bank ſhould pay off and cancel all the exchequer bills before extant, which amounting to 1775027 17s. 10½d. upon allowing 6l. per cent. intereſt for that ſum; to which purpoſe, an annuity was eſtabliſhed of 106501l. 17s. 6d. to be paid to the bank out of the duty aforeſaid, until the principal be paid off upon a year's notice.				
The Bank for Exchequer Bills.				
Several acts of the 7th and 12th of queen Anne.				
Grant 4676812l. 10s. by iſſuing exchequer bills	4676812 10	115787 10	4561025	32561 18 6½
Act of the 1ſt of king George 7l. 4s. 0¾d. per cent.				
The fund for theſe exchequer bills in the general or aggregate funds.				

III. That the annuity of 106,501l. 13s. 5d. per annum, payable to the governor and company of the Bank, out of the houſe-money, by virtue of ſeveral acts of parliament in that behalf, for the principal ſum of 1,775,027l. 17s. 10½d. by them advanced be redeemed, or (by conſent of the ſaid governor and company) converted into an intereſt or annuity, not to exceed 5l. per cent. per annum, redeemable by parliament.

IV. That ſo much of the fund, commonly called the aggregate fund, ſettled by an act of parliament, in the firſt year of the reign of his preſent majeſty, as is applicable to the intereſt, circulation, exchanging or cancelling the preſent Exchequer bills, be alſo redeemed.

V. That his majeſty be enabled to authorize the high-treaſurer, or the commiſſioners of the treaſury for the time being, to treat and agree with any perſon or perſons, bo-

LOTTERIES.	The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual ſums.
East-India Company.				
Two acts of the 9th of king William.				
Grant additional duties on ſtamp paper and parchment, from the 1ſt of Auguſt 1698; and a duty of 2s. 4d. per buſhel on ſalt, from 1698 and 1699, for ever; both theſe duties are given for 160000l. per annum, to raiſe by ſubſcriptions 2000000l. 8l. per cent. per annum, the ſubſcribers to have the ſole liberty of trading to the Eaſt-Indies, redeemable upon payment of the principal, and three years notice after Michaelmas 1711.				
By an act of the 6th of queen Anne, 5l. per cent.				
It is enacted, that the Eaſt-India company ſhall pay into the Exchequer 1200000l. to have their 8l. per cent. granted them in the 9th of king William reduced to 5l. per cent. per annum, and to have the trade to India continued to them ſolely to Lady-day 1726: this, together with the former ſum advanced, with all arrears of the 1600c0l. to be repaid before the company ſhall be determined.	3200000	———	3200000	160000
By an act of the 10th of queen Anne.				
The corporation of the Eaſt-India company and their ſole trade made perpetual, but the fund may be redeemed upon three years notice, after the 25th of March 1733, upon repayment, by parliament, what is due to ſuch companies as ſhall be then intitled thereto.				
South-Sea company.				
Two acts of the 9th and 10th of queen Anne, and one act of the 1ſt of king George, 6l. per cent.				
6000000l. per annum is charged upon ſeveral duties, impoſitions, &c. to the South-ſea company, and 8000l. per annum for management, for paying the intereſt of 10000000l. at 6 per cent. per annum, the company to continue for ever, but the annual ſum of 6080001. to ceaſe upon a year's notice after the 25th of December 1716, repaying what ſhall then be due to the company.	10000000	———	10000000	608000
ANNUITIES:				
Annuities, 14l. per cent. Jan. 25, 1692, afterwards turned into a certain term of 99 years.				
Years purchaſe. Act of the 4th of king William and queen Mary, and of the 7th, 9th, 10th. 11th, of king William, and 1ſt of queen Anne. 11 years and a half, 12 years, 11 years, and 15 years.				
Grants 9d. per barrel exciſe upon bear, ale, and other liquors, for the term of 99 years.	1491639 6 10	———	1491639 6 10	124866
Survivors.				
Act the 4th of king William and queen Mary, 7l. per cent.				
The ſame 9d. is charged with a further ſum on the benefit of ſurvivorſhip, till the number of ſurvivors be reduced to 7, and then the ſhare or 7th part of each of them as they die to revert to the crown.	108100	———	108100	7567
Annuities on the 2-7th exciſe.				
Act of the 5th of king William and queen Mary, and of the 7th, 9th, 10th, 11th of king William, and 1ſt of queen Anne.				
Grants two-ſevenths parts of a 9d. per barrel exciſe to ſubſcribers for raiſing 300000l. in annuities, from the 29th of September 1694, at the rate of 14 per cent. on one life, 12 per cent. on two lives, or 10 per cent. on three lives, which was thus advanced:				
Principal money. — Annual intereſt.				
On one life 107847 13 9 — 15098 13 6				
On two lives 170917 2 3 — 20510 1 0				
On three lives 21235 4 0 — 2123 10 4				
300000 0 0 — 37732 4 10				
A half, 12 years, 11 years, and 11 years.				
Afterwards by the ſubſequent acts the full term of 96 years is given to the purchaſers, and accordingly the reverſion of 1 life was made up to that term, for which there was paid, 61229 8	369704 8	———	369704 8	36070 2 3
The contributors of the 2d and 3 lives did not purchaſe the remainder. And in the year 1702, it appeared, there was fallen into the crown, of the 2 and 3 lives, 565l. per annum, which by an act then paſſed, were ſold for 15 years purchaſe, which produced, 8475				
369704 8 0 — 37732 4 10				
There is ſo many of the contributors dead of the 2 and 3 lives which abates the annual charge 1662 2 7				
So the preſent annual charge for all theſe annuities is 36070 2 3				
Annuities on 3700l. per week exciſe, Lady-day 1704.				
Act of the 2d of queen Anne, 15 years.				
Charges the 3700l. a week, iſſuing out of the hereditary and temporary exciſe, for the term of 99 years	1569664 18 6	———	1569664 18 6	104745 10 6½
Act of the 3d of queen Ann, 15 years.				
Charges the ſame 3700l. a week exciſe, for 99 years	690000	———	690000	46000

dies politic or corporate, for circulating ſuch a number of exchequer-bills, at a rate not exceeding 4l. 10s. per cent. per annum for intereſt, exchanging, and circulation, as may be exchanged and ſecured upon that part of the ſaid aggregate fund to be ſo redeemed.

VI. That the annuities of 6000,000l. and 8000l. per annum, payable to the governor and company of merchants of Great-Britain trading to the South-ſea, be alſo redeemed.

VII. That the annuities payable by an act of parliament of the twelfth year of the reign of king William (of glorious memory) to certain patentees therein named, their heir and aſſigns, out of the weekly ſum of 3700l. charged on the exciſe, be alſo redeemed.

VIII. That the ſeveral terms of years remaining in the duties appropriated by the two lottery acts made and paſſed in the ninth year of the reign of her late majeſty queen Anne (of bleſſed memory) and by the two lottery acts made and paſſed in the tenth year of her ſaid late majeſty's reign, to be made perpetual.

IX. That the ſaid duties, comprehended in the ſaid four lottery acts, be made one general fund for the future.

X. That the proprietors of the orders, grounded on the ſaid lottery acts, do, within a limited time, make their elections, either to accept annuities after the rate of 5l. per cent. per annum, redeemable by parliament, out of ſuch general fund, to be paid ſo much as remains due to them on their order reſpectively.

XI. That in all caſes where the proprietors ſhall chuſe to have their principal, the 5l. per cent. per annum ſaved thereby, be made another fund, towards anſwering ſuch ſums of money, as ſhall be advanced (towards diſcharging the ſaid principal) by loans, or other ſecurities, as ſhall be thought proper.

XII. That his majeſty be enabled to give power for receiving voluntary ſubſcriptions from any perſon or perſons, entitled to any of the annuities iſſuing out of the public funds, for the reſidue of the reſpective terms of 99, 96, 89, or 32 years, formerly purchaded therein (not being ſubject to redemption) who ſhall be willing to accept in lieu thereof, perpetual annuities, redeemable by parliament, to allow for remaining terms in the ſaid annuities, which were purchaſed for 99, 96, or 89 years (at the election of the reſpective ſubſcribers) either ſo much as the ſame annuities ſhall amount to at 19 years purchaſe, to be made good by new annuities of 4l. per cent. per annum, redeemable by parliament, or 17 years and a half purchaſe, to be made good by new annuities of 5l. per cent. per annum, to be redeemable in like manner; and to allow for the remaining terms in the ſaid annuities, which were purchaſed for 32

ANNUITIES.	The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual ſums.
Act of the 12th of king William, 6l. per cent.				
Charges the ſame 3700l. a week exciſe, with bank annuities, redeemable by parliament, on payment of a moiety of the ſaid principal, which is	664263	———	664263	39855 16 0½
Annuities, March 25, anno 1706.				
Act of the 4th of queen Anne, 15 years and a half.				
Grants one-third additional cuſtoms of tonnage and poundage, and the third additional 9d. per barrel exciſe upon beer, ale, &c. for 99 years.	2855761	———	2855761	184242 14
Annuities, March 25, anno 1707.				
Act of the 5th of queen Anne, 16 years.				
Grants duties on low wines, from the 23d of June 1710, for 96 years; additional duty on ſtamp paper and vellum, from the laſt of July 1710, for 96 years; duty on hawkers and pedlers, from the 23d of June 1710, for 96 years; duty on ſweets from 99 years, from the 24th of March 1707; and the additional cuſtoms of tonnage and poundage, granted in the 4th of the queen for 98 years, continued one year more after that term; the overplus of the annuity fund, granted in the 4th of the queen, computed at Lady-day yearly, or within 6 days after, for 99 years.	1155000	———	1155000	72187 10
40000l. per annum Annuities, March 25, anno 1708.				
Act of the 6th of queen Anne, 16 years.				
Charges the overplus of the annuity funds before-mentioned, granted in the 4th and 5th of the queen, to be computed at Lady-day yearly; as alſo the overplus of the firſt 9d. exciſe, granted from the 25th of January 1692, after the 29th of September 1710, to be computed at Midſummer yearly, for 99 years.	640000	———	640000	40000
80000l. per annum Annuities, June 24, anno 1708.				
Another act of the 6th of queen Anne, 16 years.				
Charges one moiety, or half part of the old ſubſidy of tonnage and poundage upon wines, goods and merchandizes, for 96 years, from the 31ſt of July 1712; the intermediate intereſt was ſupplied out of the purchaſe money, and alſo, by an act of the 10th of the queen, out of ſeveral appropriated branches of the revenue, for 99 years.	1280000	———	1280000	80000
Annuities at 9l. per cent. March 25, anno 1710.				
Act of the 8th of queen Anne, 9l. per cent.				
Charges 3d. a barrel on beer, ale, and other liquors; 18d. a pound on pepper; 5s. per 100lb. weight on raiſins; a double duty on nutmegs and other ſpices; 3s. a pound on ſnuff, from the 6th of February 1709; and if there be a deficiency, to be ſupplied out of the duty on coals and window tax, for 32 years.	900000	———	200000	81000
Bank Annuities.				
Two acts of the 1ſt of king George 5l. per cent.				
Charges the general or aggregate fund, after the intereſt and allowances to exchequer bills, and after 120000l. for his majeſty's civil government with theſe annuities payable at the bank of England, at 5l. per cent. per ann. redeemable by parliament.	1069000	———	1069000	54600
	47268883 1 2½	665782 10	46603100 11 2½	3118448 0 10½

ABSTRACT.

By Lotteries	13223910			549995		12673915		944249 12
Bank { By annuities	3375027	17	10½			3375027	17 10	206501 17 6
Bank { By exchequer bills	4676812	10		115787	10	4561025		328561 18 6½
Eaſt-India company	3200000					3200000		160000
South-Sea company	10000000					10000000		608000
Annuities	12793132	13	4			12793132	13 4	871134 12 10
	47268883	1	2½	665782	10	46603100	11 2½	3118448 0 10½

Exchequer March 14, 1716.
JOS. FOX.

years (at the election of the reſpective ſubſcribers) either ſo much as the ſame annuities ſhall amount to at 14 years and a half's purchaſe, to be made good by new annuities of 4l. per cent. per annum, redeemable by parliament, or 13 years and a half purchaſe, to be made good by annuities of 5l. per cent. per annum, redeemable in like manner; and and that the ſaid annuities ſhall be ſettled and ſecured accordingly.

XIII. that all ſavings that ſhall ariſe upon any of the preſent funds by the propoſed redemptions or reductions, be reſerved and applied, after all defficiencies that may happen upon any of the ſaid funds are made good, towards diſcharging and reducing the debts of the national debt.

XIV. That all the ſaid duties now in being, or to be continued, ſhall immediately ceaſe and determine, after the ſaid national debt, and all intereſt, due thereupon, is diſcharged and paid off.

Theſe reſolutions being approved of in form, bills were ordered to be brought in upon them.

Before theſe bills were preſented, there happened a change in the adminiſtration which occaſioned the new officers of the revenue to think ſome alterations in the meaſures likewiſe neceſſary; but, however, they were forced to build upon mr. Walpole's foundation, who had now reſigned his poſt, and who, believing theſe variations detrimental to the public, made ſome oppoſition to them.

As the foundation of the ſcheme for reducing the national debts was built upon paying off or ſatisfying the public creditors, many conferences had been held with the money corporations, in order to provide money for ſuch as ſhould be willing to receive their principal and intereſt in ready money. For this purpoſe, the bank agreed to furniſh two millions and a half, and the South-ſea two millions, or as much as ſhould be called for, and, for the money advanced, theſe companies were to have annuities of 5l. per cent.

The propoſals of the bank and South-ſea being agreed to [z], three bills were brought in, upon the reſolutions that had been made in relation to the public debts, and all three paſſed into laws; namely, the General Fund act, the Bank act, and the South-ſea act.

The general fund act recites the ſeveral acts of parliament for eſtabliſhing the four lotteries of the ninth and tenth years of queen Anne, the terms of years for which thoſe revenues were granted, and ſtates the annual produce of the ſeveral funds; namely, 1350001. 186670l. 168003l. 168003l. which together with banker's debt 398551. 15s. 7½d. and another ſmall ſum of about 27317l. 11s. 3d. amounted in all to 724,849l. 6s. 10½d. which is the general fund, the deficiency whereof is to be made good annually, out of the firſt aids granted by parliament. And, to the end that a ſure and ſufficient ſecurity may be ſettled for the regular payment of all ſuch annuities, as ſhall be payable by this act; all the duties and the revenues, mentioned therein, ſhall continue for ever. With a proviſo, that the revenues, by this act made perpetual, ſhall be ſubject to redemption.

Proprietors, who are willing to accept 5l. per cent. redeemable annuities, in lieu of their lottery orders, ſhall ſignify their option by ſubſcribing.

And ſuch as are willing to receive their principal and intereſt in ready money, ſhall likewiſe declare their option in writing.

As for the bank act, it muſt be obſerved, the bank at that time, as proprietors of redeemable debts, were entitled to an annuity of 106,501l. 13s. 5d. per annum, in lieu of exchequer bills formerly cancelled, amounting to 1,775,027l. 17s. 10½d. And the exchequer bills ſtanding out, on the 22d of March 1716, are ſtated at 4,561,025l. over and above the charge of circulation which was then due to the bank. The bank, by virtue of their contracts for circulating and exchanging theſe bills for ready money, were entitled to 3l. per cent. for all theſe bills, and the bills carried an intereſt of 2d. a day, which together made 6l. per cent. or the whole ſum of 4,561,025l. of exchequer bills. There was alſo granted, on the change of queen Anne's miniſtry, the ſums of 45000l. and 8000l. a year, which make together 7l. 4s. 0¾d. per cent. upon all the exchequer bills. The annuity payable to the bank for the cancelled exchequer bills, together with the whole charge to the public for circulating the exchequer bills then ſtanding, amounted to above 435,000l. a year. In theſe circumſtances the bank act ſays, the governor and company of the bank are willing to accept one annuity of 88751l. 7s. 10½d. being after the rate of 5l. per cent. per ann. or the principal of 1,775,027l. 17s. 10½d. in lieu of the preſent annuity or ſum of 106,501l. 13s. 5d. per annum. In the ſame manner the act goes on, and declares the bank willing to diſcharge, and deliver up to be cancelled, as many exchequer bills as amount to two millions, and to accept of an annuity of 100,000l. being after the rate of 5l. per cent. redeemable after one year's notice, to circulate the remaining exchequer bills at 3l. per cent. and 1d. a day, the former allowances to be continued to Chriſtmas 1717; and, after that, the bank to have for circulation the 2,561,025l. remaining exchequer bills, an annuity of 76830l. 15s. at the rate of 3l. per cent. till redeemed, over and above the 1d. a day for intereſt. The bank is then required to advance a ſum not exceeding 2,500,000l. towards diſcharging the national debts, if wanted, and to have 5l. per cent. for as much as they have advanced, redeemable by parliament.

As for the South-ſea act, the original ſtock of the South-ſea was 9,471,325l. but, as the funds granted were ſufficient to anſwer the intereſt of ten millions, at 6l. per cent. in the year 1716, the South-ſea company advanced to the government 528,675l. which compleats the ſum of ten millions, for which they received an intereſt or annuity of 600,000l. and likewiſe 8000l. a year for management. Now by this act the governor and company declare, they are willing to accept an annuity of 500,000l. in lieu of the 600,000l. with 8000l. a year for management. The company are to continue a corporation till their annuity is redeemed, towards which, not leſs than a million is to be paid at a time. The company is alſo required to advance a ſum not exceeding two millions, towards diſcharging the principal and intereſt due on the four lottery funds, of the 9th and 10th years of queen Anne.

Purſuant to theſe acts, the bank, which was in poſſeſſion of receipts out of the exchequer, amounting to 435,063l. 1 6s. 0½d. per ann. accept voluntarily of three annuities, amounting to about 304,531l. 1s. 3¾d. whereby the ſaving to the public was 130,532l. 14s. 8¼d. a year.

[z] In the debates on theſe propoſals, a quarrel had like to ariſe between mr. Stanhope and mr. Walpole. Mr Pulteney having ſaid, 'he did not know what private advantage ſome perſons might have for accepting the propoſal of the South-ſea company,' mr. Stanhope (who thought the reflection of private advantage was chiefly levied againſt him) vindicated himſelf, and began with owning his incapacity for the affairs of the treaſury, which were ſo remote from his ſtudies and inclination: that therefore he would willingly have kept the employment he had before, which was both more eaſy, and more profitable to him, but, that he thought it his duty to obey the king's commands. That, however, he would endeavour to make up, by application, honeſty, and diſintereſtedneſs, what he wanted in abilities and experience. That he would content himſelf with the ſalary and lawful perquiſites of his office: and, though he had quitted a better place, he would not quarter himſelf upon any body to make it up: that he had no brothers, nor other relations, to provide for; and that, upon his firſt entering into the treaſury, he had made a ſtanding order againſt the late practice of granting reverſions of places.' Mr Walpole, being touched with theſe innuendos, complained in the firſt place of breach of friendſhip, and betraying private converſation. He frankly owned, 'that, while he was in employment, he had endeavoured to ſerve his friends and relations; than which, in his opinion, nothing was more reaſonable and juſt. That, as to the granting reverſions, he was willing to acquaint the houſe with the meaning of it. That he had no objections againſt the German miniſters, whom his majeſty brought with him from Hanover, and who, as far as he had obſerved, had all along behaved themſelves like men of honour; but, that there was a mean fellow, of what nation he could not tell, who took upon him to diſpoſe of employments: that this man, having obtained the grant of a reverſion, which he deſigned for his ſon (mr. Walpole) thought it too good for him, and thereupon kept it for his own ſon. That thereupon the foreigner was ſo ſaucy as to demand of him the ſum of 2500l. under pretence, that he had been offered ſo much for the reverſion; but, that he was wiſer than to comply with his demand. And that one of the chief reaſons that made him reſign his places, was, becauſe he would not connive at ſome things that were carring on.' Mr Stanhope anſwered; mr. Walpole replied; and, ſome ſevere expreſſions having eſcaped them in the heat of the diſpute, mr. Hungerford ſaid, 'that he was ſorry to ſee thoſe two great men fall foul upon one another. However, (ſays he) in my opinion, we muſt ſtill look upon them as patriots, and fathers of their country; and, ſince they have, by miſchance diſcovered their nakedneſs, we ought, according to the cuſtom of the eaſt, as the ſcripture tells us, to cover it by turning our backs up on them.' He added, 'that this unlucky accident had, however, produced ſome good, in that it had revealed a piece of ſecret hiſtory, the ſcandalous practice of ſelling places and reverſions.' And therefore he moved, 'that the honourable member, who made the diſcovery, might be called upon to name the perſon.' But no body ſeconded this motion. Mr Boſcawen, comptroller of the houſehold, acted the part of a common friend between mr. Stanhope and mr. Walpole, ſaying, 'that it was melancholy to ſee, that any difference ſhould happen between thoſe two worthy members, unbecoming their own characters, and the dignity of that aſſembly; but that it would ſtill be a greater misfortune, if they ſhould go out with any reſentment: and therefore he moved, 'that the houſe would lay their commands upon them that no farther notice be taken of what had paſſed.' Mr Methuen ſeconded mr. Comptroller, whoſe motion being unanimouſly applauded, the ſpeaker put it immediately in execution.

The proprietors of the lottery orders amounting to above nine millions, ſubſcribed their orders at the bank, and accepted bank annuities in lieu of the ſame.

Thus, though the bank and South-ſea had agreed to advance four millions and a half towards the payment of thoſe that ſhould demand ready money, not one farthing was ever demanded in money, except very ſmall ſums, amounting in the whole to 4711. 4s. [a]. All the annuities that were ſettled by virtue of theſe three acts, were redeemable perpetuities granted at the rate of 5l. per cent. per annum, upon a principal of about 25,869,247l. the amount of the national debt at that time redeemed or reduced.

In the general fund act is the clauſe that eſtabliſhes the ſinking fund. As the reduction of the intereſt to 5l. per cent. would make a ſurplus or exceſs upon the appropriated funds, the act declares, 'that all the monies ariſing from time to time, as well for the ſurplus by virtue of the acts for redeeming the funds of the bank and of the South-ſea company, as alſo for the ſurplus of the duties and revenues by this act appropriated to make good the general fund, and the overplus monies of the general fund, ſhall be appropriated and employed for the diſcharging the principal and intereſt of ſuch national debts as were incurred before the 25th of December, 1716, in ſuch manner as ſhall be directed or appointed by any future act of parliament, to be diſcharged out of the ſame, and for none other uſe, intent, or purpoſe whatſoever.' This clauſe conſtitutes the ſinking fund, and ſhews of what it conſiſts, and to what uſes it is appropriated. Though there had been ſinking funds before this time for the payment of particular debts [b], yet a ſinking fund, for diſcharging the national debt in general, was firſt projected and formed in the year 1716, and till that time unheard of.

As the change in the miniſtry had cauſed a diviſion among the whigs, ſome adhering to thoſe that were in, and others to thoſe that were out of place, an oppoſition was formed by thoſe laſt in conjunction with the tories on ſeveral occaſions. This evidently appeared when ſir William Wyndham (who had been diſcharged) moved, that dr. Snape ſhould be appointed to preach on the reſtoration of king Charles. The doctor was one of the king's chaplains, and maſter of Eaton-ſchool, but was of high-church principles, and had lately attaced the biſhop of Bangor. Sir William's motion was ſeconded by mr. Shippen, and ſupported, not only by ſeveral tories, but alſo by all the whigs who had lately reſigned their employments. Mr Horace Walpole, who ſpoke after mr. Shippen, ſaid, 'that it was unuſual, on ſuch occaſions, to put the negative on any man, whom a member of that houſe had thought fit to name; and that dr. Snape was not only a perſon of merit, and great learning, but had likewiſe the honour to be one of his majeſty's chaplains.' To theſe commendations mr. Robert Walpole added, 'that he knew dr. Snape to be both a very learned, and a very honeſt man: that he had not only intruſted him with the education of his own children, but alſo recommended the ſons of the duke of Devonſhire and lord Townſhend to his care; and therefore he could not but think, that he might be truſted with preaching a ſermon before that aſſembly. M. Lechmere obſerved, 'that he could not but wonder, that a member, who had been one of the managers againſt dr. Sacheverel, ſhould now ſpeak in behalf of a divine, who had aſſerted the ſame notions of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, for which the other had been proſecuted; and who had lately attaced a worthy champion of the revolution and proteſtant ſucceſſion.' Mr Aiſlabie anſwered, that he gave his vote to dr. Snape, becauſe he looked upon him as a learned and honeſt man: and, as for his having written againſt the biſhop of Bangor's ſermon, he did not think it a ſufficient reaſon to put upon him a negative, which would be pre-judging of a controverſy, that did not properly belong to their cognizance.' The lord Guernſey ſpoke with ſtill more vehemence in behalf of the doctor, ſo that the motion being thus ſtrongly ſupported, he was appointed to preach by a majority of one hundred and forty-one againſt one hundred and thirty-one.

The controverſy mentioned in this debate between the biſhop of Bangor and dr. Snape, was occaſioned in this manner: dr. Benjamin Hoadly (the preſent biſhop of Wincheſter) famous for his ſteady adherence at all times to the principles of the revolution (for which he had been recommended to the throne by the houſe of commons, and advanced to the ſee of Bangor) had lately publiſhed, a preſervative againſt the principles and practices of the non-jurors; and, ſoon after, preached a ſermon before the king, which was printed under the title of, 'the nature of the kingdom of of Chriſt' [c]. To this ſermon dr. Snape publiſhed an anſwer; and, preſently after, the lower houſe of convocation (as they had before done with regard to dr. Samuel Clarke's ſcripture doctrine) entered upon the ſubject, both of the biſhop of Bangor's ſermon, and of his preſervative. They appointed a committee of ſix of their members, dr. Moſs, dr. Sherlock, dr. Friend, dr. Sprat, dr. Cannon, and dr. Bliſs, to examine them, and made their report to the houſe. The committee ſat and drew up a repreſentation, in which both the preſervative and ſermon were cenſured, as tending,

'I. To ſubvert all government and diſcipline in the church of Chriſt, and to reduce his kingdom to a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion, And,

'II. To impugn and impeach the regal ſupremacy in cauſes eccleſiaſtical, and the authority of the legiſlature, to inforce obedience in matters of religion by civil ſanctions.'

This charge was ſupported by paſſages taken out of the Preſervative and ſermon, [d] and the whole drawn up in the

[a] 10l. lottery, 1711.

	principal l.	s.
Margaret Woolrich — — —	20	
Roger Altham, D. D. — — —	1000	
10l. Lottery, 1712.		
Roger Altham, D. D. — — —	60	
Banker's annuity.		
David Marſhal — — —	150	
William Harriſon and Fr. Oſborne — —	71	4
George Bloodworth — —	70	
	478	4

[b] In moſt of the funds that were granted for circulating and exchanging exchequer bills, there was a ſurplus of the fund itſelf, computed to be ſufficient to cancel and diſcharge annually ſome part of the bills: and, in the Aggregate Fund act of the firſt of king George, there was a ſum of 270,999l. 7s. directed to be paid annually towards diſcharging the exchequer bills. In all ſhort annuities likewiſe granted for thirty-two years, the principal being to be ſunk at the end of the term granted, this may be looked upon as a ſinking fund, attending thoſe particular debts. But the firſt mention that ever was made in parliament of a ſinking fund, for diſcharging the national debt in general, was in this ſeſſion.

[c] The text was, 'my kingdom is not of this world.'

[d] The biſhop, in the concluſion of his anſwer to this repreſentation, has confronted the paſſages, on which the charge againſt him was founded, with the oppoſite doctrines, which muſt be true, if his are falſe.

The propoſitions contained in thoſe paſſages of my ſermon and Preſervative, which are made the foundation of the charge in the repreſentation.	The propoſitions, contradictory to them: which, therefore, muſt be maintained to be true and chriſtian, by all who condemn the others:
1. Chriſt himſelf is king in his own kingdom.	1. Chriſt himſelf is not king in his own kingdom.
2. Chriſt is the ſole law-giver and ſole judge of his ſubjects, in all points relating to the favour, or diſpleaſure of Almighty God. In other words,	2. Chriſt is not the ſole law-giver and ſole judge of his ſubjects, in all points relating to the favour, or diſpleaſure of Almighty God.
3. No one of his ſubjects is law-giver and judge over others of them, in matters relating to ſalvation. In other words thus,	3. Some of his ſubjects are law-givers and judges over others of them, in matters relating to ſalvation.
4. No men upon earth have a right to make any of their own declarations or deciſions to concern and affect the ſtate of Chriſt's ſubjects, with regard to the favour of God.	4. There is a right in ſome men, to make their own declarations and deciſions to concern and affect the ſtate of Chriſt's ſubjects, with regard to the favour of God.
5. The more cloſe and immediate the regard of men to Chriſt is, the more certainly and evidently true it is, that they are of his kingdom.	5. A cloſe and immediate regard to Chriſt himſelf, is not ſo certain and evident a mark of being of his kingdom, as a cloſe and immediate regard and reſpect to frail men, ſubordinate to him.
6. It is worthy of all chriſtians, to live and act as become thoſe who wait for the appearance of an all-knowing and impartial judge; and in ſuch a behaviour to be without fear of man's judgment, who is both ignorant of many things neceſſary to form that judgment, and partial in the forming it.	6. It is not worthy of all chriſtians to live and act as becomes thoſe who wait for the appearance of an all-knowing and impartial judge; but it becomes them, at the ſame time that they live and act thus, to be under a fear of man's judgment, who neither has capacity nor authority to determine their condition; and who, in very many caſes, contradicts the judgment which Chriſt will make.
7. We muſt not frame our ideas, from the kingdoms of this world, to what ought to be, in a viſible and ſenſible manner, in Chriſt's kingdom.	7. We muſt frame our ideas, from the kingdoms of this world, to what ought to be, in a viſible and ſenſible manner, in Chriſt's kingdom.
8. Our title to God's favour depends upon our real ſincerity in the conduct of our conſciences, and of our own actions under them.	8. Our title to God's favour doth not depend upon our real ſincerity in the conduct of our conſciences, and of our own actions under them; but upon our actual being in the right.

form of a report, to be laid before the convocation. But the government, out of regard to the intereſt of the conſtitution in church and ſtate, thought proper to put a ſtop to theſe proceedings, by a prorogation to the 22d of November. As this was induſtriouſly repreſented to be the effect of the biſhop's ſollicitation, and an argument of his fear, he publicly declared before the world, that the prorogation was ordered, not only without his ſeeking, but without ſo much as his knowledge or even ſuſpicion of any ſuch deſign till it was reſolved. It muſt be obſerved that the repreſentation was never approved of by the lower houſe, ſo as to be made the act of it: though many have been led to think it was, by the artifice made uſe of in the title-page to the printed copy of it.

The prorogation of the convocation did not put an end to the controverſy. For ſeveral of the members, ſince they could not attac the biſhop, as a public aſſembly, reſolved to take up the cauſe in a private capacity. Dr Sherlock, who was one of the committee who drew up the report, ſeconded dr. Snape, and theſe two were followed by many others, inſomuch that the tracts publiſhed on this occaſion, on both ſides, are ſaid to be about ſeventy. [e]

During theſe proceedings the miniſters were no leſs employed than the parliament. Negotiations were carrying on, particularly to oblige the king of Sweden to make peace. The czar had the laſt year married his niece the princeſs Catharina to the duke of Mecklenburg Swerin, and reſolved to procure the poſſeſſion of Wiſmar for him. To that end he had ſent firſt twelve thouſand Ruſſians (which were afterwards increaſed to twenty-ſix thouſand) to aſſiſt at the taking of that place then beſieged by the Pruſſians, Hanoverians, and Danes. But, the town having ſurrendered before the arrival of his army, his project fell to the ground, nor would the allies ſuffer any of his troops to be garriſoned there. The czar was vexed at this diſappointment, and from hence may be dated ſeveral memorable events, particularly the miſunderſtanding between him and the court of Hanover.

9. Human benedictions—abſolutions—denunciations—excommunications—do not determine either God's favour, or anger, towards chriſtians: and therefore are vain words, when they pretend ſo to do.	9. Human benedictions—abſolutions—denunciations—excommunications—do determine God's favour, and anger, towards chriſtians: and therefore, are not vain words, when they pretend ſo to do.
10. Whoever has a right to add ſanctions to Chriſt's laws, is ſo far king, and has ſo far regal power in Chriſt's kingdom.	10. Men may have a right to add ſanctions to Chriſt's laws, without having any part of regal power in his kingdom.
11. The ſanctions of Chriſt's laws, appointed by himſelf, are not the rewards of this world; not the offices or glories of this ſtate; not the pains of priſons, baniſhments, fines, or any leſſer and more moderate penalties; nay, not the much leſſer negative diſcouragements that belong to human ſociety. He was far from thinking that theſe could be the inſtruments of ſuch a perſuaſion, as he knew to be acceptable to God.	11. The ſanctions of Chriſt's laws, appointed by himſelf, are the rewards of this world; the offices and glories of this ſtate; the pains of priſons, baniſhments, fines, or other leſſer and more moderate penalties; or the much leſſer negative diſcouragements that belong to human ſociety. Theſe he thought the proper inſtruments of ſuch a perſuaſion, as he knew to be acceptable to God.
12. Chriſt choſe the motives which are not of this world, to ſupport a kingdom which is not of this world.	12. Chriſt did not chuſe the motives which are not of this world, to ſupport a kingdom not of this world.
13. The maxims, oppoſite to the maxims upon which Chriſt founded his kingdom, are contrary to the intereſts of true religion.	13. The maxims, oppoſite to the maxims upon which Chriſt founded his kingdom, are agreeable and helpful to the intereſts of true religion.
14. To apply worldly force or worldly flattery, worldly pleaſure or worldly pain, to the caſe of religion, is a method oppoſite to the maxims upon which Chriſt founded his kingdom: and therefore, contrary to the intereſts of true religion.	14. To apply worldly force or worldly flattery, worldly pleaſure or worldly pain, to the caſe of religion; is not oppoſite to the maxims upon which Chriſt founded his kingdom: or, is not contrary to the intereſts of true religion, though it be contrary to our bleſſed Lord's maxims relating to it.
15. Chriſt knew the nature of his own kingdom, or church, better than any ſince his time.	15. Chriſt did not know the nature of his own kingdom, or church, better than his profeſſed followers do, ſince his time.
16. Chriſt left no ſuch matters to be decided againſt himſelf, and his own expreſs profeſſions.	16. Chriſt did leave the nature of his own kingdom, and the maxims of ſupporting it, to be decided, by others after him, againſt himſelf, and againſt his own expreſs profeſſions.
17. To teach chriſtians that they muſt either profeſs, or be ſilent, againſt their own conſciences, becauſe of the authority of others over them, is to found that authority upon the ruin of ſincerity and common honeſty; to teach a doctrine which would have prevented the reformation and the being of the church of England; which diveſts Chriſt of his empire in his own kingdom, and leads his people to proſtitute their conſciences at the feet of men.	17. To teach chriſtians that they muſt either profeſs, or be ſilent, againſt their own conſciences, in regard to the authority of others, is a very good doctrine; very conſiſtent with the ſincerity and honeſty becoming chriſtians; very uſeful for the juſtification of the reformation, and church of England: perfectly conſiſtent with chriſtians regard to Chriſt as their king; and not at all leading them to proſtitute their conſciences at the feet of weak men.
18. Chriſt never interpoſed, ſince his firſt promulgation of his law, either to convey infallibility; or to aſſert the true interpretation of it.	18. Chriſt does interpoſe, ſince the firſt promulgation of his law, to convey infallibility to ſome of thoſe who interpret it; or to aſſert the true interpretation of it.

After this the biſhop adds a partiular view of thoſe principals, which ought to be the meaſures of judging in ſuch important matters:

1. Chriſt has the ſupreme authority of legiſlator, and judge, with reſpect to all chriſtians.

2. No authority, therefore, can be juſtly claimed by any chriſtians, for what rank ſoever, in any chriſtian church, which deſtroys the ſupreme authority of Chriſt.

3. The will of Chriſt is delivered to all chriſtians for the conduct of their lives.

4. No human, fallible authority, therefore, can determine chriſtians in points of religion, which they themſelves do not judge to be agreeable to the will of Chriſt.

5. Whatſoever equally concerns the ſalvation of all chriſtians is equally propoſed to the underſtandings of all.

6. There can, therefore, be no ſuch thing as ſubmitting our underſtandings, out of humility or out of lazineſs, to any other men whatſoever, in points relating to eternal ſalvation; without either ſuppoſing that Chriſt did not deliver his will for us, in things which concern us; or did not deliver it plainly enough for us to find it out (with the aids and means, he has put in our power) in thoſe points which concern our eternal ſalvation, and therefore require all ſufficient plainneſs: though the taking in the advice and aſſiſtance of others, and attending to their arguments, is perfectly conſiſtent with the foregoing propoſition.

7. No argument can be admitted by proteſtants, which deſtroys the very eſſence of proteſtantiſm: nor can any reaſonings conclude juſtly in favour of any powers amongſt them, which they conſtantly and ſtrongly condemn in the church of Rome.

8. No authority therefore, can be claimed by any reformed church, which was juſtly condemned and oppoſed, in order to the reformation itſelf. Conſequently,

9. No ſubmiſſion in religious affairs can juſtly be demanded from proteſtants, by proteſtants, upon any ſuch foundation, as would have abſolutely prevented the reformation itſelf.

10. Whatſoever was true at the time of the reformation, is true ſtill.

11. Whatſoever principles are true and juſt, when urged againſt papiſts, are likewiſe ſo, amongſt proteſtants.

12. Whatever principles and conduct are unjuſtifiable in papiſts, are equally ſo, in all proteſtants.

13. Whatſoever was the foundation of the reformed church of England then, is ſo ſtill: and whatſoever was neceſſary to juſtify it at firſt, is neceſſary to defend it now.

14. Nothing therefore, which contradicts the main principle of the reformation; and that, without which the church of England itſelf could not juſtly have been in being; can be for the true intereſt of this church, as it is a proteſtant church.

15. As it is a chriſtian church, nothing can be ſuppoſed either to ſupport or defend its intereſt, which, admitted as true, would have prevented even the reception of chriſtianity itſelf, or which contradicts the main deſign of the goſpel.

16. The principles therefore, which alone can juſtly and unexceptionably ſupport it, are ſuch as are uniformly and conſiſtently chriſtian and proteſtant.

[e] Dr Snape, on the 26th of June, publiſhed a ſecond letter to the biſhop of Bangor, being a reply to the biſhop's anſwer to his firſt, wherein the doctor puts the following queries to the biſhop:

'I pray recollect yourſelf, and put theſe queſtions home to your own conſcience, whether your abſolutely's and properly's, and ſuch evaſive words, were not omitted in your ſermon, as it was originally compoſed? Whether you did not, before it was preached, ſhew it to a certain perſon without ſuch limitations? And whether you was not with difficulty prevailed upon by him to inſert them by way of caution? If you think fit to anſwer in the negative, I engage, a perſon of as high a ſtation as your lordſhip will charge himſelf with the proof of the affirmative.'

The biſhop two days after in an advertiſement ſolemnly denies all this, and challenges the doctor to name his author.

The doctor, preſſed by the ſolemnity of the challenge, names the biſhop of Carliſle, who, being called upon to prove what he had aſſerted, diſputed a while with dr. Snape, affirming he had not ſaid, the words were put in before the ſermon was preached, but before it was publiſhed; owning withal, that he knew there was ſuch a perſon in the world who had averred the ſame. The biſhop of Carliſle, being preſſed to name him, names dr. White Kennet, and writes to him of what had paſſed, telling him he did not queſtion but he would own his own words. Dr Kennet poſitively denied the fact, ſaying, I never affirmed, never ſuggeſted to any mortal that the late ſermon of the biſhop of Bangor was preached with my knowledge, or ſubmitted to my correction. Notwithſtanding this, the biſhop of Carliſle aſſerted in print, that dr. Kennet was the man that told him he had prevailed with the biſhop of Bangor to put in the forementioned words. In ſhort, the biſhop of Carliſle pledges his eternal ſalvation that dr. Kennet did ſay ſo: dr. Kennet in one of his papers, ſays, God ſo help him, and judge him, if he did. They went on advertiſing againſt each other, till the biſhop of Carliſle reſolved to give no more anſwers to whatever ſhould be ſaid. However, the biſhop of Bangor, reſolving that calumny ſhould lie where it ought to lie, publiſhed a long advertiſement, as dr. Kennet did another, to fix the fact upon the biſhop of Carliſle, and to convict him of forgetfulneſs at leaſt, in charging a fact upon the biſhop of Bangor, which was not true, and quoting a witneſs for it who knew nothing of the matter. In a word, after lying dormant ſome months, this controverſy was revived in October following, on account of the biſhop's entertaining in his houſe Francis de la Pillonere, who had been a jeſuit, but had now renounced the popiſh religion. The biſhop's three principal adverſaries were dean Sherlock, dr. Snape and dr. Cannon, whom the biſhop ſeemed to out-do in reaſon and argument as far as they did him in virulence, perſonal reflections, and reproachful language. He was painted in the moſt odious colours, both from the preſs and the pulpit, and all for aſſerting, that Chriſt is the ſole law giver, and ſole judge in his kingdom in all points relating to the favour or diſpleaſure of God, a propoſition as evident as the ſun at noon-day. Dr Cannon vindicated the convocation, and dean Sherlock attaced the biſhop upon a popular point, the repeal of the Teſt act, which he aſſerted to be the deſign of the biſhop's ſermon. The dean ended his treatiſe with a moſt unjuſt and reproachful reflection, which the biſhop immediately anſwered, by ſetting the matter in a clear light. In November, dr. Sherlock and dr. Snape were both removed from being king's chaplains, nor has the convocation ſat to do any buſineſs ever ſince.

Soon after this, a deſcent on Schonen was concerted between the kings of Pruſſia and Denmark and the czar, in order to oblige the king of Sweden to quit Norway, where he had penetrated with an army of twenty thouſand men, and was advancing towards Chriſtianſtadt, the capital of that kingdom. The czar ſeemed the moſt forward in this expedition, and took upon him the command of the united fleets of England, Holland, Denmark, and Ruſſia, in order to drive the Swediſh fleet into port. But this was all outward ſhow. For the appearance of the Britiſh fleet under admiral Norris could not be very agreeable to the czar, as it prevented the deſigns he had formed againſt Denmark itſelf after his diſappointment at Wiſmar. And therefore when, in a council of war between him and the king of Denmark, all things were ſettled for the deſcent in Schonen, and the troops ordered to embark, on a ſudden the orders were countermanded, and the project, which was to reduce the king of Sweden to ſuch terms as the allies ſhould think proper to impoſe on him, was laid aſide, after the great expence the Danes had been at for the tranſportation of the forces, and other preparations. The czar pretended the ſeaſon was too far advanced, and that it would be better to defer the expedition till the ſpring. This was ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt in a long manifeſto by the king of Denmark, to which the czar, knowing his own ſecret motives, returned no anſwer. The czar had for ſome time been diſcontented with the allies, who were all for preventing his having any footing in Germany, ſo jealous were they of his power; and this diſcontent of the czar was probably what hindred the utter ruin of the king of Sweden, and was now like to reconcile him to his moſt powerful enemy, if baron Gortz ſucceeded in his project of making a peace between them, of which not only Denmark, Pruſſia, and Poland, but England itſelf was to feel the effects. [f] The firſt ſtep to this reconciliation was by the means of dr. Erſkine to ſound prince Menzikoff, who, pleaſed with the deſign, ſoon brought the czar into it. But it will preſently be ſeen, how deſirous he was to clear himſelf from ſuch an imputation.

The czar having ſent his forces into Mecklenburg, reſolved to take a tour to France, He arrived at Amſterdam in December, where he expected the czarina, who attended him in his travels; but ſhe being big with child, happened to be delivered of a prince, as ſhe was preparing to ſet out from Weſel, and came not to Amſterdam till the 10th of February 1717. The czar remained there and at the Hague till the 4th of April. When king George paſſed through Holland, in his way from Hanover, the czar was there, and, had they deſired it, might have had an interview, but the czar excuſed himſelf on pretence of an indiſpoſition. During the czar's ſtay in Holland, the letters of baron Gortz and count Gyllenburg were publiſhed in England by the king's ſpecial command. In theſe letters, there were ſome paſſages relating not only to dr. Erſkine the czar's phyſician, but to the czar himſelf, reflecting on his conduct in regard to king George. Upon this the czar ordered Weſſelouſki to preſent a long memorial to king George, wherein he expreſſes a ſurprize at the malice of his enemies, to make him a party concerned in the conſpiracy in favour of the pretender: ſhews the improbability of it, as the pretender would not fail (ſhould he ſucceed) of aſſiſting the king of Sweden againſt him: mentions his offering, the laſt year, to guarantee the ſucceſſion of the crown of Great-Britain in the houſe of Hanover, though he had obſerved ſeveral diſagreeable ſteps taken by the Britiſh miniſters at the courts of Vienna, Pruſſia, and Denmark, and even at the diet of Ratiſbon; and though he had been informed that the court of England was privately treating of a ſeparate peace with the king of Sweden, promiſing him aſſiſtance on his yielding up Bremen, as too plainly appeared by count Gyllenburg's letters; offers, however, to eſtabliſh the antient good underſtanding between them, and to concert meaſures for the vigorous proſecution of the war againſt the common enemy: concludes with ſaying, he could not but be very much concerned at the king's cauſing to be printed the malicious inſinuations of his enemies, which wounded his honour, without a previous communication of the ſame, or demanding an explanation of thoſe paſſages, as a good ally ſhould have done.

As ſome articles of this memorial related to the king as elector of Hanover, there were two anſwers given to it, one by mr. Stanhope, the other by the chancery of Hanover. The king ſays, he is very far from ſuſpecting the czar of entering into any engagements in favour of the pretender: owns (as nothing can leſſen the good underſtanding between them, but the continuance of the Ruſſian troops in the empire) he cauſed inſtances to be made to the courts of Vienna, Denmark, and Pruſſia, for uniting their endeavours to perſuade him to remove them: hopes the czar will have a due regard thereto, and ſpeedily withdraw his troops, ſince the continuance of them in the empire intimates a deſign quite contrary to the acting againſt Sweden, and creates ſuch diſtruſt and jealouſies as cannot be otherwiſe removed. As for the publication of the letters, it was impoſſible (ſays the memorial) to omit the paſſages concerning the czar, becauſe the king had weighty reaſons to impart to the parliament the letters entire as they were found. The anſwer concluded with aſſuring the czar, that he ſhould have reaſon to be ſatisfied, provided he would remove the only obſtacle to their mutual good underſtanding, the continuance of the Ruſſian troops in the empire.

Theſe memorials did not reconcile the two princes: the diſtance of their dominions, the intereſt of their ſubjects with regard to commerce, ſuſpended their reſentments, but they were enemies the reſt of their life. The czar, curious as he was, would not have failed of viſiting England in his progreſs, had the two monarchs been upon good terms.

The czar, after having ſpent three months in Holland, reſolved upon a tour to the court of France, with deſign to enter into a confederacy with the regent of France. He offered to pour a numerous army into the empire, which ſhould be at the diſpoſal of the regent, provided he would pay him the ſubſidies, he demanded, which were very large. But his offer was rejected, and communicated by the regent to king George. However, the czar during his ſtay at Paris concluded a treaty of friendſhip with France, in which the king of Pruſſia was included, and, being preſſed by the regent, he promiſed to withdraw his forces from Mecklenburg. The czar, at his return to Amſterdam, admitted baron Gortz (who had been ſet at liberty the day before his arrival) with great privacy to an interview at Loo [g]. Gortz undertook to adjuſt all differences between the czar, and the king of Sweden, within three months, and the czar engaged to ſuſpend all opperations againſt Sweden till the end of that term.

This interview having been complained of by the Britiſh reſident at Peterſburg, the czar's miniſters at firſt denied it, but ſoon after were obliged to own it. The late duke of Ormond, with one mr. Jernegan, a Roman catholic, was come to Mittau in Courland to propoſe a marriage between one of the czar's daughters and the pretender, and to offer to go and perſuade the king of Sweden to make peace with the czar, and aſſiſt in ſetting the pretender on the throne of Great-Britain; but the propoſal of the marriage interfered with baron Gortz's ſcheme, who had long intended that princeſs for the duke of Holſtein, to whom ſhe was afterwards married. Mr Jernegan was ſent to Sweden for leave that the duke of Ormond might come there as the pretender's miniſter. The anſwer he brought to the duke was, that the king of Sweden had ſtrong reaſons for not admitting him. He was ſoon after ſent from Mittau, and Jernegan was left to manage the buſineſs at Peterſburg, with all poſſible ſecrecy. Mean while a congreſs was formed at Abo, between the Swediſh and Ruſſian miniſters, which was afterwards removed to Aland.

The czar's chief aim was to keep not only Ingria, and part of Carelia, but alſo Revel, with Eſtonia, and Riga, with Livonia, and to reſtore to Sweden only Finland, and the reſt of Carelia. Baron Gortz flattered the czar with

[f] The czar's laying aſide the deſcent upon Schonen was ſaid to be brought about by the ſecret management of baron Gortz, who was become chief miniſter and favourite of the king of Sweden. As there was no likelihood of the czar's making a peace with the king of Sweden, unleſs the provinces he had conquered on the eaſt and north of the Baltic were yielded to him, Gortz perſuaded the king of Sweden that he would have ample amends made him for relinquiſhing thoſe conqueſts of the czar, by having the honour of re-placing Staniſlaus on the throne of Poland, ſetting the crown of England on the head of the chevalier de St. George, and by reſtoring the duke of Holſtein to his dukedom. Beſides, that, being united with the czar, there was nothing they might not undertake.

[g] It may here be obſerved, that the duke of Orleans had interpoſed to bring the king of Sweden to a peace, and ſent the count de la March to him as his embaſſador. But the king of Sweden would hearken to no propoſals till baron Gortz and count Gyllenburg were ſet at liberty. The regent, upon this, orders d' Ibberville to aſſure his Britannic majeſty, that the king of Sweden had declared, he had yet no intentions to trouble the tranquility of Great-Britain, nor had entered into any of the deſigns, attributed to his miniſters, and ſhould conſider, as a great injury to him, the ſuſpicion of his having any concern in their projects. After this declaration on the part of the king of Sweden, the regent hoped, that the king would ſend bac count Gyllenburg to his maſter, and give his conſent that baron Gortz ſhould be alſo releaſed. This was accordingly done, and count Gyllenburg was exchanged for mr. reſident Jackſon, who had been detained at Stockholm.

the hopes of the king of Sweden's conſent to theſe ceſſions, in conſideration of his aſſiſting him in reſtoring Staniſlaus, and retaking what Denmark and England had conquered upon Sweden. The king of Pruſſia was to be included in the treaty, and the czar, the better to make his own terms, engaged to prevail with him to reſtore Stetin for an equivalent ſomewhere elſe. Upon theſe foundations baron Gortz and M. Oſterman, the czar's plenipotentary, concerted the plan of a peace between the czar and the king of Sweden. By this plan the conqueſt of Norway was deſigned. The czar was obliged to aſſiſt his Swediſh majeſty in that expedition, and both promiſed to unite all their forces againſt the king of Great-Britain, in caſe he ſhould interpoſe. This ſeemed to have a view to the intereſt of the pretender, and a deſign of an invaſion in Scotland, after the conqueſt of Norway.

When baron Gortz ſet out for Aland with the plan of peace, in order to obtain his maſter's conſent, the king of Sweden was with his army before Frederickſtad, in Norway, where he was killed in the night, between the 29th and 30th of November 1718. Baron Gortz, not being informed of his death, was arreſted on the road, and having drawn upon himſelf the hatred of the nation, and reſentment of the nobles, whom he had treated with haughtineſs, he was by them condemned to the ſcaffold, where he died with great reſolution. By the king of Sweden's death, the face of affairs in the north was entirely changed. Sweden was forced to ſubmit; the czar, king of Denmark, and king George, as elector of Hanover, remained in poſſeſſion of what they had acquired. Theſe affairs, though not ended till the following year, have been related at once to prevent any farther recourſe to them. But to return to England.

The earl of Oxford had now been confined in the Tower almoſt two years, and, finding the ſeſſion was like to end without entering upon his caſe, he cauſed a petition to be preſented to the houſe of lords, wherein he ſubmitted his caſe to their lordſhips conſideration, praying, that his impriſonment might not be indefinite. The lord Trevor, who preſented his petition, made a long ſpeech in his favour, as did alſo the duke of Buckingham, the earls of Nottingham and Abingdon, and the lords Harcourt and North and Grey. It was inſiſted in the earl's behalf, that the impeachment was deſtroyed and determined, ſince he was not brought to his trial the ſame ſeſſions, in which he was impeached; and that the prorogation ſuperſeded the whole proceedings. The earl of Nottingham, who, in 1715, when in favour, had been one of the moſt zealous againſt the miniſters of the late queen, ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon the impeachment's being ſuperſeded by the prorogation, and demanded leave to enter his proteſtations againſt the vote paſſed to the contrary, by a majority of eighty-ſeven to forty-five.[h]

This being rejected, the duke of Buckingham moved to appoint a day for the earl's trial, which, after ſome debates, and appointing a committee to ſearch for preſedents, was fixed and appointed. It is remarkable, that the appointing a day did not occaſion ſo long a debate as the ſhortening the day, and that the earl's friends preſſed the houſe to appoint a ſhort day, while the other ſide pleaded for time. Accordingly, the duke of Buckingham, who had made the motion, declared in a ſpeech for a ſhort day, and named the 6th of June. But the earl of Sunderland and the lord Coningſby were for ſending a meſſage to the commons, to know whether they were ready, or to appoint the 13th of June for the trial. After ſome debate, the 13th was appointed by a majority of eighty-five againſt forty-four, and a meſſage was ſent to the commons to acquaint them with the ſame.

This meſſage cauſed no leſs debates among the commons. They ſaw the face of their affairs a little changed: ſome, who had been active in this proſecution when it was firſt begun, and upon whom the houſe might be ſaid in ſome meaſure to depend for carrying it on, ſeemed to look coldly upon the matter, and to decline the work, or at leaſt to have leſs of that confidence, the houſe uſually ſhewed them before. This cauſed a vote to appoint a committee to enquire into the ſtate of the earl of Oxford's impeachment. The committee found, upon enquiry, that ſeveral members of the ſecret committee (who begun the proſecution) had been called up to the houſe of peers, as the lords Onſlow, Coningſby, and Marſham, and that others ſeemed remiſs, or were abſent. Therefore the houſe was moved and did agree, that mr. Carter, ſir William Thompſon, the ſerjeants Birch, Pengelly, and Reynolds, ſhould be added to the ſecret committee. At their firſt meeting, mr. Carter was choſen chairman in the room of mr. Walpole, who, with ſeveral others, abſented himſelf. For this reaſon mr. ſecretary Addiſon, mr. Craggs, ſerjeant Mead, and mr. Jeſſop, and a little after mr. Lechmere, now chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, were added to the number.

All the eminent lawyers of the houſe being thus named to be of the committee, they immediately fell to preparing to make good the articles of impeachment, in caſe the houſe ſhould agree to proceed to the trial; but all the while they left people in ſuſpence, as to their reſolution, even till the day before the trial was to be. The king had appointed lord-chancellor Cowper to be lord high-ſteward on this occaſion, and all things were in readineſs for the trial; when, on the 12th of June, a meſſage was ſent from the commons to the lords, to demand longer time for their preparations, purſuant to the following report of the committee.

'That the committee had met ſeveral times, and made ſome progreſs in the matters to them referred; but that the proſecution of the impeachment having been interrupted for ſo many months, by the intervention of many weighty and urgent affairs, which more nearly and immediately concerned the welfare, defence, and ſecurity of the kingdom, it was become abſolutely neceſſary for thoſe who ſhould be appointed to manage the impeachment, to review and carefully peruſe all the treaties, records, letters, and other papers, proper and neceſſary for ſupporting this proſecution; which being voluminous it would be impoſſible, within the time appointed for the trial, to adjuſt and apply the proper evidence to the ſeveral articles.'[i]

[h] His proteſt was as follows:

Diſſentient,

I. Becauſe there ſeems to be no difference in law between a prorogation and a diſſolution of the parliament, which in conſtant practice, have had the ſame effect as to determination, both of judical and legiſlative proceedings; and conſequently this vote may tend to weaken the reſolution of this houſe, May 22, 1685, which was founded upon the law and practice of parliament in all ages, without one precedent to the contrary, except in caſes which happened after the order made the 19th of March, 1678, which was reverſed and annulled in 1685; and in purſuance hereof the earl of Saliſbury was diſcharged in 1690.

II. Becauſe this can never be extended to any but peers, for by the ſtatute 4 Edw. III. no commoner can be impeached of any capital crime; and it is hard to conceive, why the peers ſhould be diſtinguiſhed and deprived of the benefit of all the laws of liberty, to which the meaneſt commoner in Britain is entitled; and this ſeems the more extraordinary, becauſe it is done unaſked of the commons, who, it is conceived, never can aſk it with any colour of law, precedent, reaſon or juſtice.

This proteſt was ſubſcribed by Nottingham, Fra. Roſſen', North and Gray, Bathurſt, Abingdon, Manſell, Hay, Guilford, Dartmouth, Foley, Bruce.

[i] When this report was read in the houſe of commons, there was a ſilence for two or three minutes, till at laſt mr. Hungerford roſe up, and took notice of the great hardſhips, which the earl of Oxford had undergone. Mr Boſcowen expreſſed his concern, 'that a proſecution, which the commons had begun in ſo ſolemn a manner, and which was thought ſo neceſſary to vindicate the honour and juſtice of the nation, ſhould, at laſt, be dropped; which he was ſure would be a reflection upon that houſe.

Here again was a deep ſilence; and the ſpeaker riſing, in order to put the queſtion, mr. Samuel Tufnel, made a long ſpeech, in which he obſerved, that, the houſe having been aſſured by the chairman of the committee of ſecrecy, that there was evidence againſt the earl of Oxford ſufficient to convict him of high-treaſon in Weſtminſter-hall, it was that which ſwayed him to vote for bringing an offender to public juſtice, who had betrayed the honour and intereſt of the nation. Mr Bromley endeavoured to vindicate mr. Walpole, by alledging, 'that, though he was chairman of the ſecret committee, yet, if any thing were done amiſs amongſt them, it were hard to lay all the blame at his door, ſince the whole committee were equally concerned in the impeachment.' But, as to the matter then under deliberation, mr. Bromley added, 'that they had been told above a year and a half ago, that the evidence was ready; but that they ought not to give the lords the trouble of going through the whole impeachment, ſince, in his opinion, twenty of the articles were altogether vain and needleſs.' Some members being ſhocked at this aſſertion, mr. Bromley immediately explained himſelf, ſaying, 'that, if the two articles that were for high-treaſon could be made good, the other twenty would be needleſs and inſignificant.' Mr Shippen obſerved, 'that this impeachment had been depending ſo long, that every body expected it would be dropped: and indeed, unleſs the two articles of high-treaſon could be made good, he thought it unreaſonable to give the two houſes an unneceſſary trouble about the other articles, by keeping them ſitting in the hotteſt part of the ſummer. That, after all, thoſe, who had firſt begun the impeachments, ought to be ſatisfied with having got the places of thoſe that were impeached; which, indeed, ſeemed, to be what they had principally in view. That the truth of this appeared evidently from the behaviour of the gentleman, who was the moſt forward and active in the impeachments, whoſe warmth was very much abated ſince he was out of place. That he did not mention this as a reflection on that gentleman, for whom he ever had a great reſpect; but that he was afraid this would leſſen him in the eſteem of others. That, for his own part, he was not the leaſt ſurprized at his conduct; of which he had, of late obſerved many inſtances; but that he ever diſapproved it.' After this mr. Walpole made an apology for himſelf, ſaying, among other things, 'that he had of late looked over ſome of the moſt material papers relating to this impeachment; and he was ſtill convinced in his conſcience, that the late miniſtry had given themſelves up intirely, and were ready to deliver up the nation to France.' Mr Lechmere ſtrongly ſupported the motion for the meſſage, and ſaid, 'it was no wonder, that a certain ſet of men, who had, at firſt, oppoſed the impeachments, ſhould now be for letting them drop: and that

Upon this meſſage the earl of Sunderland moved to allow the commons a fortnight. The duke of Devonſhire ſaid, twelve days were ſufficient. The lords Trevor, Harcourt, and others inſiſted, that the lords having fixed a day for the trial, they ought not to grant any farther time; but the duke of Devonſhire's motion for twelve days was carried by ſeventy-ſix againſt fifty-ſeven; and the 24th of June was appointed for the day of trial, of which notice was ſent to the commons.

Upon this the commons, to let it be ſeen that they reſolved to go on with the trial, voted the preparatory orders, and appointed the committee, with four other members, to be the managers, to make good the articles of impeachment.

On the 24th of June, the lord high-ſteward, with the houſe of peers, paſſed to the court, prepared for them in Weſtminſter-hall, when the commons were preſent, as a committee of the whole houſe, their managers coming firſt, and taking their places. The king, the prince, and princeſs of Wales were ſeated in boxes: as were the reſt of the royal family, and the foreign miniſters. All things being prepared, and ſilence proclaimed, the earl of Oxford, who had been brought from the Tower by water to Weſtminſter, was conducted to the bar by the deputy-lieutenant of the Tower, having the axe carried before him by the gentleman-jailor of the Tower, who ſtood with it on the left hand of the priſoner, with the edge turned from him. Then the articles of impeachment [k] were read, with the earl's anſwer, and the replication of the commons. After which the lord high-ſteward addreſſed himſelf thus to the priſoner (after having mentioned the uſual way of exhorting perſons in his condition as to their behaviour) 'but, conſidering the many great offices your lordſhip has borne in the ſtate, your long experience and known learning in all parliamentary proceedings, I cannot but think it would be improper for me to ſpeak to your lordſhip in that manner.' Mr Hampden, one of the managers, then made a long ſpeech, which ended, ſir Joſeph Jekyll ſtood up, in order to make good the firſt article of the impeachment: but the lord Harcourt having ſignified to the lords, that, before the managers proceeded farther, he had a motion to make, they adjourned to their own houſe, and the commons returned to theirs.

As ſoon as the peers were come to their houſe, the lord Harcourt repreſented, 'that the going through all the articles of impeachment would take up a great deal of time to little purpoſe; for, if the commons could make good the two articles for high-treaſon, the earl of Oxford would forfeit both life and eſtate, and there would be an end of the matter; whereas the proceeding, in the method the commons propoſed, would draw the trial into a prodigious length: urging, that it would be a great hardſhip upon a peer, who had already undergone ſo long a confinement, to appear every day at their bar like a traitor, and be, at laſt, found guilty only of high crimes and miſdemeanors:' and therefore he moved, that the commons might not be admitted to proceed, till judgment was firſt given upon the articles for high-treaſon. The lord Harcourt was ſupported by the lord Trevor, and the earls of Angleſea and Nottingham. But the lord Parker anſwered them, 'that, in all courts of judicature, it is the uſual and conſtant method to go through all the evidence, before judgment be given upon any part of the accuſation: that, though the houſe of peers be the ſupreme court of the kingdom, yet it has ever a regard to the rules of equity and juſtice, and even to the forms obſerved in the courts below. And, as for the priſoner's appearing in the abject condition of a traitor, it was but a piece of formality, which did him no manner of hurt, and to which perſons of the higheſt rank had ever ſubmitted, in order to clear their innocence.' The earl of Sunderland, the lord Coningſby, and the lord Cadogan ſpoke on the ſame ſide. But, the dukes of Buckingham and Argyle, the earl of Ilay, the biſhop of Rocheſter, the lord North and Grey, the lord Townſhend, and ſeveral others having ſtrenuouſly ſupported the lord Harcourt's motion, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of eighty-eight againſt fifty-ſix.

This reſolution being declared to the managers at the lords return to the hall, ſir William Thompſon replied: 'that they conceived it to be ſo much the undoubted right of the commons to proceed in their own method, in maintainance of the articles exhibited by them, and did apprehend, that this reſolution of their lordſhips might be of fatal conſequence to the rights and privileges of all the commons of Great-Britain, that they could not take upon them to proceed any further, without reſorting to the houſe of commons for their direction therein.'

Upon this proceeding, conferences, ſearching for precedents, and the like method of managing ſuch diſputes took up ſome days; and in particular, on the 27th of June, the commons at a conference delivered a paper, containing their reaſons for aſſerting it as their undoubted right to impeach a peer either for high-treaſon, or for high crimes and miſdemeanors, or, if they ſee occaſion, to mix both in the ſame accuſation. [l]

This paper being debated in the houſe of lords, they inſiſted on their former reſolution, that tha commons ſhould not proceed till judgment was given upon the articles of high-treaſon, and ordered likewiſe a paper of reaſons in ſupport of their reſolutions to be drawn up and delipered to the commons at another conference, wherein they aſſerted it to be a right inherent in every court of juſtice to order and direct ſuch methods of proceedings as ſuch courts ſhall think fit to be obſerved, in all cauſes depending before them. [m]

Thus far the two houſes carried on their debate with ſome

this was yet the leſs ſurprizing, in that the ſame gentlemen had conſtantly oppoſed all that had been propoſed for the ſupport of the preſent happy ſettlement. But that, for his own part, he was of the ſame opinion he ever was, that the nation could not proſper, till they had brought thoſe to juſtice, who betrayed its allies in ſo ſcandalous a manner, and brought it to the brink of ruin: and that he would venture his life in this proſecution.' This ſpeech had ſo much weight, that it was carried without dividing, that the meſſage be ſent to the lords.'

[k] See page 25.

[l] The paper was as follows:

'The commons having taken into their conſideration your lordſhips reſolution communicated to their managers relating to the proceedings on the trial of Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer; and being deſirous, as far as in them lies, to maintain a good correſpondence with your lordſhips, have deſired this conference, and have commanded us to acquaint your lordſhips, that they conceive it to be the undoubted right of the commons to impeach a peer, either for high-treaſon, or for high crimes and miſdemeanors; or, if they ſee occaſion, to mix both the one and the other in the ſame accuſation.

The impeachment preferred againſt Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer is one continued accuſation, conſiſting of high crimes and miſdemeanors, and alſo of charges of high-treaſon. The facts, on which the articles preceding thoſe of high-treaſon are grounded, are laid together in order of time, and follow one another ſucceſſively, in the manner they were committed.

As the commons thought this the moſt natural method for exhibiting the ſeveral articles againſt the ſaid earl, they were of opinion, that they ſhould proceed in the proof of theſe ſeveral facts after the ſame method, ſince it is manifeſt, that, in laying open the courſe of ſuch a wiced adminiſtration, the preceding parts of it gave light to thoſe which follow; and that the proof of the ſeveral articles of high crimes and miſdemeanors would naturally lead to the proof of thoſe of high-treaſon.

Your lordſhips received theſe ſeveral articles of impeachment, without making any exception againſt the form in which they were exhibited. The ſaid earl made his anſwer to them in the ſame order, and has no where inſiſted to be tried in any other method: ſo that the commons are ſurprized to find a ſtop put to their proſecution by an objection, which has never been ſtarted by the ſaid earl, and which your lordſhips had given them ſo little reaſon to expect.

To this muſt be added, that as the commons only are maſters of the evidence, and as upon that account they are beſt able to determine what to charge firſt, and what next; ſo they are moſt proper to determine in what method to proceed for the advantage of the proſecution, in the event of which all the commons of Great-Britain are ſo highly concerned.

To which they further add, that they ſee no reaſon, but that your lordſhips may as well invert the whole order of the articles, as to preſcribe to the commons thoſe particular articles, on which they are firſt to proceed; which will neceſſarily produce ſuch a confuſion, both in the facts and evidence, as is by no means conſiſtent with that clearneſs and perſpicuity, in which the commons think this affair ought to appear.

The commons, upon examining precedents, do do find divers precedents of impeachments for high-treaſon, and other high crimes and miſdemeanors, in the ſame accuſation; and do not find, that the lords ever objected to ſuch proceedings, or ever gave judgment upon any particular article of an impeachment before the commons had gone through, and concluded their evidence upon all the articles, or ſo many of them as they thought fit: and the commons are at a loſs to conceive what arguments, or precedents, can be brought to ſupport the reſolution of your lordſhips, to give judgment upon one part of the ſame accuſation, reſerving the other part for a ſubſequent trial, as they are to know what your lordſhips mean by admitting the commons to proceed upon the articles of high crimes and miſdemeanors, after the judgment is given upon the articles for high-treaſon ſuppoſing the judgment proper for high-treaſon ſhould be given againſt the ſaid earl.

For theſe reaſons the commons aſſert it as their undoubted right to proceed on the trial of Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, after the method, in which their managers were proceeding, when interrupted by your lordſhips reſolution.'

[m] The paper was as follows.

'Their lordſhips, in order to preſerve a good correſpondence with the houſe of commons (which they ſhall always endeavour to do, as far as lies in their power) have deſired this conference upon the ſubject-matter of the laſt conference, and have directed us to acquaint you, that their lordſhips judge it a right inherent in every court of juſtice, to order and direct ſuch methods of proceedings, as ſuch courts ſhall think fit to be obſerved in all cauſes depending before them; which can have no influence to the prejudice of juſtice, and where ſuch methods of proceedings are not otherwiſe ſettled by any poſitive rule. The power of judicature, on all impeachments, being a right unqueſtionably inherent in their lordſhips, and it not being determined by any poſitive rule, whether the houſe of commons may proceed to make good the ſeveral articles exhibited for high-treaſon; and there being no precedent, where the commons, upon the trial of any ſuch impeachment, attempted to proceed, in the firſt place, to make good any of the articles contained in ſuch impeachments for high crimes and miſdemeanors; their lordſhips conſidering the nature of the impeachments now depending before them, and the method, wherein the managers for the houſe of commons were beginning to proceed upon the trial, to make good the firſt article thereof, which is a charge for high crimes and miſdemeanors only; and alſo conſidering the very different methods of proceeding on an impeachment of a peer for high-treaſon, as well

calmneſs, but they grew warmer the next day, when th commons, having conſidered the paper delivered to them by the lords, ſent a meſſage to deſire a free conference, and the lords refuſed it; and now the party for the earl of Oxford began to ſee his deliverance at hand, for the lords refuſing to grant the commons a free conference, ſet the two houſes into a new diſpute, and put the wiſhed-for agreement about the trial quite out of the queſtion.

This refuſal of a free conference was urged in the houſe of lords upon the foundation, that it was a point of judicature in which the commons had no concern, at leaſt, they could not admit it to be debated; and ſome precedents were brought, in which the commons had denied the peers a free conference, as in money-bills, in which the ſame reaſons were given, namely, that it was a money-bill in which the lords had no right to make any amendment. Theſe things were going on to great heights, and, the commons deſiring a conference upon this ſubject, they gave in a paper to the managers for the peers, wherein they inſiſted that it was not a point of judicature, but a point relating only to the proſecution of the commons, and therefore a free conference ought not to be denied. [n]

The lords, though many of them were zealous for bringing on the trial, yet being tender of the privileges of the peers, and ſatisfied that the commons were in the wrong, reſolved to inſiſt upon it, that they ought not to grant them a free conference upon this ſubject; and, having put the queſtion again in their houſe, it paſſed, not to grant a free conference, which was ſignifyed to the commons.

This meſſage put the houſe of commons in a flame, and ſeveral warm ſpeeches were made on the occaſion by mr. Stanhope, mr. Craggs, mr. Tufnel, and others; mr. Lechmere 'lamented the unhappy dilemma to which they were brought, either to ſee ſo great an offender as the earl of Oxford eſcape unpuniſhed, or to acquieſce in proceeding on his trial in the manner preſcribed by the lords.' He ſaid, 'he thought the latter more eligible of the two, with a ſaving to the rights and privileges of the commons, and therefore made a motion for it.' He was ſupported by mr. Hampden, and ſeveral other members, but his motion was rejected. Then a meſſage was brought from the lords, that they intended preſently to proceed on the trial of the earl. The commons took no notice of this meſſage. [o] However, ſeeing the lords were reſolved to proceed, the houſe adjourned. It was ſuggeſted, this adjournment was ordered, that they might not receive any more meſſages about it, or be ſent to from the hall to appear at the trial.

It appears from the debates above-mentioned, that theſe things were not carried thus without ſome variety of opinions and motions. Some, who were zealous for bringing a great offender (and ſuch they accounted the earl to be) to juſtice, were for quitting the nicety they contended for, and, not doubting but they ſhould be able to make good the charge of high-treaſon againſt him, were for giving the lords the point and proceeding. But others, no leſs zealous for juſtice, and as much convinced of the earl's guilt, were yet of opinion, that they ought not to make any precedent, which might be uſed by poſterity to the diſadvantages of the commons, and in prejudice to their rights, but that they ſhould proceed in the ordinary methods of juſtice, and preſerve the privileges of their houſe entire, as their anceſtors had done before them.

It was, however, propoſed to proceed by way of attainder; and ſir William Strickland moved it, though in other words, 'that leave be given to bring in a bill, to inflict pains and penalties on Robert earl of Oxford, as his traiterous practices and miſdemeanors deſerve, and as ſhall be thought reaſonable.' This bred a high debate, which ended in an adjournment to the 3d of July.

In the mean time, the lords proceeded to the formalities of judicature. They went down to the hall, took their places, ordered the earl to be brought to the bar, and made proclamation for his accuſers to appear, and make good the impeachment againſt him. After this, the court ſat perfectly ſilent, as if expecting the commons ſhould appear. This ſilence held about a quarter of an hour, when the lords adjourned to their houſe, where the queſtion, that the earl ſhould be acquitted, paſſed in the affirmative, after ſome debate. Then the houſe returned to the hall, where, one or two excepted, they all gave their votes for the diſcharge of the earl of Oxford, who was immediately ſet at liberty. It was obſerved, moſt of the whig lords retired, before the peers went the laſt time to the hall, ſo there were not above a hundred and ſeven who gave their votes.

Thus ended this affair: and it is plain, the earl owed his diſcharge not only to the diſputes between the two houſes, but alſo to the late changes in the miniſtry; without which the earl of Nottingham, the duke of Argyle, the earl of Ilay, the duke of Devonſhire, and the lord Townſhend would certainly not have been in the number of his friends. However, the commons did not reſt here, for, though ſir William Strickland's bill for inflicting pains and penalties on the earl was not ſeconded, yet, to ſhew their reſentment at this proceeding, they reſolved that the king ſhould be addreſſed, to except him out of the act of grace, which was intended to be brought into the houſe [p]. The king had likewiſe, two days before, upon information that the

before as upon the trial thereof, and the circumſtances attending ſuch a trial, thought themſelves obliged to come to a reſolution communicated to the commons on the 24th inſtant, as well for the doing juſtice in the caſe depending before them, as for the preventing a new precedent to be made on this trial; in conſequence whereof, a new and unjuſtifiable form of proceeding againſt a peer, upon an impeachment for high-treaſon and high crimes, might be introduced at his trial upon thoſe articles, in which he is charged for high crimes and miſdemeanors only, to the prejudice of the peerage of Great-Britain in all time to come, viz. the trying a peer on articles for high crimes and miſdemeanors without the bar, the detaining in cuſtody a peer ſo accuſed, and repeated commitments of him to the Tower during the time of ſuch trial and ſubjecting a peer to as ignominious circumſtances on his trial, as if he was then on his trial on articles for high-treaſon: whereas a peer, on his trial, on articles for miſdemeanors only, ought not to be deprived of his liberty, nor ſequeſtered from parliament, and is entitled to the privilege of ſitting within the bar during the whole time of his trial: in all which particulars, the known rule of proceedings in ſuch caſes may be evaded, ſhould a peer be brought to his trial on ſeveral articles exhibited againſt him on high crimes and miſdemeanors and high-treaſon mixed together, and the commons be admitted to proceed, in order to make good the articles for high crimes and miſdemeanors, before judgment be given upon the articles for high-treaſon. Their lordſhips have fully conſidered the matters offered to them by the houſe of commons, at the laſt conference relating to the proceedings againſt Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer; and their lordſhips are fully ſatisfied, that the reſolution they have taken and communicated to the commons on the 24th inſtant, is juſt and reaſonable; and that the houſe of commons are not put under any real inconvenience thereby, in carrying on their preſent proſecution. Their lordſhips have commanded us to let you know, that they do inſiſt on their ſaid reſolution, viz. that the commons be not admitted to proceed, in order to make good the articles againſt Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, for high crimes and miſdemeanors, till judgment be firſt given upon the articles for high-treaſon.'

[n] The paper was thus:

'The commons having taken into conſideration your lordſhips meſſage, viz. that your lordſhips did not think fit to give a free conference on the ſubject-matter of the laſt conference, as was deſired by the commons: and they being ſtill deſirous, to the utmoſt of their power, to preſerve a good correſpondence with your lordſhips, have aſked this conference; and have commanded us to acquaint your lordſhips, that they are very much ſurprized to find your lordſhips deny a free conference, after your lordſhips have already agreed to a conference deſired by the commons on the ſame ſubject-matter, and after your lordſhips have, on your parts, alſo deſired a conference upon the ſame ſubject. The free conferences are the moſt ancient and eſtabliſhed methods for adjuſting the differences that have at any time ariſen between the two houſes, and, as the commons conceive, is the only method to preſerve a good correſpondence between them on ſuch occaſions, which, at this time, is of the higheſt importance, becauſe a miſunderſtanding on this account would tend to defeat the trial of the impeachment of the commons. That the commons conceive clearly, that the ſubject-matter of the laſt conference is not point of judicature, but a point relating only to the commons, it having ariſen before any matter of judgment had come before your lordſhips upon the trial. For which reaſons the commons conceive, that your lordſhips ought not to have denied them a free conference upon the ſubject-matter of the laſt conference.'

[o] It is ſaid, ſome moved not to receive it. Annals.

[p] As this addreſs (which was preſented by the whole houſe on the 5th of July) ſets forth the juſt reſentment of the commons; it is here inſerted, with the king's anſwer:

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

'We your majeſty's moſt faithful ſubjects, the commons of great Britain in parliament aſſembled, do moſt humbly repreſent to your majeſty, that, in our impeachment exhibited againſt Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, we did ſet forth, that he the ſaid earl did traiterouſly adhere to, aid, and abet the late French king, then an enemy to her late majeſty, and did begin and carry on a clandeſtine and ſeparate correſpondence and negotiation with the miniſters of the ſaid French king; in conſequence of which it is evident, that great part of the forces maintained at the expence of ſo much Britiſh treaſure, in order to reduce the power of France; as likewiſe great part of the ſame end, were, in reality, made ſubſervient and inſtrumental to awe the good allies of her majeſty into a compliance with the hard terms dictated by France. The unhappy Catalans were abandoned; the emperor, empire, and king of Portugal, were left to treat for themſelves; the kingdom of Sicily was given to the duke of Savoy, as an inducement and reward to him for quitting the common cauſe, in direct defiance and violation of the grand alliance, and of the declared ſenſe of moſt of our good allies, and eſpecially of the Dutch, who, to this day, have never aſſented to that condition of the treaty of Utrecht. A ſhameful and diſhonourable treaty of peace was at laſt concluded, by which impracticable terms of trade were impoſed on Great-Britain; the demolition of Dunkirk, which had been addreſſed for by parliament, was eluded by a treacherous connivance, as the making of a new canal at Mardyke; and the ſecurity which was propoſed, by removing the pretender out of France, was, in the like manner, evaded by a treacherous connivance at his reſiding in Lorrain.

It is owing to your majeſty's unwearied endeavours for the good of your ſubjects, and that juſt regard which is paid to your majeſty by foreign princes and ſtates, that we ſee ourſelves delivered, in a great degree, from the effects of theſe pernicious meaſures, which might otherwiſe have proved fatal to your kingdoms: but as we reflect, with equal gratitude and admiration, on your majeſty's being able to retrieve ſuch miſcarriages, eſpecially in a time which has been diſturbed by public tumults and rebellion, we think it is a great aggrevation of guilt in thoſe who gave up ſo many national advantages,

earl of Oxford designed to come to court, thought fit to forbid him.

The session now drew towards an end, and the houses were chiefly employed in finishing the bills that were depending, when, on the 15th of July, the earl of Sunderland delivered in the house of peers, the act of grace, which the king had promised in his speech of the 6th of May. It was immediately read and passed, and then sent down to the house of commons where it met wirh the like dispatch.

All things being ready, the king came the same day, in the afternoon, to the house of peers, and, having given the royal assent to all the bills, closed the session with the following speech, which was read to both houses by the lord-chancellor:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I cannot put an end to this session without expressing my thanks to you for the dispatch you have given to the public business, and declaring the satisfaction I promise myself in meeting you again early the next winter, with the same good dispositions for the service of your country.

'The measures we have taken in this parliament, have, by the blessing of Almighty God, effectually defeated all the attempts of our enemies, both at home and abroad: and as the principles, on which those measures are founded, are equally conducive to the supporting the just rights of the crown and the liberties of the people, I shall always persevere in them myself, and distinguish those who adhere to them with the same steadiness and resolution.'

Gentlemen of the house of Commons,

'I thank you, in the most affectionate manner, for the supplies you have granted me, and for that constancy and zeal, which you have shewn in reducing our national debts, notwithstanding the many incidents and obstructions you have met with in the carrying on of that great work. As you have furnished me with the means of disappointing any designs of a foreign enemy against these my kingdoms; so I cannot but ascribe, in a great measure, the happy prospect of our affairs abroad to that public spirit, which has appeared in your proceedings, and has convinced the world, that no insinuations or artifices can divert you from your duty to your sovereign, and a disinterested regard to your fellow-subjects.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'It is with great pleasure, that I see the tranquility of the nation so well established, as to admit of an act of grace, which I have long desired a fit opportunity to grant. I hope, that such as shall, by this means, be restored to the enjoyment of security, and the protection of those laws, against which they have offended, will have a due sense of this my indulgence, and give me the most acceptable return they can possibly make me, that of becoming friends, instead of enemies to their country.'

Then the parliament was prorogued to the 12th of August; and afterwards, by several prorogations, to the 21st of November.

Thus ended this session of parliament, famous for the transactions relating to the earl of Oxford, but chiefly for laying the foundation of paying the public debts, without any breach of parliamentary credit.

The expectation of the act of grace had long agitated the minds of people. Some, through their impatience for want of it: others, through fear of being excepted out of it; and others, though their dislike of the general tenor of it, had appeared dissatisfied about it, and spoke contemptible of it. [q]

This act of grace and free pardon was as a finishing to the whole transaction of the rebellion, and therefore it will not be improper to give an account of the persons who received benefit by it, and also of those who were excepted out of it.

The exceptions by name were no more than, the earl of Oxford, pursuant to the commons address, lord Harcourt; mr. Prior, mr. Thomas Harley, and mr. Arthur Moor, with five mean persons, Crisp, Nodes, O'Brian, Redmayne (the printer) and Thompson. Besides these, the assassinators in Newgate (confined there ever since the assassination-plot in king William's reign) were also excepted by name. The other exceptions were but five, except such as are usual in all general pardons. No act of grace for many ages past, in like circumstances, had been clogged with fewer exceptions, considering the number of rebels then abroad, and their unwearied diligence to disturb the peace of the kingdom. [r]

As for those who received the benefit of it, they were first the lords in the Tower under sentence of death, who were immediately delivered. This was directed by an exception in the act of grace, namely, 'all persons impeached in parliament, before the 6th of May 1717, whose impeached remains undetermined.' So that they who were impeachmed for rebellion, and being convicted were under sentence of death, were not by this articles excepted, because the impeachment was determined in law. Consequently, the earl of Carnwarth, with the lords Widdrinton and Nairn, peers, condemned by the house of lords, were immediately discharged. The lord Duffus was continued under confinement, with an allowance of 3l. a week.

Likewise the prison doors were set open all over England: seventeen gentlemen under sentence of death in Newgate were released; as also a great many in the Marshalsea and Fleet, and in the hands of messengers; and not only those who were under sentence, but several others who were not tried.

In the castle of West-Chester, about two hundred prisoners, taken at Preston, were set free, none being detained but the lord Charles Murray, son of the duke of Athol, and he was only reserved to be a particular object of the king's clemency, a pardon having passed for him a few weeks after.

In like manner the prisoners in the castle of Lancaster were delivered; these were in general the common soldiers of the rebels, the rest of them were either sent to the plan tations at their own request, or dead in prison, or had made their escape. The prisoners in the castle of Carlisle, being twenty-six gentlemen, the chief of the disaffected people in Scotland; most, if not all, taken in actual rebellion, and under sentence of death, were likewise released.

In Scotland, all the prisoners remaining in the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, as the lord Rollo, the earl of Strathallan, and several others of rank were all discharged.

Commissioners, for enquiring into the forfeited estates, had been appointed some time by the parliament. They had managed their enquiry with great application, but had met with great difficulties and obstructions from the creditors of the attained persons, who, by the ordinary course of justice, were in possession of the estates. The lords of session had also, at the petition of some persons, pretending to be creditors, sequestered all the most considerable

at a time when they laboured under no such difficulties at home, and when the continued successes of a long and glorious war had put them into a condition of gaining the most beneficial terms from the enemy.

Your faithful commons did likewise exhibit several other charges against the said earl, representing him, in many notorious interests, as a person who had abused the trust and confidence which her late majesty had reposed in him, and sacrificed the honour of his sovereign, and the good of her people, to private views of interest and ambition.

Your faithful commons have not been wanting in their endeavours to bring the said earl to justice; but, by reason of the unhappy differences that have, in this proceeding, arisen between the two houses, we have found ourselves disappointed of our just expectation, and reduced to the necessity either of giving up rights and privileges of the highest importance to all the commons of Great-Britain, or seeing this great offender escape with impunity for the present.

For these reasons, we do most humbly beseech your majesty, that your majesty will be pleased to except Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer out of the act of grace, which your majesty has been graciously pleased to promise from the throne, to the end the commons may be at liberty to proceed against the said earl, in a parliamentary way.'

To this address his majesty was pleased to return the following answer:

Gentlemen,

'I will give directions, in relation to the earl of Oxford, as you desire; and it is with pleasure I observe the sence expressed in your address of my endeavours for the security, honour, and advantage of these kingdoms.'

[q] This gave ground to the following expression in a treatise published at that time, 'that the clemency of king George was not only great and godlike, but even extended further than that of God himself. For (says the author) God Almighty, however merciful in his nature, yet has proclaimed pardon to none but the penitent; whereas king George has pardoned, not those who have repented only, but even those who contemned the very grace they have received, and insulted the king that forgave them, receiving the grace with unthankfulness, and with ungrateful reproaches against the hand that gave it.'

[r] Among the exceptions were all the persons of the name and clan of Macgregor, mentioned in an act of parliament in Scotland, in the first year of king Charles I. It seems the family or clan of Macgregors alias Campbells, had been in rebellion in the time of king James I. and were reduced. But on king James's death, they took up the arms again, not so much on any state account, as to plunder the low-lands, and injure the country; whereupon a remarkable act passed against them. By this act they were all at the age of sixteen to appear before the privy-council, and give surity for their good behaviour; and, in order to their exterpation, no minister, within the bounds of the Highland's, were to baptize any male-child, with the name of Gregor, or Macgregor. The famous Robert Roy, head of this clan, being in the rebellion, occationed perhaps the exception, by which the whole family of the Macgregors were excluded the benefit of the act of grace.

forfeited eſtates, and appointed factors with power to diſtrain tenants for non-payment of rents, on behalf of thoſe creditors. Theſe factors, or receivers, repreſenting, that they acted by the authority of the court of ſeſſion, abſolutely refuſed, though ordered by the commiſſioners, either to pay the rents into the exchequer, or to give ſecurity for ſo doing. In vain did the commiſſioners appoint receivers, as they could not give them a power to diſtrain. Nor would the court of ſeſſion, upon the petition of the commiſſioners, recal the ſequeſtrations.[s] The barons of the exchequer were next applied to, but they likewiſe refuſed to comply with the commiſſioners, upon which they ordered all the monies, ariſen from the ſale of the perſonal eſtates, into the receiver-general of Scotland.

The yearly value of the real eſtates, of which the commiſſioners had perfected the ſurvey, amounted to 29694l. 6s. 8d. ſterling, per annum, as appeared by the report, which was publiſhed in July, by order of the houſe of lords.[t]

The commiſſioners in England did not meet with ſo much difficulty, by whoſe report (which was alſo printed) the annual rents of the forfeited eſtates in England and Ireland amounted in the whole to 47626l. 18s. 5½d. The improved rents of eſtates on lives, after the lives were expired, they computed at 4798l. 6s. 3d.[u]

As the king reſolved not to go into Germany this year, the houſhold removed to Hampton-court, where he reſided for the ſummer.

At the cloſe of the ſeſſion, the following alterations and promotions were made: mr. Stanhope, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, was created baron of Elvaſton, and viſcount of Mahon; the earl of Suffolk, mr. Chetwynd, ſir Charles Cook, mr. Docminique, mr. Moleſworth, mr. Pelham, mr. Daniel Pultney, and mr. Bladen, were appointed commiſſioners of trade; lord Cadogan was made general of all the forces in England; and mr. Boſcowen vice treaſurer of Ireland, of which kingdom the following perſons were made peers: Trevor Hill, viſcount Hillſborough; ſir Thomas Southwel, viſcount Southwel; Walter Chetwynd, viſcount Fitzharding; Alan Broderick, viſcount Middleton; lord Hamilton of Strath Allan, viſcount Boyn; John Allen, viſcount of Kildare. Coniers d' Arcy, brother to the earl of Holderneſs, was removed from his employment of gentleman of the horſe, and one of the commiſſioners for executing the office of maſter of the horſe. The earl of Leiceſter was appointed conſtable of Dover caſtle, and warden of the Cinque-Ports, in the room of the earl of Dorſet; and the duke of Portland was made one of the lords of the bed-chamber.

Whilſt the king was at Hampton-court, count Volkra, the imperial miniſter, brought him the news of prince Eugene's victory over the Turks at Belgrade. Prince Eugene, having aſſembled the imperial army, before the Turks could draw their forces together, reſolved to beſiege Belgrade: to this end he marched his army over the Theyſe, upon a bridge of boats laid for that purpoſe, and poſted himſelf on the other ſide of the Danube, in ſight of that fortreſs: this unexpected paſſage ſtruc the infidels into ſuch a conſternation, that their troops ran away in the utmoſt confuſion, while the reſt of the imperial army paſſed the Danube likewiſe over a bridge, that was laid with all poſſible diligence. The place was immediately inveſted, and lines of circumvallation and contravallation were made from the Save to the Danube, by which means the imperial camp became ſo ſtrong, that it ſeemed as if one fortreſs had laid ſiege to another. This precaution had its effect: for when the main army of the Turks was advanced to relieve Belgrade, they found the beſiegers ſo ſtrongly intrenched, that they were under a neceſſity of opening trenches to approach their lines: but prince Eugene had taken his meaſures ſo well before hand, that when the Ottoman army appeared, though they were much more numerous and formidable than could be believed, he was in a condition to expect them in his intrenchments, without diſcontinuing his attacs. It was undoubtedly a very extraordinary ſight, to ſee two ſieges at once, and even the beſiegers themſelves beſieged; the place being ſhut up on all ſides by the imperial army; and the imperial army ſhut up on one ſide between two great rivers, and on the other between a town, defended by a ſtrong garriſon, and the enemy's camp ſtrongly intrenched: thus there was a neceſſity either to conquer or periſh, and the leaſt falſe ſtep would have decided it. But, when things ſeemed reduced to this dangerous criſis, prince Eugene, inſtead of waiting to be attaced in his intrenchments, marched out of them, and attaced the Turks in theirs, with ſo great bravery and conduct, that he gained a moſt compleat victory, over their almoſt innumerable forces, which was followed the next day by the ſurrender of Belgrade, the key of the Ottoman empire.

Mean while, the great preparations, the Spaniards were making by ſea and land, drew the attention of all Europe. When the emperor ſent his army into Hungary againſt the Turks, who had invaded the dominions of the Venetians, his allies, the pope, to whom wars of that kind are always agreeable, obtained repeated aſſurances from the king of Spain, both by letters, and by declarations from his ambaſſador at Rome, 'that he would not undertake any thing againſt the intereſts of the emperor, whilſt his arms ſhould be employed in ſo religious a cauſe; and would even aid the Venetians with a ſquadron of men of war and gallies.' For which purpoſe he obtained from the court of Rome an indulto, for raiſing a ſubſidy of two millions and a half on the eccleſiaſtical revenues in the Indies; and another for five hundred thouſand ducats on the eſtates of the clergy in Spain. Accordingly, the king of Spain ſent out the laſt year a ſmall ſquadron of ſix men of war and five gallies, which arrived too late in the Levant, to be of any ſervice to the Venetians, who had before ſuſtained a naval fight with the Turks, and had almoſt finiſhed the operations of the campaign. But this year the preparations in Spain were ſo extraordinary, as gave a jealouſy, that, inſtead of ſending aſſiſtance to the Venetians, the Spaniards had a deſign to make ſome conqueſt themſelves on the emperor's dominions in the Mediterranean. The event juſtified the ſuſpicion. A ſtrong ſquadron of men of war, with about nine thouſand land-forces, commanded by the marquiſs de Lede, ſailed from Barcelona the 20th of July, and, landing at Cagliari in

[s] Theſe ſequeſtrations were founded upon the words of the act for encouraging ſuperiors, &c. 'That no conviction or attainder ſhall exclude the right of any creditor remaining peaceable, for ſecurity of any juſt depts contracted before the commiſſion of any of the aforeſaid crimes.' As theſe words ſeemed only to import, that the creditors ſhould be paid their juſt debts, the commiſſioners ſubmitted the matter to the lords, whether the payment of theſe debts was not better provided for, by paying the rents into the exchequer, for the benefit of the public and creditors, according to the expreſs direction of the act of parliament, than by ſuffering the growing rents to remain at the diſpoſal of the receivers, who being the truſtees friends, and agents of the forfeiting perſons, were like to injure both the public, and the creditors.

[t] The abſtracts of the rentals of the forfeited eſtates of Scotland were as follows, the ſhillings and pence being omitted:

	per ann. £		per ann. £
Wintown	3393	Wood-End	83
Southeſque	3271	Fairney	153
Linlithgow	1296	Maſter of Nairne	60
Keir	907	Dunboog	170
Panmure	3456	Earl Mariſchal	1676
Weddebourne	213	Kilconquebar	287
Ayton	323	Lord Nairne	740
Kilſythe	864	Fingaſk	537
Bannockbourn	411	Cromlix	415
Eaſt Reſton	137	Nithiſdale	809
Marr	1678	Inneray	281
Invernite	361	Kenmure	608
Awchintoul	347	Drummond	2566
Pow-houſe	377	Burleigh	697
Natthill	72	Scotſtown	110
Bowhill	27	Duntroon	54
Lathbriſk	208	Lagg	424
Gleubervy	75	Cornwarth	863
Preſton-Hall	230	Baldoon	1495

[u] The rental was as follows, ſhillings and pence omitted:

	per ann. £		per ann. £
Francis Anderton, eſq.	1425	John Laybourne	275
Hugh Anderton, eſq.	131	Duke of Ormond, England and Ireland incumbered	21163
John Aſhlow	60	Hanry Oxborough	507
Richard Butler	382	John Parkinſon	5
Henry St. John, late lord Bolingbroke	2552	William Paul	42
Richard Billſborough	19	John Pleſſington	39
Thomas Briers	91	Robert Scarſbrook, eſq.	388
Robert Cowper	20	William Shaftoe, eſq.	714
Richard Charley, eſq.	138	Richard Sherburne	32
George Clifton	5	Richard Shuttleworth	3
George Collingwood, eſq.	924	Ralph Shuttleworth	78
Edward Gore	19	Ralph Standiſh, eſq.	671
Robert Daniel	18	James Singleton	40
John Dalton, eſq.	661	Thomas Standley, eſq.	246
Earl of Derwentwater	6371	Lord Staforth	517
Roger Dicconſon, eſq.	641	Edward Swinburne, eſq.	305
Thomas Foſter, eſq.	530	John Sturzeker	10
In reverſion 600,	1100	John Thornton, eſq.	158
George Gibſon	227	Chriſtopher Trap	58
John Gregory	26	Joſeph Wadſworth	12
John Hall	70	Thomas Walton	97
Gabriel Heſketh	102	Thomas Walmſley	51
Albert Hodgſon	327	Lord Widdrington	5145
Philip Hodgſon	238	Edward Winchley, eſq.	220
Jordan Langdale	79	Richard Withrington	12

Sardinia, made a ſpeedy and entire conqueſt of that iſland which belonged to the emperor, and was in no good condition of defence.

During this expedition, the marquiſs of Grimaldo, ſecretary of ſtate at Madrid, ſent a letter to the Spaniſh miniſters in foreign courts, to be publiſhed as a manifeſto or declaration of the reaſons of thoſe proceedings, the ſubſtance of which was; 'that all Europe, as well as himſelf, might well be ſurprized to find the military preparations of his maſter, which were deſigned to ſecond the efforts of the chriſtian army according to promiſes made to the pope thereupon, on a ſudden turned againſt that very power, in the attac of Sardinia; but that, as he had opportunity of learning the reaſons of ſuch a conduct from his majeſty's own mouth, he thought fit to communicate the ſame, to be, that though his majeſty had borne with great magnanimity the ſacrifice of many of his territories to the public tranquility by the late peace; upon the preſumption that ſuch a condeſcenſion would ſecure the repoſe of a nation, whoſe good fortune was not anſwerable to its virtue; yet as the arch-duke, contrary to the faith of treaties, encouraged and ſupported the deſertion of his ſubjects in Catalonia, by frequent ſuccours from Naples, and other places, and ſeemed, by all his meaſures, reſolved on all opportunities of giving him diſquiet in his dominions; his majeſty had looked upon the war with the Turks to have opened to him a gate of revenge, in recovering thoſe territories which had been uſurped from him by the arch-duke. That all overtures of pacification on his majeſty's ſide, had rather inflamed the arch-duke's conduct in his prejudice; and that becauſe declarations had been publiſhed in many parts of Europe, injurious to his majeſty's honour and dignity, and particularly becauſe the great inquiſitor of Spain had been ſeized, though furniſhed with his holineſs's paſſport, and in deſpite to that authority, neceſſary to ſupport the due regards of his ſubjects; his majeſty was reſolved to employ thoſe forces in a lawful revenge, which were at firſt deſigned againſt the enemies of the arch-duke.' [v] Theſe reaſons did not appear ſatisfactory: for whatever unfairneſs had been practiſed by the emperor, it was long before the king of Spain's promiſe, not to moleſt the emperor whilſt he was at war with the Turks. And the detention of a ſingle ſubject was too weak a ground for a proceeding of ſuch violence. However, the king of Spain promiſed (by the marquiſs Beretti Landi, his ambaſſador at the Hague) to proceed no further againſt the emperor, and to ſuſpend all operations, in order to give time and opportunity to the powers of Europe to think of expedients for reconciling their differences, and ſecuring the tranquility and balance of power in Italy. The marquiſs alſo complimented the king of Great-Britain and the States, with the arbitration of that important affair.

King George and the regent of France were not only guarantees of the neutrality of Italy, but the king was moreover engaged in a defenſive alliance with the emperor. Purſuant therefore to the king of Spain's promiſe, they concerted meaſures in conjunction with the imperial miniſter, for an accommodation between the emperor and king Philip, on ſuch terms as ſhould be equally advantageous and honourable to both, ſupply the defects of the treaties of Utrecht and Baden, and eſtabliſh, on a more ſolid baſis, the tranquility of Europe; with a reſolution of compelling by force that party, which ſhould refuſe to accede to thoſe ſtipulations, and obſtruct the general good. The abbot du Bois came to London, the lord Stanhope was ſent to Madrid, and the lord Cadogan to the Hague. Theſe negotiations gave birth to the famous treaty, called the quadruple alliance, which was concluded the next year. It was agreed, that the emperor ſhould renounce all pretenſions to the crown of Spain (a point king Philip had much at heart) and part with Sardinia to the duke of Savoy, in lieu of which the duke was to ſurrender Sicily to the emperor. The ſucceſſion to the duchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, which the queen of Spain (of the houſe of Farneſe) claimed by inheritance, in default of male-iſſue, was to be ſettled on her eldeſt ſon: the king of Spain, not being ſatisfied with this partition, continued to make very formidable prepararions by ſea and land, without any regard to the admonitions of England and France. Upon which king George ordered a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips of war to be fitted out, as will preſently be ſeen.

Before the parliament met, the following incident happened. The earl of Peterborough, whether with a deſign only to travel, as was given out, or charged with ſome ſecret negotiation, was gone into Italy. Before his departure, he had conferred with the duke of Marlborough, and at Paris had talked with the duke of Orleans: he was ſaid to carry with him larger remittances than was uſual for travellers, even of his rank. The pretender was then at Urbino, where he had notice ſent him from St. Germains to be upon his guard, there being a deſign to deſtroy him. He gave information of it to Rome, and pope Clement XI. ſent orders to all places round Urbino to examine all foreigners, eſpecially Engliſh, and ſeize ſuch as ſhould be ſuſpected.

The earl of Peterborough came at that very time to Bologna with a few armed followers. He was immediately ſeized with his papers, and confined to Fort Urbino, and his people ſent to priſon. His papers were examined, but, nothing being found againſt him, he was himſelf interrogated. He ſaid, he was come to paſs ſome time in Italy for the benefit of the air, and that his people were armed for his defence. He was cloſe confined for a month, and no perſon ſuffered to ſpeak with him. He was at length ſet at liberty with all poſſible civilities, and afterwards had an authentic reparation for the inſult, the cardinal miniſter having declared, that he had been ſeized unadviſedly, and without ſufficient cauſe. The news of the earl of Peterborough's confinement was highly reſented by the people in England, but the king was content with demanding and receiving reparation for the affront. The pope agreed to write with his own hand a letter to an ally of Great-Britain, by which he would declare, that the legate of Bologna had violently and unjuſtly, without the knowledge of his holineſs, cauſed the earl of Peterborough to be ſeized upon ſuſpicions, which proved to be ill-grounded; that then the cardinal Paulucci, ſecretary of ſtate, and the cardinal legate of Bologna, ſhould ſend each a declaration to the Engliſh admiral in the Mediterranean; the firſt to ſhew the pope's diſavowal, and the other to aſſure him, that, out of complaiſance to his friends, and upon unjuſt ſuſpicions, he had ordered a peer of Great-Britain to be apprehended on his travels, for which he had begged the pope's pardon, and deſired his Britannic majeſty's. This letter and theſe declarations were accordingly ſent, and are preſerved, to ſhew the earl of Peterborough's innocence, and the falſity of the ſuſpicions.

On the 3d of November, the princeſs of Wales was delivered of a prince, at St. James's, and the king two days after paid her a viſit, and returned to Hampton-court. The young prince was baptized the 28th of the ſame month, and died not long after. This baptiſm occaſioned an unhappy difference between the king and the prince. It ſeems, the prince had deſigned the duke of York, biſhop of Oſnaburg, the king's brother, to be one of the godfathers, and had reaſon to believe the king was ſatisfied with his choice. But, when the ceremony came to be performed, the duke of Newcaſtle ſtood godfather with the king, not as proxy for, or repreſenting the duke of York, but for himſelf, and in his own name and perſon. This the prince took ill of the duke, not as he acted in obedience to his majeſty's command, but as if the duke had done, or at leaſt ſeemed officious to do, ſomething which he was not commanded. This proceeding ſenſibly touched the prince, and raiſed his indignation to that degree, that he could not help ſhewing it; but, as ſoon as the ceremony was over, ſpoke ſome warm words to the duke, expreſſing his reſentment at what he had done. Upon report of theſe words to the king, his majeſty thought fit to give a ſudden mark of his diſpleaſure, by ſending his commands to the prince to keep his own apartment till his pleaſure was farther known; to which he immediately ſubmitted: ſoon after this his majeſty's farther pleaſure was ſignified to the prince, that he ſhould leave St. James's; accordingly he quitted the palace, the princeſs going along with him, and retired to the houſe of the earl of Grantham, in Albemarle-Street: but the children, by the king's order, remained at St. James's. Soon after this, his majeſty's pleaſure was ſignified to all the peers and peereſſes of Great-Britain and Ireland, and to all privy-counſellors and their wives, that all perſons, who ſhould go to ſee the prince and princeſs of Wales, ſhould forbear coming into his majeſty's preſence. Beſides, ſuch, as had employments under the king and prince both, were obliged to quit the ſervice of one of them.

Soon after this difference, there was printed in the Amſterdam Gazette a letter in French, ſaid to be written by one of the ſecretaries of ſtate to the foreign miniſters, dated at

[v] The king of Spain had not yet acknowledged him for emperor.

At the ſame time, the cardinal Paulucci, ſecretary of ſtate to the pope, wrote a circular letter to clear his holineſs from the imputation of any colluſion in that affair, by greatly enlarging upon the reſentment with which he treated ſo perfidious a breach of promiſe in his catholic majeſty, not to fall upon any of the dominions of the emperor during his war with the Turks, and for the performance of which his holineſs had engaged in the moſt ſolemn manner.

Whitehall, December 14, 1717, giving an account of the whole affair, of which the author of the Critic (a weekly paper) publiſhed a tranſlation. [w]

The parliament met the 21ſt of November, and the king came to the houſe of peers with the uſual ſolemnities. His ſpeech had been prepared with great care, by reaſon of the importance of the matters he had to ſpeak of, and was attended with the the expected ſucceſs. The ſpeech was as follows:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I am very glad I have been able to bring the ſitting of parliament into a more proper and uſeful ſeaſon of the year. I hope, ſuch an early meeting will not only be a benefit to the public, but a convenience to your private affairs.

As I have always had at heart the ſecurity and eaſe of my people, ſo I never kept up any troops, but for their protection, and have taken every opportunity to diſband as many as I thought conſiſtent with their ſafety. I have reduced the army to very near one half, ſince the beginning of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, and leſſened them to ſuch a number, as will neither be a burden to my good ſubjects, nor an encouragement to our enemies to inſult them.

You cannot but be ſenſible of the many attempts, which have been ſet on foot to diſturb the peace of Europe, and of theſe kingdoms. They only pretend not to ſee, who are not afraid of them. But, as no application has been wanting, on my part, to preſerve the public tranquility, I have the pleaſure to find my good offices have not been altogether unſucceſsful, and have reaſon to hope they will, in the end, have their deſired effect.'

Gentlemen of the houſe of Commons,

'I queſtion not, but you are very well pleaſed to find, that your endeavours for leſſening the national debts have at the ſame time, raiſed the public credit; and that whatever was propoſed, for that end, is actually and compleatly effected. This ſucceſs muſt chiefly be attributed to that juſt and prudent regard you have ſhewn to parliamentary engagements.

It was with a view of procuring and ſettling a laſting tranquility, that I demanded the extraordinary ſupply, which you granted me laſt ſeſſion. The credit, which this confidence repoſed in me hath given us abroad, has already been ſo far effectual, that I can acquaint you, we have a much better proſpect than we had. I have ordered an account to be laid before you of the very ſmall part of that ſupply, which, as yet, has been expended. Any further iſſues, that may be made of it, ſhall be laid before you. And you may be aſſured, that every part of it ſhall either be employed for your ſervice, or ſaved to the public.

I have ordered to be laid before you a ſtate of the deficiencies of the preſent year, and the ſeveral eſtimates for the ſervice of the next, which you will find conſiderably diminiſhed, I rely upon your making the neceſſary proviſion for them; not doubting of the continuance of that zeal for the good of your country, which hath been ſo eminently conſpicuous in every ſeſſion of this parliament.

I cannot, in juſtice, avoid putting you in mind, that ſeveral arrears of pay and ſubſidy, incurred before my acceſſion to the crown, are claimed by foreign princes and ſtates. I ſhall order them to be laid before you, to the end you may put them in a method of being examined and ſtated; which will very much tend to the honour and credit of the nation.'

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I could heartily wiſh, that at a time, when the common enemies of our religion are, by all manner of artifices, endeavouring to undermine and weaken it, both at home and abroad, all thoſe, who are friends to our preſent happy eſtabliſhment, might unanimouſly concur in ſome proper method for the greater ſtrengthening the proteſtant intereſt; of which, as the church of England is unqueſtionably the main ſupport and bulwark; ſo will ſhe reap the principal benefit of every advantage accruing by the union and mutual charity of all proteſtants.

As none can recommend themſelves more effectually to my favour and countenance, than by a ſincere zeal for the juſt rights of the crown and the liberties of the people; ſo I am determined to encourage all thoſe, who act agreeably to the principles, of theſe my kingdoms, and conſequently to the conſtitution on which my government is founded.

The eyes of all Europe are upon you at this critical juncture. It is your intereſt; for which reaſon, I think it is mine, that my endeavours for procuring the peace and quiet of chriſtendom ſhould take effect. Nothing can ſo much contribute to this deſirable end, as the unanimity, diſpatch, and vigour of your reſolutions for the ſupport of my government.'

This ſpeech, as it appears, was worded with great caution, particularly with regard to the army, and the proteſtant diſſenters. The king, by ſaying he had ſo leſſened the troops, that they would neither burthen his ſubjects nor encourage his enemies, prevented any intended addreſſes for a farther reduction. His wiſhing that all the friends of the eſtabliſhment would concur in ſome method for ſtrengthening the proteſtant intereſt, tended to the repeal of the ſevere laws made in the laſt reign againſt the diſſenters, which had been prevented by the commotions in the kingdom, and which he thought might be accompliſhed this ſeſſion. He had, ever ſince his acceſſion, declared for toleration, and ſeems here to promiſe his favour and countenance to ſuch as ſhould be of his mind.

The lords without any debate voted an addreſs, in which they thanked the king for diſbanding ſo many troops, and for his unwearied application towards ſettling the peace of Europe, aſſuring him, that nothing ſhould be wanting on their parts towards ſupporting him with the utmoſt zeal and vigour, till his endeavours had the deſired effect. They concluded with ſaying, 'we have a grateful ſenſe of your majeſty's concern for the proteſtant religion, and the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed; which, as it has always been the chief of the proteſtant churches, ſo it can never be ſo well ſupported, as by ſtrengthening and uniting (as far as may be) the proteſtant intereſt.'

An addreſs of thanks was alſo voted by the commons, but not without ſome debates. It was moved by the high-church party, that the king's general expreſſion, 'to concur in ſome proper method for the greater ſtrengthening the proteſtant intereſt,' ſhould be thus ſoftened, 'to concur in the moſt effectual methods for ſtrengthening the proteſtant intereſt of theſe kingdoms, as far as the laws now in force will permit.' But this motion was rejected, and the addreſs paſſed as it had been drawn up; wherein, after having thanked the king for bringing the ſitting of parliament into a more proper ſeaſon of the year, and aſſuring him of their endeavours to anſwer his gracious intentions, by improving their early meeting (as much as they were able) to the public benefit, they expreſſed their lively ſenſe of his concern for the welfare of the people by the reductions he had made from time to time of the land forces. 'It is (ſay they) our peculiar happineſs to ſee ourſelves governed by a ſovereign who is not influenced by any notions of greatneſs that are inconſiſtent with the proſperity of his ſubjects, and who propoſes to himſelf the eaſe of his people, as the chief glory of his reign.

We acknowledge, with hearts full of duty and gratitude, your majeſty's unwearied endeavours to prevent the many attempts which have been ſet on foot to diſturb the peace of Europe, and the quiet of theſe kingdoms; and have the more reaſon to apprehend the ill-con-

[w] The letter was as follows:

SIR,

'His majeſty having been informed that ſeveral reports, for the moſt part ill grounded, are ſpread abroad concerning what has lately paſſed in the royal family, he has ordered me to ſend you the incloſed account of it.

As ſoon as the young prince was born, the king cauſed himſelf to be informed of what was wont to be obſerved in the like caſes in this kingdom, in regard to the ceremony of baptiſm; and having found by the records, that, when it was a boy, and the king was godfather, it was the cuſtom for him to nominate, for ſecond godfather, one of the principal lords of his court, who for the moſt part was the lord-chamberlain; he named for this function the duke of Newcaſtle, who now bears that charge; naming at the ſame time for godmother the dutcheſs of St. Albans, firſt lady of honour to the princeſs. Nevertheleſs, his royal highneſs the prince of Wales conceived ſuch a diſlike at this, that on Thurſday laſt, after the ſolemnity of the baptiſm was over, finding himſelf no longer maſter of his temper, he drew near to the duke of Newcaſtle, and gave him very reproachful words, upon ſuppoſition that he had ſolicited that honour in ſpite of him: the king was ſtill in the chamber, but not near enough to hear what the prince ſaid to the duke. This laſt thinking himſelf obliged to inform the king of it, and the prince having confeſſed the matter to the dukes of Kingſton, Kent, and Roxburgh (whom his majeſty ſent to him the next day upon this occaſion) his majeſty ordered him by a ſecond meſſage, not to go out of his own apartment till further order: on Saturday the prince wrote a letter to the king, and the next day (Sunday) another: but, his majeſty not finding them ſatisfactory, and having beſides other reaſons of diſcontent at ſeveral ſteps the prince had taken, he cauſed him to be told yeſterday in the afternoon, by his vice-chamberlain, mr. Cooke, that he ſhould be gone from the palace of St. James's; and to the princeſs, that ſhe might continue in the palace as long as ſhe thought convenient; but that, as for the princeſſes her daughters, and the young prince, the king would have them remain with him in the palace, and that the princeſs ſhould be permitted to ſee them as often as ſhe deſired it. However, the princeſs, being unwilling to leave the prince her huſband, went with him to the houſe of the earl of Grantham, her lord-chamberlain, where their royal highneſſes lay laſt night.'

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ſequences of ſuch attempts, ſince there are thoſe, who, as they would be thought to ſee no danger in them, give us reaſon to believe, that they would not be troubled at their ſucceſs.'

This approbation of the king's ſentiments was followed with aſſurances of moſt effectually ſupporting him in ſuch meaſures as he ſhould judge neceſſary, and of chearfully granting ſuch ſupplies as the public ſervice ſhould require. Concluding, 'it is a pleaſure to us, that the eyes of all Europe are turned upon us at this critical juncture, ſince we have thereby an opportunity of ſhewing the world the juſt confidence we repoſe in your majeſty, and our unſhaken reſolutions to ſupport your government, in ſuch a manner as ſhall enable your majeſty to ſettle the peace of Chriſtendom.'

The commons began with fulfilling their promiſe concerning the ſupplies. Eſtimates and accounts were called for, to ſee what was wanted to ſettle the eſtabliſhment of the army, navy, and ordinance as uſual. Ten thouſand men, at 4l. a month each, were voted for the ſea-ſervice; and 224,857l. 14s. 11d. was granted for the ordinary of the navy.

When the motion for a ſupply for the army was made, is was oppoſed by mr. Shippen, ſir William Windham, and others. Mr Walpole made a ſpeech that laſted above an hour, wherein, beſides the common topic of the danger of a ſtanding army in a free nation, he inſiſted on four principal points: '1. That whereas they were given to underſtand, that the army was reduced to ſixteen thouſand and odd men, it ſtill conſiſted of about eighteen thouſand, which was one-third part more than the number of land forces in Great-Britain amounted to formerly in time of peace. 2. That there was no due proportion obſerved, either between the number of the horſe, dragoons, and foot, or between the number of the officers and ſoldiers, that were kept ſtanding, inſomuch that, of about 110001. which the pay of a reduced regiment of foot amounts to, near 7000l. goes toward the pay of the officers, and 4000l. only to the private ſoldiers. 3. That the keeping up ſo great a number of officers was, in effect, the maintaining of an army almoſt double of what was intended, ſince the ſoldiers, that were wanting to complete the companies and regiments, might be raiſed with a drum, in twice four and twenty hours. 4. That the pay of general officers, which amounted to above 20000l. was an expence altogether needleſs, and unprecedented, in time of peace.' Mr Craggs, ſecretary of war, anſwered mr. Walpole, and obſerved, in general, 'that, in all wiſe governments, the ſecurity of the ſtate is the rule chiefly to be regarded; and that his majeſty, both in the augmentation, and the reduction of his forces, had not only conſulted the ſafety but likewiſe the eaſe of his people. That, though, as was ſuggeſted, the nation paid at preſent, near eighteen thouſand men, yet there were only ſixteen thouſand three hundred and forty-ſeven, who could give any jealouſy, unleſs ſome people ſhould think our liberties in danger from the chaplains, ſurgeons, widows of officers, and ſuch inoffenſive perſons, who were included in the firſt number. That therefore there were not much above four thouſand men more now in Great-Britain, than there were kept up after the peace of Ryſwick; which number muſt be thought very moderate by all, who wiſh well to the preſent happy ſettlement, conſidering, that the embers of an unnatural rebellion lately extinguiſhed, were ſtill warm, and the diſcontents induſtriouſly fomented by the enemies of the government. That the parliament had ever contented themſelves with fixing the number of forces, that were thought neceſſary to be maintained; but had left to the crown the manner of reducing and modeling that number. And therefore if they ſhould now do otherwiſe, it would be but an indifferent return to that gracious and tender regard, which, on all occaſions, his majeſty had ſhewn to the ſecurity and eaſe of his ſubjects. That, after all, it was no leſs a piece of juſtice than matter of prudence, to keep up as great a number of officers as poſſible; for, beſides the occaſion, which this nation may have for them for the future, it was but reaſonable to acknowledge the paſt eminent ſervices of gentlemen, who having been brought up to no other trade but war, had no other way to ſubſiſt and provide for themſelves and families. Mr Craggs was ſupported by ſeveral members, particularly ſir David Dalrymple, who declared for keeping up ſixteen thouſand men at leaſt one year longer, urging, 'that the diſcontents ran ſtill as high in Scotland, as before the late rebellion; of which he alledged ſeveral reaſons. But mr Walpole and others were, on the contraty, of opinion, that twelve thouſand men were ſufficient. The debate having laſted ſome hours, the queſtion was going to be put, whether the number ſhould be ſixteen thouſand, or twelve thouſand, when mr. Shippen made a ſpeech, in which, among many other vehement expreſſions, he ſaid, 'that the ſecond paragraph of the king's ſpeech ſeemed rather to be calculated for the meridian of Germany than Great-Britain: and that it was a great misfortune, 'that the king was a ſtranger to our language and conſtitution.' Theſe reflections gave great offence to ſeveral members, and mr. Lechmere urged 'that the ſame was a ſcandalous invective againſt the king's perſon and government, of which the houſe ought to ſhew the higheſt reſentment; and therefore moved, that the member who ſpoke thoſe offenſive words, ſhould be ſent to the Tower.' Upon which mr. Walpole ſaid, 'that, if the words in queſtion were ſpoken by the member, on whom they were charged, the Tower was too light a puniſhment for his raſhneſs: but, as what had had been ſaid in heat of this debate might have been miſunderſtood, he was for allowing him the liberty of explaining himſelf.' But mr. Shippen not thinking proper either to retract or excuſe what he had ſaid, he was voted to the Tower by a majority of one hundred and ſeventy-five againſt eighty-one.

The next day it was reſolved, that the guards and garriſons in Great-Britain ſhould be ſixteen thouſand three hundred and forty-ſeven effective men, and that the ſum of 681,618l. ſhould be granted for their maintenance: that 130,361l. 5s. 5d. ſhould be given for the half-pay of the reduced officers. After this was ſettled as uſual, the pay of the forces in America, and the garriſons of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon. When theſe reſolutions were reported, ſeveral of them were debated. The pay of the army was reduced to 650,000l. by a majority of fourteen voices only, one hundred and ſeventy-two againſt one hundred and fifty-eight. The ſum for the half-pay officers was reduced to 94,000l.[x]

An attempt was made this ſeſſion to lower the value of guineas. Mr Aiſlabie having taken notice of the great ſcarcity of the ſilver coin, occaſioned chiefly by the exportation of ſilver, and importation of gold, propoſed, that a ſpeedy remedy might be put to the growing evil, by lowering the value of gold ſpecies. Upon this the king was addreſſed for the repreſentations made by the officers of the mint to the treaſury, in relation to the gold and ſilver coins. Accordingly mr. Lowndes preſented to the houſe ſeveral papers relating to the coins, and particularly ſir Iſaac Newton's repreſentation to the lords of the treaſury[y]. Then mr. Aiſlabie renewed his motion, and was

[x] At the ſame time the following regulations were agreed to:

I. That no perſon ſhall be intitled to half-pay, who was a minor under the age of ſixteen years at the time when the regiment, troop, or company in which he ſerved was reduced.

II. That no perſon ſhall be intitled to half-pay, except ſuch perſons who did actual ſervice in ſome regiment, troop, or company.

III. That no perſon, having any other place or employment of profit, civil or military, under his majeſty, ſhall be intitled to half-pay.

IV. That no chaplain of any garriſon or regiment, who has an eccleſiaſtical benefice, or other preferment in Great Britain or Ireland, ſhall be intitled to half-pay.

V. That no perſon ſhall be intitled to half-pay, who hath reſigned his commiſſion, and has had no commiſſion ſince.

VI. That no half-pay ſhall be allowed to any perſon by virtue of any warrant and appointment, except to ſuch perſons who would have been otherwiſe intitled to the ſame as reduced officers.

VII. That half-pay ſhall not be allowed to any of the officers of the five regiments of dragoons, and eight regiments of foot, lately diſbanded in Ireland, except to ſuch as were taken off the eſtabliſhment of half-pay in Great-Britain.'

[y] This repreſentation, being reckoned a curious piece, is here inſerted at large:

In obedience to your lordſhip's order of reference of Auguſt 12, that I ſhould lay before your lordſhips a ſtate of the gold and ſilver coins of this kingdom in weight and fineneſs, and the value of gold in proportion to ſilver, with my obſervations and opinion, and what method may be beſt for preventing the melting down of the ſilver coin; I humbly repreſent, that a pound weight troy of gold, 11 ounces fine, and one ounce allay, is cut into 44 half guineas; and a pound weight of ſilver, 11 ounces 2 penny-weights fine, and 18 penny-weights allay, is cut into 62 ſhillings; and, according to this rate, a pound weight of fine gold is worth 15 pounds weight, 6 ounces, 17 penny-weights, and 5 grains of fine ſilver, reckoning a guinea at 1l. 1s. 6d. in ſilver money. But ſilver in bullion exportable is uſually worth 2d. or 3d. per ounce more than in coin. And, if at a medium ſuch bullion of ſtandard allay be valued at 5s. 4½d. per ounce, a pound weight of fine gold will be worth 14 pounds weight, 11 ounces, 12 penny-weights, 9 grains of fine ſilver in bullion. And at this rate a guinea is worth but ſo much ſilver as would make 20s. 8d. When ſhips are lading for the Eaſt-Indies, the demand of ſilver for exportation raiſes the price to 5s. 6d. or 5s. 8d. per ounce, or above; but I conſider not thoſe extraordinary caſes.

A Spaniſh piſtole was coined for 32 reas, or 4 pieces of eight reas, uſually called pieces of eight, and is of equal allay, and the 16th part of the weight thereof. And a doppio moeda of Portugal was coined for ten cruſadoes of ſilver, and is of equal allay, and the 16th part of the weight thereof; gold

ſeconded by mr. Caſwel, who made a long ſpeech on the various values, which at different times, gold and ſilver coins have borne, with reſpect one with another, according to the plenty or ſcarcity of either; he ſuggeſted, that the over valuation of gold, in the current coins of Great-Britain, had occaſioned the exportation of great quantities of ſilver ſpecies; and, to that purpoſe, laid open a clandeſtine trade, which of late years had been carried on by the Dutch, Hamburghers, and other foreigners, in concert with the Jews, and other traders here, which conſiſted in exporting ſilver coins, and importing gold in lieu thereof, which being coined into guineas at the Tower, near fifteen pence was got by every guinea, which amounted to about 5 per cent. and, as theſe returns might be made five or ſix times in a year, conſiderable ſums were thereby got, to the prejudice of Great-Britain, who thereby was drained of ſilver, and over-ſtoced with gold: concluding, that, in his opinion, the moſt effectual way to put a ſtop to this pernicious trade, was to lower the price of guineas, and other gold ſpecies.

This ſpeech was received with applauſe, and an addreſs was voted, and preſented to the king, for a proclamation to forbid all perſons to utter or receive guineas at a higher rate than one and twenty ſhillings for each guinea. Purſuant to this addreſs the proclamation was iſſued the next day, after which the commons adjourned till the 13th of January.

1717-18] The lowering the value of gold, which was thought a proper expedient to procure a greater circulation of ſilver ſpecies, had, during the receſs, a contrary effect, either, as was ſuppoſed, through the covetouſneſs of ſome monied men, who hoarded up ſilver, in hopes that the ſame would be raiſed; or out of fear that gold would ſtill be lowered; or through the malice of the diſaffected, who, by the ſame method, thought, if not to diſtreſs the government, at leaſt to raiſe murmurings againſt it amongſt the common people, upon account of the ſtop which was thereby put to petty trade. In order therefore to remedy this great evil, as ſoon as the commons met, they came to a reſolution, 'that this houſe will not alter the ſtandard of the gold and ſilver coins of this kingdom in fineneſs, weight, and denomination.' The lords came alſo to the ſame reſolution, and ordered a bill to be brought in to prevent the melting down of the ſilver coin.

Upon a meſſage delivered to the lords by the lord-chancellor, and to the commons by mr. Comptroller, both houſes adjourned for a few days. It was generally believed this adjournment was occaſioned by ſome meaſures that were then taken, in order to reconcile the royal family, which not having the deſired effect, it was expected the king would, on the day of meeting, have come to the houſe of peers, and acquainted the parliament with ſome matters of importance; but the court took another courſe, to the great diſappointment of ſome perſons.[z]

About this time a deſign againſt the king's life was diſcovered. The author of it ſeemed to be fitter for Bedlam than Newgate. His name was James Shepheard, a youth of eighteen years, apprentice to a coach-maker in Devonſhire.

is therefore in Spain and Portugal of ſixteen times more value than ſilver of equal weight and allay, according to the ſtandard of thoſe kingdoms; at which rate, a guinea is worth 22s. 1d. But this high price keeps their gold at home in good plenty, and carries away the Spaniſh ſilver into all Europe; ſo that at home they make their payments in gold, and will not pay in ſilver without a premium. Upon the coming in of a plate-fleet, the premium ceaſes, or is but ſmall; but, as their ſilver goes away and becomes ſcarce, the premium increaſes, and is moſt commonly about 6 per cent. which being abated, a guinea becomes worth about 20s. 9d. in Spain and Portugal.

In France, a pound weight of fine gold is reckoned worth 15 pounds weight of fine ſilver; in raiſing or falling their money, their king's edicts have ſometimes varied a little from this proportion, in exceſs or defect: but the variations have been ſo little, that I do not here conſider them. By the edict of May 1709, a new piſtole was coined for 4 new lewiſes, and is of equal allay, and the 15th part of the weight thereof, except the errors of their mints. And by the ſame edict fine gold is valued at fifteen times its weight of fine ſilver, and at this rate a guinea is worth 20s. 8½d. I conſider not here the confuſion made in the monies in France, by frequent edicts to ſend them to the mint, and give the king a tax out of them. I conſider the value only of gold and ſilver in proportion to one another.

The ducats of Holland, and Hungary, and the empire, were lately current in Holland among the common people in their markets and ordinary affairs, at 5 guilders in ſpecie, and 5 ſtivers, and commonly changed for ſo much ſilver monies in three guilder pieces, and guilder pieces as guineas are with us for 21s. 6d. ſterling; at which rate a guinea is worth 20s. 7½d.

According to the rates of gold to ſilver in Italy, Germany, Poland, Denmark, and Sweden, a guinea is worth about 20s. and 7d. 6d. 5d. or 4d. for the proportion varies a little within the ſeveral governments in thoſe countries. In Sweden, gold is loweſt in proportion to ſilver, and this hath made that kingdom, which formerly was content with copper money, abound of late with ſilver, ſent thither (I ſuſpect) for naval ſtores.

In the end of king William's reign, and the firſt year of the late queen, when foreign coins abounded in England, I cauſed a great many of them to be aſſayed in the mint, and found by the aſſays, that fine gold was to fine ſilver in Spain, Portugal, France, Holland, Italy, Germany, and the northern kingdoms, in the proportion above-mentioned, errors of the mint excepted.

In China and Japan, one pound weight of fine gold is worth but 9 or 10 pounds weight of fine ſilver; and, in Eaſt-India, it may be worth 12. And this low price of gold in proportion to ſilver carries away the ſilver from all Europe.

So then, by the courſe of trade and exchange between nation and nation in all Europe, fine gold is to fine ſilver at 14 4-5th, or 15 to one; and a guinea at the ſame rate, is worth between 20s. 5d. and 20s. 8½d. except in extraordinary caſes, as when a plate-fleet is juſt arrived in Spain, or ſhips are laden here for the Eaſt-Indies, which caſes I do not here conſider. And it appears by experience as well as by reaſon, that ſilver flows from thoſe places where its value is loweſt in proportion to gold, as from Spain to all Europe, and from all Europe to the Eaſt-Indies, China, and Japan; and that gold is moſt plentiful in thoſe places, in which its value is higheſt in proportion to ſilver, as in Spain and England.

It is the demand for exportation which hath raiſed the price of exportable ſilver about 2d. or 3d. in the ounce above that of ſilver in coin, and hath thereby created a temptation to export or melt down the ſilver coin, rather than give 2d. or 3d. more for foreign ſilver; and demand for the exportation ariſes from the higheſt price of ſilver in other places than in England, in proportion to gold, that is, from the higher price of gold in England than in other places, in proportion to ſilver, and therefore may be diminiſhed by lowering the value of gold in proportion to ſilver. If gold in England, or ſilver in Eaſt-India, could be brought down ſo low as to bear the ſame proportion to one another in both places, there would be here no greater demand for ſilver than for gold to be exported to India: and if gold were lowered only ſo as to have the ſame proportion to the ſilver money in England, which it hath to ſilver in the reſt of Europe, there would be no temptation to export ſilver rather than gold to any other part of Europe: and to compaſs this laſt, there ſeems nothing more requiſite, than to take off about 10d. or 12d. from the guinea, ſo that the gold may bear the ſame proportion to the ſilver money in England, which it ought to do by the courſe of trade and exchange in Europe; but if only 6d. were taken off at preſent, it would diminiſh the temptation to export or melt down the ſilver coin, and by the effects would ſhew hereafter better than can appear at preſent, what further reduction would be moſt convenient for the public.

In the laſt year of king William, the dollars of Scotland, worth about 4s. 6½d. were put away in the north of England for 5s. and at this price began to flow in upon us; I gave notice thereof to the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury, and they ordered the collectors of taxes to forbear taking them, and thereby put a ſtop to the miſchief.

At the ſame time, the lewidores of France, which were worth 17s. 0¾d. apiece, paſſed in England for 17s. 6d. I gave notice thereof to the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury, and his late majeſty put out a proclamation that they ſhould go but at 17s. and thereupon they came to the mint, and 1400000l. were coined out of them; and if the advantage of 5¼d. a lewidor ſufficed, at that time, to bring into England ſo great a quantity of French money, and the advantage of three farthings in a lewidor to bring it to the mint, the advantage of 9½d. in a guinea, or above, may have been ſufficient to bring the great quantity of gold which hath been coined to theſe laſt fifteen years, without any foreign ſilver.

Some years ago, the Portugal moeders were received in the weſt of England at 28s. apiece; upon notice from the mint that they were worth only about 27s. 7d. the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury ordered their receivers of taxes to take them at no more than 27s. 6d. Afterwards, many gentlemen in the weſt ſent up to the treaſury a petition, that the receivers might take them again at 28s. and promiſed to get returns for this money at that rate, alledging, that when they went at 28s. their country was full of gold, which they wanted very much: but the commiſſioners of the treaſury conſidering, that at 28s. the nation would loſe 5d. apiece, rejected the petition. And, if an advantage to the merchant of 5d. in 28s. did pour that money in upon us, much more hath an advantage to the merchant of 9d. half-penny in a guinea, or above, been able to bring into the mint great quantities of gold without any foreign ſilver, and may be able to do ſtill, till the cauſe be removed.

If things be let alone till ſilver money be a little ſcarcer, the gold will fall of itſelf; for people are already backward to give ſilver for gold, and will, in a little time, refuſe to make payments in ſilver, without a premium, as they do in Spain, and this premium will be an abatement in the value of the gold: and ſo the queſtion is, whether gold ſhall be lowered by the government, or let alone till it falls of itſelf, by the want of ſilver-money?

It may be ſaid, that there are great quantities of ſilver in plate, and, if the plate were coined, there would be no want of ſilver-money: but I reckon that ſilver is ſafer from exportation in the form of plate than in the form of money, becauſe of the greater value of the ſilver and faſhion together; and therefore I am not for coining the plate, till the temptation to export the ſilver-money (which is a profit of 2d. or 3d. an ounce) be diminiſhed: for, as often as men are neceſſitated to ſend away money for anſwering debts abroad, there will be a temptation to ſend away ſilver rather than gold, becauſe of the profit, which is almoſt 4 per cent. And, for the ſame reaſon, foreigners will chuſe to ſend hither their gold rather than their ſilver.'

All which is moſt humbly ſubmitted to your lordſhips great wiſdom.

Mint-Office,
Sept. 21, 1717. ISAAC NEWTON.

[z] The king conſulted the judges about ſome matters in diſpute between him and the prince. He gave notice of it to the prince, that he might ſend ſome perſons to ſet forth and ſupport his pretenſions. His royal highneſs ſent ſir Robert Raymond, mr. Carter, mr. Darnel, and mr. Reynolds. The firſt point was, whether the care of the education of the royal family belonged of right to the king? The judges were moſt of them for the affirmative, alledging, beſides other arguments, the example of king Charles II. who educated his two nieces in the proteſtant religion, and married them to proteſtant princes againſt the will of the duke of York, his brother. They cited alſo the example of king William, who appointed governors and preceptors for the duke of Gloceſter, ſon of the princeſs Anne, preſumptive heir of Great-Britain by the new eſtabliſhment.

The other point was, whether the king could retain for the maintenance of the children ſome part of the hundred thouſand pounds granted by parliament to the prince of Wales? The judges were divided upon this point, but, however, in ſuch a manner as ſeemed to favour the prince. This conſultation proved fruitleſs. The prince and princeſs ſtood their ground, and, though they left to the king the education of their children, they refuſed to contribute towards the expence. The king made his grandſon, prince Frederick, duke of Gloceſter, and formed the young princeſſes houſhold.

Street. On the 24th of January, he came to the houſe of mr. John Leake, a non-juring clergyman, and, not finding him at home, left a letter with the maid, who delivered it to mr. Leake's daughter. When mr. Leake came home, the letter was given him, who, upon reading the ſuperſcription, found it directed for the reverend mr. Heath; upon which he doubted of its being for him; but being told by the maid, that it was left for him; and conſidering, that there was no ſuch perſon as mr. Heath, a clergyman, in that neighbourhood, he opened the letter, and, having read it to himſelf, told his maid and daughter, it was a wiced and villainous letter, and then read it to them, and afterwards threw it into the fire. But, upon conſidering the matter, and ſuſpecting that ſome perſon might have ſent it, with a deſign to get his houſe ſearched, and fix an odium upon him, he went to ſir John Frier, alderman, the next morning, and acquainted him with the matter. Sir John adviſed him to ſecure the writer of the letter, if he ſhould call again at his houſe, as it ſeems he had promiſed to do. According to his promiſe he called again in three days, when mr. Leake aſked him whether his name was James Shepheard, and if he had left a letter for him on the Friday before? He anſwered in the affirmative; upon which he was ſeized and carried before ſir John Fryer; Shepheard owned to him the bringing of the letter; and being aſked, if he had a copy of it? he anſwered, he had no copy about him; but, if he had pen, ink, and paper, he could ſoon write one; which he did, and gave it to ſir John; who obſerving to him, that he had not put his name to it, he immediately ſubſcribed it, affirming, that he believed it to be a true copy of the letter he had left at mr. Leake's; and that if, at all, it differed only in ſome few words. The copy was as follows:

SIR,

'From the many diſcontents, viſible throughout this kingdom, I infer, that, if the prince now reigning could be by death removed, our king being here, he might be ſettled on his throne without much loſs of blood. For the more ready effecting of this, I propoſe, that if any gentleman will pay for my paſſage into Italy, and if our friends will intruſt one ſo young with letters of invitation to his majeſty, I will, on his arrival, ſmite the uſurper in his palace. In this confuſion, if ſufficient forces may be raiſed, his majeſty may appear; if not he may retreat or conceal himſelf till a fitter opportunity. Neither is it preſumptuous to hope, that this may ſucceed, if we conſider how eaſy it is to cut the thread of human life; how great confuſion the death of a prince occaſions in the moſt peaceful nation; and how mutinous the people are, how deſirous of a change. But we will ſuppoſe the worſt, that I am ſeized, and by torture examined. Now, that this may endanger none but myſelf, it will be neceſſary, that the gentleman, who defrays my charges to Italy, leave England before my departure; that I be ignorant of his majeſty's abode; that I lodge with ſome whig; that you abſcond; and that this be communicated to none. But, be the event as it will, I can expect nothing leſs than a moſt cruel death; which that I may the better ſupport, it will be requiſite, that, from my arrival till the attempt, I every day receive the holy ſacrament from one, who ſhall be ignorant of the deſign.'

James Shepheard.

Sir John Fryer committed him priſoner to the Compter, and afterwards went with him and mr. Leake, his daughter, and maid, to the earl of Sunderland's office, where the copy of the letter was produced and read to him; which he owned with the greateſt unconcern imaginable. He owned likewiſe, that, while he was at ſchool at Saliſbury, he had imbibed the principles, which he then acted upon, by converſation with his ſchool-fellows, who, in the time of the rebellion in the north, wiſhed the pretender might have ſucceſs, and was confirmed in his opinion by reading ſome pamphlets he ſaw lying on ſome bookſellers ſtalls, particularly, a vindication of the biſhop of Exeter, and eſpecially from the improvement of the words of St. Paul, 'that perſons ought to be obedient to the powers that were ſet over them, although they were tyrannical.' That he had three years ago reſolved upon the deſign to aſſaſſinate the king, and did determine to put it in execution, when opportunity offered. [a] He was brought to his trial on the 6th of March for high-treaſon; and the evidence againſt him was very ſtrong. Being called upon by the court to make his defence, he acknowledged the truth of what had been depoſed againſt him; and owned, that he meant it, that he intended it, and did not think there was any harm in it, or any guilt in the fact, if committed. Upon this he was condemned, and executed at Tyburn, being attended by mr. Orme, a non-juring clergyman, who abſolved him at the gallows, and was ſuppoſed to have penned his ſpeech; which being an invective againſt the king, the government did not think proper to allow it to be printed; [b] and mr. Orme was taken into the cuſtody of a meſſenger. Orme was frequently examined; but, as nothing appeared, upon which it was judged proper to bring him to a trial, he was at laſt ſet at liberty.

The ſame day that Shepheard was hanged, the marquis de Paleotti, brother to the ducheſs of Shrewſbury, was executed for killing his ſervant. The marquis had been in the army many years, under various commiſſions, and had then a regiment in the emperor's ſervice. He was reported to be a gentleman very unhappy in his natural temper, and apt to fly into ſudden indecencies of paſſion. It appeared, upon trial, that the marquis committed this unhappy fact upon his ſervant late at night, as they were going along in the ſtreet together, but upon what provocation no one knew. The circumſtances were ſuch, as to leave no poſſibility of its being done by any other hand, though none ſaw otherwiſe than the buſtle, and running and purſuing, with outcries of danger made by the deceaſed. The marquis made a very inſignificant defence, and pretended diſtraction, or a total ignorance of the whole matter; and it was ſaid, that afterwards he would frequently call for him, as if he had been in attendance about him, and had fallen into no harm; but he was found guilty, and ſentence paſſed accordingly. Very earneſt inſtances were made for his pardon, and perſons of great diſtinction employed on his behalf, particularly his ſiſter the ducheſs of Shrewſbury; but it was all to no purpoſe, his majeſty reſolving that the law ſhould take place upon ſuch an offender, notwithſtanding the eminence of his character. And upon apprehenſions only of a pardon, from the known influence of thoſe who ſolicited it; even the common people began ſtrangely to ferment, and diſaffected perſons were cunning enough to blow up the coals and aggravate highly upon the impunity of ſuch a crime; inſomuch that the public quiet called for his execution. So much regard was, however, granted to his diſtinction, as to be carried out, on the day of execution, early in the morning, to avoid the uſual crouds of ſpectators; but, whether by that getting air, and the deſire of the people to ſee juſtice done upon him, or becauſe young Shepheard, the aſſaſſin, was to be executed at the ſame place that day, is not certain; yet the place was more thronged than commonly, and he had the mortification of having many thouſand ſpectators witneſſes to his unhappy and ſhameful end.

The king had always ſhewn a great regard for the South-Sea company, and was pleaſed to be a proprietor in their ſtoc. The company, to expreſs their gratitude, deſired leave to chuſe him for their governor in the following addreſs:

'The general court of the South-Sea company crave leave to acknowledge, with the greateſt ſenſe of gratitude, the many marks of your royal favour, which the company have received, ever ſince your majeſty's happy acceſſion to the crown: and in particular, the honour done them in becoming a proprietor in their ſtoc.

They therefore do, in the moſt humble and dutiful manner, beſeech your majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to grant them the further honour of uſing your royal name for their governor in the enſuing election.'

The king agreeing to their requeſt, ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons, acquainting them, that, having condeſcended to permit himſelf to be choſen governor of the South-Sea company, he recommended it to the houſe to conſider of proper methods to remove any difficulties that might ariſe on that occaſion. Immediately a bill was brought in, and paſſed both houſes, enabling the king to be governor, and exempting him from taking the uſual oaths.

[a] When the recorder gave ſentence, he ſaid, it was reaſonable to think that you had received thoſe impreſſions, which incited you to this undertaking, from ſome of thoſe falſe and malicious libels, which have been induſtriouſly diſperſed to delude unwary readers, and to alienate the minds of his majeſty's ſubjects; and it appears to be ſo from your own confeſſion, that you had imbibed your principles from ſermons and pamphlets, which made you think king George an uſurper, and the pretender your lawful king.

It ſeems ſtrange, that you ſhould hint at a paſſage in St. Paul for your juſtification. If he exhorted the chriſtians to ſubmit to the Roman emperors, even though they ſhould be tyrants, how comes it, that you, a private youth, ſhould not only judge of the title of kings in oppoſition to the ſenſe of ſo many parliaments; but that you ſhould think yourſelf authorized to murder a prince in peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne, and by whom his ſubjects are protected in the enjoyment of all their rights and privileges, and of every thing that is dear and valuable to mankind?'

[b] However, it was clandeſtinely printed and diſperſed about, inſomuch that it came bac to England at laſt in the Amſterdam Courant.

On the 3d of February, the king was unanimouſly choſen governor by the whole company, conſiſting of fifteen hundred and eighty-three perſons. At the ſame time were choſen a ſub-governor and deputy-governor. As every thing is influenced by party in England, the whigs of the company had formed their plan, to chuſe under the king mr. Samuel Shephard and ſir Theodore Janſſen; but the tories had laid their meaſures ſo well, that ſir James Bateman, one of that party, was elected ſub-governor, by a majority of nine hundred and eighty-three againſt ſix hundred, and the whigs were forced to be ſatisfied with chuſing mr. Shephard for deputy-governor.

One of the principal ſubjects of debate, this ſeſſion, was the bill for regulating the land-forces, and puniſhing mutiny and deſertion. As the court had occaſion for their whole ſtrength to carry this bill, care was taken that all the abſent members ſhould be ſummoned, ſo that the houſe, when the bill was brought in, was more numerous than had been known for many years paſt. The debate ran chiefly upon the power of courts-martial, to puniſh mutiny and deſertion with death. Mr Hutchinſon began with urging, that a court-martial was never allowed of in England in time of peace, as being inconſiſtent with the rights and liberties of a free people; and moved that the offences committed by the ſoldiers be cognizable and puniſhed by the civil magiſtrate. Mr Hutchinſon was ſeconded by mr. Harley, who, to ſhew the danger of a ſtanding army, governed by martial law, quoted with great commendation, a book written by a noble member of that houſe, intitled, an account of Denmark. Upon this the lord Moleſworth (author of that book) endeavoured to ſhew, that this was not a parallel caſe: that the preſent poſture of affairs in Great-Britain was very different from the ſtate of things in Denmark at that juncture; and that the commons having already declared it neceſſary to maintain ſtanding forces, it was no leſs neceſſary to keep thoſe forces within the bounds of duty and diſcipline by the ordinary rules of martial law as was ever practiſed in all civilized nations. General Lumley, and ſome others, were of mr. Hutchinſon's opinion; and, on the other hand, ſir Joſeph Jekyll was for keeping up the martial law, at leaſt a year longer. But the main diſpute was between mr. Craggs and mr. Walpole. After they had done ſpeaking, mr. Lechmere, who had been hitherto ſilent, roſe and ſpoke with great weight, particularly in anſwer to what mr. Walpole, as well as mr. Hutchinſon had advanced, that a court-martial, in time of peace, was altogether unknown in England. He ſhewed, on the contrary, that the court of admiralty, which is allowed in times of peace, as well as of war, has an equal power in relation to ſeamen, with a court-martial in relation to ſoldiers.

When the debate was over, and the queſtion put, whether courts-marſhal ſhould puniſh mutiny and deſertion with death, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of eighteen voices only, two hundred and forty-ſeven againſt two hundred and twenty-nine. So that there were four hundred and ſeventy-ſix members in the houſe, beſides three whigs, and ſix or ſeven tories, who happened to be ſhut out when the queſtion was put. The abbot du Bois, the French miniſter, having deſired to be preſent at this debate, he was admitted incognito, a favour which, that day, had been refuſed to ſeveral peers.

When the bill came to be read the laſt time, and the queſtion put for paſſing it, there were a hundred and eighty-ſix votes for it, and but a hundred and five againſt it. This great majority was aſcribed to mr. Walpole's voting for it, and his having declared to his friends, 'that though, in the debate about the bill, he was for having mutiny and deſertion puniſhed by the civil magiſtrate, yet he had ſtill rather thoſe crimes ſhould be puniſhed by martial law than not at all.' The bill having paſſed the commons, was ſent up to the lords.

When the bill came before the lords, it occaſioned very warm debates, and many ſpeeches were made on both ſides, of which theſe are ſome of the moſt remarkable.[b] The lord Harcourt ſpoke againſt the bill, and urged, among other things, 'that the parliament, that is the repreſentative of the whole nation, were ever extreme jealous of the legiſlative power, with which they are veſted; and that the lords in a particular manner, ought to be tender of it; becauſe it is a branch of their prerogative to be the ſupreme court of judicature; but that by this bill, whereby the king was enabled to eſtabliſh courts-martial, with power to try and determine any offences ſpecified in the articles of war, the parliament veſted a ſole legiſlative power in the crown, which was communicated and delegated to a council of war. That this bill ſets aſide all other laws, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, in relation to the ſoldiery; and gives courts-martial a larger juriſdiction than ſeemed neceſſary for maintaining diſcipline in the army; ſuch juriſdiction extended not only to mutiny, deſertion, and breach of duty, but alſo to all immoralities, and other offencies, which might be committed by any officer or ſoldier, towards any of his fellow-ſubjects, whereby the law of the land might either be obſtructed, or ſuperſeded by a court-martial. That the officers conſtituting a court-martial did, at once ſupply the place of judges and jurymen, and ought therefore to be upon their oath, upon their trying any offence whatſoever; whereas it is provided by this bill, that they ſhall be ſworn, upon their trying ſuch offences only as are puniſhable by death. That martial courts aſſume to themſelves an arbitrary and unprecedented authority, of which they had a remarkable inſtance, an enſign of the guards having being ſentenced to death without being heard, which was contrary to Magna Charta, and to the birth-rights and privileges of Engliſhmen; and therefore they ought to reſtrain ſo dangerous a power.' On the other hand, the lord Carteret ſaid, 'that he had maturely

[b] When the bill was read the ſecond time in a very full houſe, the earl of Oxford began with ſaying, 'that, as long as he had breath, he would ſpeak for the liberties of his country: and that he was not only againſt this bill, becauſe he thought a martial court inconſiſtent with the rights and privileges of Engliſhmen, but alſo againſt the keeping up ſo great a number of forces; which, being altogether uſeleſs in a time of profound peace, could not but raiſe juſt apprehenſions, that ſomething was intended againſt our happy and ancient conſtitution.' To which it was anſwered by the lord Stanhope, that the nation had the happineſs to be governed by a prince, who, ſince his acceſſion to the throne, had convinced every body, that he deſired no more troops than what were abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety and tranquility of his dominions: that whoever would impartially and ſeriouſly conſider the preſent circumſtances of affairs, muſt own, that the number of troops that were kept ſtanding was very ſmall: that it could not be denied, tha tthe pretender had a great many friends both at home and abroad, who watched all opportunities to foment and take advantage of our inteſtine diviſions: that, on the other hand, Great-Britain ſtood guarantee for the neutrality of Italy, which was then threatened with an invaſion: and therefore it was a matter of prudence, as well as of neceſſity, to keep up a competent force, both to ſuppreſs any inſurrection at home, or to repel any inſult from abroad; and to make good our engagements for maintaining the repoſe of Europe. Hereupon a late miniſter (earl of Stafford) ſaid, he was ſurpriſed to hear, that the noble lord, who ſpoke laſt, was not better acquainted with ſome matters of fact; but that he thought himſelf obliged to inform the houſe, that, by the treaty concluded and ſigned at Utrecht in March 1713, between the miniſters of Great-Britain and France, the late queen, of glorious memory, was guarantee for the nutrality of Italy, and the iſlands in the Mediterranean, only during the evacuation of Catalonia, and till the concluſion of a general peace: for the truth of which, his lordſhip appealed to his colleague in that negotiation. He added, that, ſince that time, the ſtate of things was quite altered, and thoſe in the miniſtry could beſt tell, what engagements had been entered into, either with the emperor or France. Hereupon it was thought neceſſary to know the contents of thoſe new treaties; and therefore it was moved, to addreſs his majeſty, that the ſame might be laid before the houſe: which addreſs was agreed to, but was never preſented.

On the 20th of February, it was moved, 'that it be an inſtruction to the committee, that they do provide that no puniſhment ſhall be inflicted at any court-martial, which ſhall extend to life or limb.' Some reaſons were given for ſupporting this motion; but it was anſwered, that ſuch a clauſe would render the bill ineffectual, baniſh all manner of diſcipline from the army, and conſequently render it entirely uſeleſs. Hereupon there aroſe a warm debate, which laſted from two o'clock in the afternoon, till ſeven in the evening.

Herein it was endeavoured to be ſhewn, that ſo numerous a force, as was allowed by that bill to be maintained in time of peace, was not only dangerous in itſelf to a free nation, but was yet rendered more dangerous, by their being governed by martial law; a law unknown to our conſtitution, deſtructive of our liberties, and not endured by our anceſtors. To which it was anſwered, that, among ancient Romans, the wiſeſt people in the world, and the greateſt lovers and aſſertors of public liberty, martial laws and diſcipline were invigorated by decrees of the ſenate, and were in force in times of peace as well as in times of war. And replied to, in ſubſtance, that it was much better to attend domeſtic than foreign examples; whereupon were produced ſeveral inſtances drawn from the hiſtory of Great-Britain, that a ſtanding army, in time of peace, was ever fatal, either to the prince or to the nation. But hereunto was urged, that thoſe who are veſted with the legiſlative power, ought not, on all occaſions, to govern themſelves by precedents, but rather, by the preſent ſituation of affairs, becauſe it is very difficult to find examples perfectly agreeing with the various circumſtances of times: that it was judged, the number of troops which the commons had thought fit to keep ſtanding, was abſolutely neceſſary for the ſecurity and ſafety of the government and nation; and therefore it was no leſs neceſſary to make a law to keep that army within the rules of duty and diſcipline, unleſs they would render uſeleſs thoſe forces which muſt he owned to be neceſſary. Hereunto ſomewhat was again ſuggeſted, about the danger of a ſtanding army made ſubject to martial law; but it was maintained, on the contrary, that the forces then on foot were neceſſary both for the ſupport of the government, and the protection of our allies; that their lordſhips ought to conſider, that, when the late rebellion broke out, they had double the number of regular troops, and yet the government was obliged not only to ſend for ſome regiments from Ireland, but alſo for a body of auxiliary troops from Holland; and that, ſince the ſaid forces were neceſſary, the bill in queſtion, which was only to render them uſeful, was no leſs neceſſary. A lord hereupon, among other things, ſaid, that, before the noble peer, who ſpoke laſt, was born, he had ſeen the time, when the nation was in danger of loſing their liberties by a ſtanding army; and then his lordſhip endeavoured to ſhew, that the power of life and death, which by that bill was given to a court-martial, was unneceſſary, unuſual, and unjuſt. After this followed the ſpeeches of lord Harcourt and the lord Carteret, as above in the context.

conſidered the affair now in agitation, not as a perſon in a public ſtation, but as a private unprejudiced man; and he was convinced in his judgment and conſcience, that it is neceſſary both for the ſupport of the preſent happy eſtabliſhment, and the ſecurity of the nation, to keep up the forces now on foot; and that he was confirmed in this opinion, by conſidering what thoughts the pretender and his friends had of this matter, and reflecting, that they have nothing more at heart, than to procure the diſbanding of thoſe forces, that have ſuppreſſed the late unnatural rebellion. That he doubted not, but the whole body of the nobility that made up that auguſt aſſembly, was inviolably attached to his majeſty king George: that his majeſty had alſo the beſt part of the landed and all the trading intereſt; that as to the clergy he would ſay nothing—but that it was notorious, that the majority of the populous had been poiſoned, and that the poiſon was not yet expelled. That the dangers which ſeemed to be apprehened from the preſent army may be chimerical, or, at leaſt, eaſily remedied in any ſubſequent ſeſſion of parliament; whereas the dangers with which the nation is threatened from the pretender and his friends, in caſe there were no army to oppoſe them, are real, and the miſchiefs that might enſue, upon the ſucceſs of their deſigns, irreparable. That, if there had been ſuch a ſtanding force as we now have, timely to ſuppreſs the tumults and riots which were raiſed ſoon after his majeſty's acceſſion to the throne, in all probability there had been no open rebellion; that, on the other hand, if there had not been troops ready at hand to aſſiſt the civil power, in ſuppreſſing the late riotous aſſemblies of the woolcombers and weavers in the counties of Devon and Somerſet, there had by this time been another rebellion. That the mentioning Magna Charta was, in his opinion, entirely foreign to the preſent debate: that the thing now in queſtion, and that wherein they were immediately concerned, was to ſecure and ſupport the government, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion, againſt vigilant, bold, and reſtleſs enemies; and that they had the more reaſon to be upon their guard, in that the trumpeters of ſedition and rebellion had again forcibly intruded into ſeveral pulpits in Scotland.'

Objections being raiſed againſt the preamble of the bill, wherein it was ſuggeſted, that the number of ſixteen thouſand three hundred and forty-ſeven men was neceſſary, it was moved, that the number ſhould be reduced to twelve thouſand. But this motion was rejected; as was alſo another for leaving out the clauſe, which enabled the king to conſtitute articles of war. After this the whole bill was agreed to, and paſſed by a majority of eighty-eight againſt ſixty one. However, ſeveral lords entered the proteſt.[c]

[c] As ſoon as the parliament broke up, the ſpeakers againſt the mutiny-bill publiſhed their ſpeeches, for which they were ſeverely cenſured by the author of the critic, and their ſpeeches boldly examined. The king alſo, ſoon after the end of the ſeſſion, ordered articles to be publiſhed for the regulation and government of the army, purſuant to the power lodged in him by the act. The ſubſtance of the articles is as follows:

I. All officers and ſoldiers (not having juſt impediment) ſhall diligently frequent divine ſervice, in ſuch places as ſhall be appointed for the regiment, troop, or company to which they belong; and ſuch as either wilfully or negligently abſent themſelves from divine ſervice or ſermon, or elſe, being preſent, do behave themſelves undecently or irreverently during the ſame, if they be officers, they ſhall be ſeverely reprehended at a court martial; but, if private ſoldiers, they ſhall, for every ſuch offence, forfeit each man 1s. to be deducted out of their next pay; and for the ſecond offence ſhall forfeit 1s. and be laid in irons for twelve hours; and, for every like offence afterwards, ſhall ſuffer and pay in like manner; and the money ſo forfeited ſhall be applied to the relief of the ſick ſoldiers of ſuch troop or company, to which the offender does belong.

II. If any ſutler, in any of our forts, garriſons, camps, barracs, or guards, ſhall, during divine ſervice, or ſermon, preſume to ſell any beer, brandy, wine, or other liquors, or any kind of victuals, or other merchandize, he ſhall be delivered over to the civil magiſtrate to be puniſhed according to law.

III. Whoſoever ſhall uſe any unlawful oath or execration (whether officer or ſoldier) ſhall incur the penalties expreſſed in the firſt article.

IV. If any officer or ſoldier ſhall preſume to blaſpheme the holy and undivided trinity, or the perſons of God the father, God the ſon, or God the holy ghoſt, or ſhall preſume to ſpeak againſt any known article of the chriſtian faith, he ſhall be delivered over, by the commanding officer, to the civil magiſtrate, to be puniſhed according to law.

V. If any officer or ſoldier ſhall abuſe or prophane any place, dedicated to the worſhip of God, or ſhall offer violence to any chaplain of the army, or any other miniſter of God's word, he ſhall be liable to ſuch penalty or corporal puniſhment, as ſhall be inflicted on him by a court martial.

VI. If any officer or ſoldier ſhall preſume to uſe any traiterous or diſreſpectful words againſt the ſacred perſon of his majeſty, his royal highneſs the prince of Wales, or any of the royal family, or ſhall behave himſelf with contempt or diſreſpect towards the general, or other commander in chief of the forces, or ſpeak words tending to his hurt or diſhonour, he ſhall be puniſhed according to the nature of his offence, by the judgment of a regimental or general court martial.

VII. If any officer or ſoldier ſhall exite, cauſe or join in any mutiny or ſedition, in the company, troop, or regiment to which he belongs, or in any other campany, troop, or regiment in his majeſty's ſervice, or in any party or poſt, where the duty is done by detachment from ſeveral regiments, or otherwiſe, in the army, he ſhall ſuffer death, or ſuch other puniſhment as a general court-martial ſhall inflict.

And if any officer, non-commiſſion officer, or ſoldier, ſhall hear any words tending to mutiny, or ſedition, or, being any way privy thereto, do not immediately uſe his utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs the ſame, as alſo to diſcover it to his ſuperiors, if an officer, he ſhall be caſhiered; if a non-commiſſion officer or ſoldier, he ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed at the diſcretion of a court-martial.

VIII. If any officer or ſoldier ſhall refuſe to obey the lawful orders of his ſuperior officer, he ſhall be puniſhed with death, or otherwiſe, as a general court-martial ſhall think fit.

X. All officers and ſoldiers who have received pay, or have been duly liſted in our ſervice, and ſhall deſert the ſame, either in the field, upon a march, in quarters, or in garriſon, and be convicted thereof before a general court-martial, ſhall ſuffer death, or ſuch other puniſhment, as by the ſaid court ſhall be inflicted.

XII. If any officer or ſoldier ſhall perſuade or adviſe any other officer or ſoldier to deſert our ſervice, he ſhall ſuffer ſuch puniſhment, as ſhall be inflicted by the ſentence of a general court-martial.

XVI. If any officer, non-commiſſion officer, or ſoldier, ſhall be accuſed of any capital crime, or of any violence or offence againſt the perſon, eſtate, or property of any of our ſubjects, which is puniſhable by the known laws of the land; the commanding officers of every regiment, troop, or company, are hereby required to deliver over ſuch accuſed perſon to the civil magiſtrate, ſo ſoon as applied to; and are alſo to be aiding and aſſiſting to the officers of juſtice, in the ſeizing and apprehending ſuch offender, in order to bring him to trial, under pain of our higheſt diſpleaſure.

XIX. No officer or ſoldier ſhall uſe any reproachful or provoking ſpeeches or geſtures to another, upon pain of impriſonment, and aſking pardon of the party offended, in preſence of his commanding officer.

Nor ſhall any officer or ſoldier preſume to ſend a challenge to any other officer or ſoldier to fight a duel, upon pain of being caſhiered, if he be an officer; or ſuffer the ſevereſt corporal puniſhment, if a non-commiſſion officer or private ſoldier

And if any officer or non-commiſſion officer, commanding a guard, ſhall wittingly and knowingly ſuffer any perſon whatever to go forth to fight a duel, he ſhall be puniſhed as above: and all ſeconds alſo, and carriers of challenges, in order to duels, ſhall be taken as principals, and puniſhed accordingly.

All officers, of what condition ſoever, have power to part and quell all quarrels, frays, and other diſorders, though of another company, troop, or regiment; and to command officers to arreſt, and ſoldiers to priſon, until their proper officers be acquainted therewith.

And whoever ſhall refuſe to obey ſuch officers (though of inferior rank) or draw his ſword upon him, ſhall be puniſhed as a general court-martial ſhall appoint.

Nor ſhall any officer or ſoldier upbraid another for refuſing a challenge, ſince, according to theſe our orders, they do but do the duty of ſoldiers, who ought to ſubject themſelves to diſcipline; and we do acquit and diſcharge all men who have quarrels offered, or challenges ſent to them, of all diſgrace or opinion of diſadvantage in the obedience hereunto, and whoſoever ſhall upbraid them, and offend in this caſe, ſhall be puniſhed as a challenger.

XXI. Every non-commiſſion officer and ſoldier, who ſhall liniſt himſelf, in our ſervice, ſhall, at the time of his ſo liniſting, or within a month afterwards at the fartheſt, be taken before a juſtice of the peace by the liniſting officer commanding the troop or company into which he is liſted, and ſhall there take the following oath:

'I ſwear to be true to our ſovereign lord king George, and to ſerve him honeſtly and faithfully in defence of his perſon, crown, and dignity, againſt all his enemies and oppoſers whatſoever, and to obſerve and obey his majeſty's orders, and the orders of the generals and officers ſet over me by his majeſty.

So help me God.'

XXVIII. All officers and ſoldiers are to behave themſelves orderly on the march; and whoever ſhall commit any waſte or ſpoil, either on walks of trees, parks, warrens, fiſh-ponds, houſes, or gardens, corn-fields, incloſures, or meadows, or ſhall maliciouſly deſtroy any property whatever belonging to any of our ſubjects, or belonging to any perſon whatever, unleſs by order of the then commander in chief of our forces, to annoy rebels, or other enemies in arms againſt us, he or they, that ſhall be found guilty of offending herein, ſhall (beſides ſuch penalties as they are liable to by law) be puniſhed according to the nature and degree of the offence, by the judgment of a regimental or general court-martial.

XXIX. No officer ſhall demand billets for quartering of more than his effective men, nor quarter any women or children in the houſe aſſigned him for the quartering of officers and ſoldiers, without the conſent of the owner; nor ſhall take money for freeing of landlords from quartering of officers or ſoldiers, under pain of being caſhiered for it.

XXX. Every officer commanding a regiment, troop, company, or party, whether in ſettled quarters, or on the march, ſhall ſee his own quarters, and the quarters of every officer and ſoldier under his command, paid, according to the rates ſpecified in the act of parliament now in force.

And, upon every payment to be made in quarters, the ſaid officers ſhall give public notice thereof to the landlords, in order to ſee them ſatisfied as aforeſaid: and in caſe any ſuch regiment, troop, company, or party, ſhall be ordered to march, before money may be come to the hands of the commanding officer as aforeſaid, he is hereby required, before his departure out of any town or village, to make up the accounts with all perſons concerned in money due to them for quartering of officers and ſoldiers, for what time ſoever he ſhall have happened to remain there; and grant to every ſuch party a ſigned certificate for the ſame, therein ſpecifying the name of the regiment, troop, or company ſuch officers or ſoldiers do belong to, under pain of being caſhiered for it, upon proof of having wilfully offended herein.

XXXI. On marches, the commanding officers are to apply to the proper magiſtrates for the carriages neceſſary for the ſervice, and to pay for them according to the act of parliament in that behalf, taking care not to abuſe, nor to ſuffer any under their command, to beat or abuſe the waggoners, or other perſons attending ſuch carriages, nor to put more than twenty hundred weight on any wayne or waggon ſo furniſhed to them by the country.

And whatever officer ſhall be convicted of offending herein, or of refuſing to grant certificates in caſe of failure of money, as in the preceding article, ſhall, by the judgement of a general court-martial, be caſhiered, or otherwiſe puniſhed, according to the degree of his offence.

XXXII. All officers commanding in garriſons, in quarters, or on marches, ſhall keep good order, and redreſs all ſuch abuſes or diſorders as may happen to be committed by any officer or ſoldier under their command: and if on complaint made to any ſuch commanding officer, of beating of landlords, or extorting of more from them than they are obliged by law to furniſh; of ſoldiers diſturbing of fairs or markets, or committing of any other kind

The affair of the forfeited eſtates cauſed likewiſe great debates. A bill was brought in for veſting the forfeited eſtates in Great-Britain and Ireland in truſtees, to be ſold for the uſe of the public; and for giving relief to lawful creditors, by determining the claims; and for the more effectual bringing into the reſpective exchequers the rents and profits of the eſtates till ſold. This bill was attended with warm debates in both houſes, which, though they did not obſtruct its paſſage, produced ſome very equitable clauſes. The time of claiming was prolonged, and twenty thouſand pounds ſterling was reſerved, out of the ſale of the eſtates in Scotland, for erecting ſchools, and eight thouſand for building barracs. [e]

Before the ſeſſion ended, the king ſent a meſſage to the commons, which was read by the ſpeaker as follows:

'His majeſty being at preſent engaged in ſeveral negotiations of the utmoſt concern to the welfare of theſe kingdoms, and the tranquility of Europe; and having lately received information from abroad, which makes him judge that it will give weight to his endeavours, if a naval force be employed where it ſhall be neceſſary, does think fit to acquaint this houſe therewith; not doubting, but that, in caſe he ſhould be obliged, at this critical juncture, to exceed the number of men granted this year for the ſea-ſervice, the houſe will, at their next meeting, provide for ſuch exceeding.'

This meſſage was well received, and it was unanimouſly reſolved to preſent an addreſs to thank the king for his unwearied endeavours to promote the welfare of his kingdoms, and to preſerve the tranquility of Europe; and to aſſure him, that they would make good ſuch exceedings of ſeamen, as he ſhould find neceſſary to obtain thoſe ends.

On the 21ſt of March, the buſineſs of the ſeſſion being over, the king went to the houſe of peers, and, having paſſed all the bills, ordered the lord-chancellor to read the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I cannot put an end to this ſeſſion, without returning my hearty thanks to ſo good a parliament, for the diſpatch which has been given to the public buſineſs. You will, I hope, in your private capacities, feel the convenience of an early receſs; and, I am perſuaded, the public will receive great benefit, by the ſeaſonable zeal and vigour of your reſolutions in ſupport of my government.

'Nothing can add ſo much to the credit and influence of this crown, both at home and abroad, as the repeated inſtances of your affection to me. This ſteadineſs and reſolution of yours will, I hope, enable me to procure, againſt your next meeting, ſuch treaties to be concluded, as will ſettle peace and tranquility among our neighbours.

'If, through the bleſſing of God, my endeavours to this end prove ſucceſsful, I ſhall have the ſatisfaction to ſilence even thoſe, who will never own themſelves convinced; and to let all the world ſee plainly, that what I have moſt at heart, is the good and welfare of my people, who may then be eaſed in their taxes, and enriched by their trade.

Gentlemen of the houſe of Commons,

'I muſt return you my particular thanks for the ſupplies you have ſo chearfully granted, and for the late inſtance of your confidence in me. I promiſe you, that my endeavours ſhall not be wanting to make uſe of both to the beſt advantage, for the good of my people.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'The practices which are daily uſed by a moſt reſtleſs and unhappy ſet of men, to diſturb a government, by whoſe clemency they are protected, require our utmoſt attention and vigilance. I muſt therefore recommend it to you, that, in your ſeveral ſtations and countries, you will endeavour to quell that ſpirit of diſaffection, which our common enemies are ſo induſtrious to foment.'

Then the lord-chancellor prorogued the parliament to the 20th of May; and afterwards, by ſeveral prorogations, to the 11th of November.

About this time there were ſome changes in the miniſtry. Sir Edward Northey was removed, and mr. Lechmere was made attorney-general in his room. The earl of Sunderland was made preſident of the council, and firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury. The other commiſſioners were, Aiſlabie, Wallop, Baillie, and Clayton. Mr Craggs, and the lord Stanhope (who and lord Cadogan were ſoon after created earls) were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate. The earl of Berkley was placed at the head of the admiralty, with ſir George Byng, ſir John Jennings, mr. Cockburne, mr. Chetwynd, ſir John Norris, and ſir Charles Wager. The earl of Holderneſs was made firſt commiſſioner of the board of trade. In April, the lord-chancellor Cowper (who had been made an earl) reſigned the great ſeal, and went immediately into the country. Though it had been reported ſome months that he deſired to retire, yet his reſigning his employment, at that juncture, was a great ſurprize to the public, and no ſmall grief to all unprejudiced perſons. The judges Tracy, Prat, and Mountague, were made commiſſi-

of riots, to the diſturbing or diſquieting our people; he, the ſaid commander, who ſhall refuſe or omit to ſee juſtice done no the offender, and reparation made to the party injured, ſo far as part of the offender's pay can enable him, he ſhall, upon proof thereof, be puniſhed by a general court-martial, as if he himſelf had perſonally committed the crimes or diſorders complained of.

XXXVII. If any officer ſhall protect any perſon from his creditors, otherwiſe than is allowed by the preſent act of parliament; or any one who does not actually ſerve in the ranks, and conſequently do all the duties of a ſoldier (according to the true intent and meaning of the ſaid act) he ſhall be caſhiered for it.

XLIV. In caſe any officer, non-commiſſion officer or ſoldier, be accuſed of any violence or offence againſt the perſon, eſtate, or property of any of our ſubjects, puniſhable by any of our civil courts or magiſtrates, the officer, to whom ſuch accuſation is brought, ſhall not proceed to the trial of ſuch offender or offenders by a court-martial, within the ſpace of eight days, unleſs at the deſire of the perſon or perſons injured; and in caſe no application be made to the commanding officer in quarters, during the ſpace of eight days, by the perſon or perſons injured; the offender or offenders may be tried by a court-martial for any offence mentioned in theſe articles; provided that, within the ſpace of the ſaid eight days, the perſon injured hath not proceeded to the proſecution of ſuch offender before a civil court or magiſtrate, and notice given thereof to the officer, commanding in the quarters where ſuch offence ſhall be committed.

XLV. theſe our rules and articles are to be obſerved by, and do in all reſpects regard our troops and regiments of horſe and foot guards as well as our other forces.

XLVI. The aforegoing rules and articles ſhall be read and publiſhed at the head of every regiment, troop, and company muſtered or to be muſtered in our ſervice, once every two months at fartheſt, and are to be duly obſerved by all officers and ſoldiers in our ſervice; and alſo by our companies of gunners, and other military officers of our trains of artillery, with ſuch alterations only as relate to the payment of ſoldiers quarters and carriages, which in the kingdom of Ireland are to be regulated by the lord-lieutenant thereof, and in our iſlands, provinces, and garriſons beyond the ſeas, by the reſpective governors of the ſame, according as the nature of the thing ſhall require: and notwithſtanding it is expreſſed in the 16th article of theſe our rules and orders, that every commanding officer is required to deliver up to the civil magiſtrate all ſuch perſons (under his command) as ſhall be accuſed of any crimes which are puniſhable by the known laws of the land; yet in our garriſon of Gibraltar, iſland of Minorca, forts of Placentia and Annapolis-Royal, where our forces now are, or in any other place beyond the ſeas, to which any of our troops may hereafter be commanded, and where there is no form of our civil judicature in force, the governors or commanders reſpectively are to appoint general courts-martial to be held, who are to puniſh criminals by their ſentence, as has been practiſed heretofore, and authorized by former articles of war.

[e] There was alſo a debate in the houſe of commons about the trade with Sweden, which had been interrupted by a proclamation. The merchants having preſented a petition for opening the trade, mr. Jackſon (late reſident at Stockholm) was called in and aſked by mr. Craggs, whether he was of opinion, that, if the trade were opened with Sweden, our merchants would be upon a better foot than they are at preſent? Mr Jackſon anſwered, 'that, in his opinion, the contrary would happen: for now that the Swedes are diſtreſſed for want of our commodities, particularly corn and ſalt, they are inclined to facilitate to us, underhand, the purchaſe of their iron; whereas, if the prohibition of trade with them was taken off, they would immediately provide themſelves with what they want; and, knowing at the ſame time, that there are amongſt us a ſet of men, who make it their ſtudy and buſineſs to embarraſs the government, the court of Sweden would be more ſtiff than ever, and render the purchaſe of the iron more difficult to us.' Some members of the houſe being offended at mr. Jackſon's reflection on a ſet of men (by which it was plain he meant the tory-party) cried out, cuſtody! cuſtody! but the more moderate contented themſelves with putting him upon explaining himſelf. Hereupon mr. Jackſon replied, that he meant the merchants, who preſented unreaſonable petitions. This being by ſome looked upon rather as an aggravation than an excuſe, the cry of cuſtody, cuſtody, was repeated; but mr. Walpole brought him off, by ſuggeſting, 'that that gentleman had lived ſo long in a deſpotic government, where petitions and repreſentations of that nature are accounted capital crimes, that he had forgot the rights and privileges of his countrymen; and therefore moved, that his unguarded expreſſions might be excuſed; and, nobody oppoſing mr. Walpole, mr. Jackſon withdrew. Then, the petitioners and ſome other merchants being called in, and farther heard, they repreſented, among other particulars, 'that, ſince the prohibition of trade with Sweden, they bought Swediſh iron of the Dutch, 4l. per ton dearer than before; and that, whereas the Engliſh were formerly about 30000l. per annum gainers by the trade with Sweden, they now loſt about 90000l.' But this was contradicted by mr. Craggs, who ſuggeſted, that the exports from Stockholm for England had never amounted to 120000l. in one year; and therefore the difference of the profit and loſs could not come up to this laſt ſum. After ſome other ſpeeches, the debate was adjourned till that day month, before which the ſeſſion ended.

There was another debate about a bill for erecting hoſpitals and workhouſes in Briſtol, in which there was a remarkable clauſe, abrogating the ſacramental teſt in the caſe of the guardianſhip of the charities. However, the bill paſſed with the clauſe.

A bill, directing that St. Giles's church ſhould be rebuilt, inſtead of one of the fifty new churches, occaſioned a debate in the houſe of lords, and was oppoſed by ſome of the biſhops, as a miſapplication of the money granted for pious uſes. They alſo propoſed that the words of pious memory ſhould be added in the preamble after the queen's name; but the bill paſſed without any amendment, upon which it was proteſted againſt by five biſhops and ſeveral lords.

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CHARLES Earl of SUNDERLAND.

Geddes sculp.

In the Collection of the Hon.ble John Spencer.

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oners of the great ſeal; but, about a month after, the lord Parker was made high-chancellor, and ſir John Prat chief-juſtice.

The great ſcene of action this ſummer was in the Mediterranean. Though the king of Spain had promiſed to ſuſpend all operations, after the conqueſt of Sardinia, and refer his differences with the emperor to the mediation of England, France, and Holland, he rejected all their propoſals for an accommodation, and continued his warlike preparations by ſea and land. By the care and diligence of his prime miniſter cardinal Alberoni, a formidable armament was ready, by the month of May, at Barcelona, conſiſting of thirty ſhips of the line and frigates, ſeven gallies, four bomb-veſſels, four hundred and forty tranſport-ſhips, forty mortars, fifteen hundred mules, one hundred and fifty thouſand faſcines, three hundred thouſand ſtakes for intrenchments, a vaſt quantity of warlike ſtores, and proviſions for many months. On board this fleet were embarked thirty-ſix battalions, ſix regiments of horſe, four of dragoons, one thouſand artillery men, a hundred and fifty carpenters and other mechanics, a company of ſixty miners, and a brigade of fifty engineers. To furniſh the ſupplies, the receivers of the revenue were ordered to pay in certain ſums to the royal treaſury: the grandees, prelates, provinces, cities, taxed themſelves voluntarily for this expedition, and raiſed regiments at their own expence. Theſe preparations had been the work of more than two years.

1718] This powerful fleet ſet ſail the beginning of June: the deſign of it was not known but by the event. It was not doubted, but the conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples was aimed at, and all poſſible meaſures had been taken to prevent it. Alberoni had deceived all Europe; for Sicily was what the cardinal intended to attac, and the reaſons which determined him to it were very plauſible.

In the firſt place, Sicily not belonging at that time to the emperor, this expedition ſeemed to give no handle to the courts of London and Paris, ſince, by their late treaties, they had only engaged to aſſiſt the emperor, in caſe his dominions were attaced, and not the duke of Savoy, who was not ſuppoſed to be in danger. In the next place, the cardinal was informed of the duke's inclination to be reconciled with the emperor, and give him Sicily without any regard to the rights of Spain. Laſtly, Sicily not being in a ſtate of defence, the conqueſt would be eaſy, and prepare the way for the others he intended to make.

During theſe preparations in Spain, king George had ordered (as hath been ſaid) a ſtrong ſquadron to be fitted out in the ſpring. The marquiſs de Monteleone, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at the court of England, being alarmed at it, repreſented, in a memorial dated the 18th of March, 'that ſo powerful an armament, in time of peace, could not but cauſe umbrage to the king, his maſter, and alter the good intelligence that reigned between the two crowns.' The king anſwered, 'it was not his intention to conceal the ſubject of that armament: and he deſigned ſoon to ſend admiral Byng with a powerful ſquadron into the Mediterranean, in order to maintain the neutrality of Italy, againſt thoſe who ſhould ſeek to diſturb it.'

In the mean time, the negotiations were carried on with all poſſible diligence. The abbot du Bois, in the name of the duke of Orleans, agreed with the Britiſh miniſters at London upon the terms for an accommodation between the emperor and the king of Spain, and had frequent and long conferences on that ſubject with the king. Theſe negotiations produced at length the treaty called at firſt the triple alliance between Great-Britain, France, and Holland, and, after the acceſſion of the emperor, ſtiled the quadruple alliance. As this treaty is one of the moſt remarkable events of this reign, and an evident proof of the aſcendant, which two politic princes in conjunction may have over the reſt, it will not be improper to inſert the plan and principal articles.

The deſign of the negotiations was declared to be, the preſervation of the public tranquility, by removing the jealouſies which were increaſing between ſome of the princes of Europe. Then were ſettled the terms of a peace between the kings of Spain and Sicily and the emperor. Theſe terms, accepted by the emperor, were followed by a ſeparate treaty of alliance between him and the three powers who ſo far concerned themſelves in the peace, as to engage to compel by force of arms the kings of Spain and Sardinia to accept the condition offered them.

The terms impoſed on the emperor and Spain were contained in eight articles:

I. For quieting the diſturbances raiſed contrary to the peace of Baden, and the neutrality of Italy, the king of Spain was to reſtore to the emperor, within two month after the ratification of the treaty, the kingdom of Sardinia, and renounce all right and title to the ſame.

II. In conſideration of this, and of king Philip's renunciation to the crown of France for himſelf and poſterity, the emperor was alſo to renounce for himſelf, heirs and ſucceſſors, all rights and pretenſion to any dominions, of which the king of Spain was acknowledged rightful poſſeſſor by the treaty of Utrecht.

III. In conſequence of this renunciation, and becauſe the duke of Orleans had renounced all right to the crown of Spain, on condition the emperor ſhould never ſucceed to that kingdom, his imperial majeſty was to acknowledge Philip V. lawful king of Spain and the Indies, and to give him the titles and prerogatives belonging to him as ſuch.

IV. In return, his catholic majeſty was to renounce all rights and claims to the dominions of the emperor in Italy or the Netherlands; amongſt which the marquiſate of Final (yielded to the Genoeſe by the emperor in 1713) was to be comprehended He was likewiſe to renounce the right of reverſion of Sicily to the crown of Spain, which he had reſerved to himſelf in the treaty of Utrecht.

V. The duchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia were to be accounted for ever as male fiefs of the empire, and were to deſcend in default of the male heirs to the queen of Spain's eldeſt ſon. As the conſent of the empire was neceſſary, the emperor was to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to obtain it. Leghorn was to remain a free port; and the king of Spain was to yield to his ſon the town Porto Longone, with what he poſſeſſed in the iſland of Elba, as ſoon as the prince of Spain ſhould be in poſſeſſion of Tuſcany. None of theſe duchies was to be poſſeſſed by a prince who ſhould at the ſame time be king of Spain, nor was the king of Spain ever to take upon himſelf the guardianſhip of that prince.

The mediators took ſeveral other precautions. It was never to be allowed, during the lives of the poſſeſſors of Tuſcany and Parma, that any forces of any country whatſoever, whether their own or hired, ſhould, either by the emperor, the kings of France or Spain, or even by the prince appointed to the ſucceſſion, be introduced in any garriſon, city, port, or town of thoſe duchies. But for ſecurity of the ſucceſſion ſix-thouſand Swiſs were to be put into Leghorn, Porto-Ferraro, Parma, and Placentia. His Britannic majeſty was ſo convinced of the neceſſity of this expedient that he offered to lend his own forces till the Swiſs could be raiſed.

VI. The next article was of greater importance, and was that with which king George and the duke of Orleans purchaſed (as may be ſaid) at the expence of Spain and Savoy, the aid the emperor was to furniſh in defence of the order of the ſucceſſion ſo favourable to them. By this article the king of Spain for the ſake of the public tranquility was to conſent, that the emperor ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of Sicily, and renounce the right of reverſion of that kingdom ſettled by the inſtrument of ceſſion, and the treaty of Utrecht, on condition however of having the reverſion of Sardinia inſtead of it.

VII. and VIII. The emperor and king of Spain were to defend each other in the poſſeſſion of their dominions, and to perform the conditions of this treaty within two months after ratification. After which all other points were to be ſettled at a congreſs.

The treaty between the emperor and the king of Sicily was of the ſame nature, only the mediators ſpoke more like ſovereign arbiters from whom there was no appeal. The preamble ran in a very high ſtrain. The mediators began with obſerving, that the ceſſion of Sicily by the treaty of Utrecht to the houſe of Savoy, inſtead of promoting the peace, as was intended, had proved the chief obſtacle of the emperor's refuſing to accede to that treaty, as all Europe could witneſs. Wherefore (ſay the mediators) the powers, by whom the treaty of Utrecht was firſt ſet on foot, believe that article, which is not eſtential to the treaty, may juſtly be altered, even without the conſent of the parties concerned, as it tends to the perfection of the treaty by the emperor's renunciation, and as by the exchange of Sicily for Sardinia the war will be prevented with which Italy is threatened, in caſe the emperor ſhould attac Sicily, which he has never renounced, and which he has a right to recover after the breach of the neutrality of Italy by the ſeizure of Sardinia. It is therefore agreed,

I. The king of Sicily ſhall reſtore that kingdom to the emperor, within two months, at fartheſt, after the ratification of this treaty.

II. In return, the emperor ſhall give to the king of Sicily the iſland of Sardinia, which he ſhall enjoy, with the title of king; but the reverſion, in default of heirs-male, ſhall be reſerved to the crown of Spain.

As there was no proportion between Sardinia and Sicily, it was fit the emperor ſhould ſeem at leaſt to make ſome farther ſatisfaction. To this end, the mediators in the two next articles agreed, that the emperor ſhould confirm to king of Sicily all the ceſſions made to him by the treaty of Turin in 1703, on condition, however, that all other claims, which he might have by that treaty, ſhould be void. The emperor was likewiſe to acknowledge the right of the houſe of Savoy to ſucceed to the crown of Spain, in caſe of failure of heirs in Philip V. according to the renunciations and treaties of Utrecht.

But it ſignified little to make theſe regulations, if proper meaſures were not taken for their ſupport and execution. In this the mediators were not wanting. France and the emperor, in conjunction with Great-Britain, promiſed mutual aſſiſtance to put the emperor in poſſeſſion of Sicily, and to maintain the ſucceſſion of the Britiſh crown in the proteſtant branch, and to exclude the Spaniſh branch from the crown of Spain. To theſe engagements were added the particular meaſures that were to be taken, to induce or compel the kings of Spain and Sicily to ſubmit to what had been determined for them, in concert with their enemy.

It was agreed to allow them three months, to conſider, which time was deemed ſufficient to examine the conditions, and declare whether they would accept them, after the example of his imperial majeſty, as unalterable terms to extinguiſh the preſent, and hinder a future war. But, if contrary to the wiſhes of all Europe, theſe two princes, after the expiration of the two months, refuſed to comply, the mediators were to join their forces, and compel them to ſubmit.

It was expreſly agreed, that, if one of the mediators ſhould be attaced on account of the ſuccours lent the emperor, the others ſhould declare war againſt the aggreſſor, and not lay down their arms, till the emperor was in poſſeſſion of Sicily, and ſecure, as to his Italian dominions.

If one of the two kings ſhould accept of the terms, he was to join with the mediators to compel the other to do the like. If the king of Spain refuſed to comply, the emperor was to be aſſiſted in the conqueſt of Sardinia: If the king of Sicily refuſed, the emperor was to be enabled to ſubdue Sicily: if both ſtood out Sicily was firſt to be attaced, and then Sardinia, the cuſtody of which was to be left to the king of Great-Britain, till the duke of Savoy had agreed to the treaty.

After having ſettled the means of taking Sardinia from Spain, and Sicily from Savoy, the penalties were fixed, in caſe theſe two princes ſhould carry their reſiſtance ſo far, as to make it neceſſary to have recourſe to arms. The emperor was allowed to recover that part of Milan, yielded to Savoy by the treaty of Turin; and it was to be agreed to what other prince the emperor ſhould give the eventual inveſtiture of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, in excluſion of the queen of Spain's ſons.

To ſhew, however, that nothing but juſtice and peace was intended, it was agreed, that the emperor (whatever progreſs his arms might make) ſhould be contented with the advantages ſtipulated for him; but if he could not recover Sicily by arms or treaty, he was to be free from any engagement entered into by this treaty, of conſenting to make peace with the kings of Spain and Sardinia. It was moreover agreed, that the emperor, when in poſſeſſion of Sicily, ſhould renounce all pretentions to Spain and the Indies, whether king Philip conſented or not to the peace, ſince the guarantee of the mediators would be to the emperor a ſecurity equal to the renunciations of the king of Spain, for Sicily, the Italian dominions, and the Netherlands.

Such was the quadruple alliance, by which king George and the duke of Orleans intended to preſerve the tranquility of Europe: but, contrary to their expectations, it proved the occaſion of all the quarrels and diſputes which afterwards enſued between Great-Britain and Spain.

The ſtates-general, in whoſe name this deciſive treaty was made, did not abſolutely refuſe to ratify it, but under various pretences ſuſpended their conſent. They did not approve of ſuch violent meaſures; and having no particular intereſt in the quarrel, were willing rather to proceed by fair means.[f]

To this treaty were added ſtill more effectual methods: king George offered his mediation to the grand ſeignor for a peace between him and the emperor: the mediation was accepted, and a treaty ſigned at Paſſarowitz.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, the king, as he had declared to the Spaniſh ambaſſador, ordered a fleet, ſtrong enough to oppoſe the progreſs of the Spaniards, to ſail for the Mediterranean, under the command of ſir George Byng.

The fleet being ready at Spithead, ſir George Byng went to Portſmouth, where he received his inſtructions, dated the 26th of may.[g] Theſe inſtructions were as follow:

I. Whereas the crown of Great-Britain, by the ſeveral treaties made at Utrecht, the 14th day of March 1713, N.S. with the emperor and the late moſt chriſtian king, became obliged to ſee an exact obſervation of the armiſtice and neutrality then eſtabliſhed in Italy, and was guarantee for the

[f] A letter from a Swiſs to his friend at Geneva, concerning the part the ſtates-general ought to act, as to the differences between the emperor and Spain, was publiſhed about this time, wherein a brief account is firſt given of what had paſſed in the affair, and then the reaſons why the ſtates are not obliged to enter into any alliance about it:

'Whilſt the emperor (ſays the letter) was in the heat of war with the Turks, the king of Spain, thinking it a favourable opportunity for puſhing his pretenſions, reſolved not to let it ſlip. He armed with all poſſible diligence, and with all the ſecrecy things of that nature are capable of. He cauſed all the men of war he had, to be made fit for the ſervice, new ones to be built, others to be bought; he gathered together all the tranſports he poſſibly could; he reinforced conſiderably his old regiments, raiſed new; and, in ſhort, attaced the iſland of Sardinia, which you know he made himſelf maſter of.

What did the king of Spain do in this interval? Why, he drew up and publiſhed a manifeſto to juſtify his recourſe to arms.

The marquiſs Beretti Landi (whoſe departure is ſtill lamented here) preſented a memorial to the ſtates-general, wherein, after having exhibited the reaſons which prevailed with the king of Spain to attac Sardinia, he offered, in the moſt obliging manner in the world, in the king his maſter's name, to put all his concerns into their hands, and to accept of them for mediators.

The ſtates-general were, indeed, ſenſible of his catholic majeſty's generoſity; but conſidering, that it was an affair which did not particularly concern them, and that that mediation might directly or indirectly entangle them in the quarrel, they concluded, that it was not their buſineſs to undertake it at any rate; and thereupon they anſwered the marquiſs Beretti Landi in very general terms.

What happened afterwards? Why, England and France, acting with the laudable deſign of preventing the diſorders which this kindling war would infallibly be attended with, enter upon meaſures agreeable to ſuch a deſign. In this view, the abbot du Bois was ſent to London; the affair was there canvaſſed; projects of accommodation were formed; care was taken to let the emperor know ſoon what they were; colonel Stanhope was ſent to Madrid, to communicate the propoſals to his catholic majeſty, or at leaſt to ſound him upon them. But hitherto not one word was ſpoken to the ſtates-general: far from conſulting them, or hearing their ſentiments of the matter, or acting in concert with them, or deſiring them (in conjunction with themſelves) to contribute to the re-eſtabliſhment of the tranquility of Europe; far from all this, I ſay, a profound ſilence was kept as to their part; they were carefully deprived of the knowledge of whatſoever was done: in a word the ſtates-general were not in the queſtion.

But neither was this all; for, after having well examined and debated upon the articles of peace between the emperor and the kings of Spain and Sicily, they were committed to writing; and a treaty of alliance was thereupon concluded between France, England, and the ſtates-general, the chief end whereof was to engage, by all poſſible methods, the emperor and the kings of Spain and Sicily to ſubſcribe to the conditions expreſſed in the ſaid treaty.

This treaty being made between France and England, it was ſent to Vienna, Madrid, and Turin, to be approved and accepted; and then only, after all theſe ſteps, it was propoſed to the ſtates-general.

Thus you have an account, in a few words, how all things were tranſacted. I ſhall ſhew you by and by, that their high-mightineſſes are not any way obliged to enter into the ſaid treaty. For this purpoſe, we have nothing to do to examine whether the terms of accommodation, contained in the ſaid treaty, are reaſonable and equitable, or not; for even ſuppoſing, that they are both the one and the other, I affirm, that the ſtate is not obliged by any engagement to enter into that alliance, and that it is its intereſt not to meddle by any means; and that for ſeveral reaſons.

In the firſt place, as their high-mightineſſes never ſet up as guarantees for the neutrality of Italy, ſo nothing obliges them to make ſteps, in order to reſtore peace there.

Secondly, Since their high-mightineſſes refuſed to accept the mediation which the king of Spain ſo civilly offered them, becauſe they were afraid of bringing themſelves into a ſcrape, they have much ſtronger reaſons to refuſe to come into the treaty above-mentioned, now that the king of Spain appears unwilling to accept it, as it is; for them to act otherwiſe would be to declare themſelves parties, after having refuſed to be mediators, and without the leaſt neceſſity, to fall out with his catholic majeſty, of whom, hitherto, they have on manner of reaſon to complain.

In the third place, it is inconteſtably certain, that this ſtate ought, with all imaginable care, to avoid whatever may involve it in a new war.'

However the ſtates-general, after all the endeavours of the Spaniſh ambaſſador to retard the concluſion of the treaty, did at laſt accede to the quadruple alliance on the 22d of December, N. S.

[g] The inſtructions were incloſed in a letter from ſecretary Craggs:

Cockpit, May 27th, O. S. 1718.

SIR,

I incloſe to you his majeſty's inſtructions, as well with relation to your conduct in the Mediterranian, as to the treaty with the Moors.

After what paſſed yeſterday between my lord Sunderland, my lord Stanhope, you and me, when we were together at lord Stanhope's lodgings, there remains nothing for me but to wiſh you a good voyage, and good ſucceſs in your undertakings. I do it very heartily, and am with great truth,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient, humble ſervant,

J. CRAIGS.

full performance of the ſtipulations at that time ſolemnly agreed to on that head: and whereas, by a treaty made between us and our good brother, the emperor of Germany, at Weſtminſter, the 25th day of May 1716, we ſtand engaged to aſſiſt, maintain, and defend him in the poſſeſſion of all the kingdoms, provinces, and rights, which he then actually enjoyed in Europe: and whereas the catholic king hath, in an hoſtile manner, invaded the territories belonging to the ſaid emperor, and, by force of arms, hath taken from him the iſland and kingdom of Sardinia, and is ſtill making great and warlike preparations for carrying on his deſigns further againſt the other dominions belonging to his imperial majeſty in Italy, contrary to the tenor of the aforeſaid treaties; and whereas, ſince this unhappy rupture, we, as a friend to both parties, have not ceaſed to employ our beſt offices, in order to accommodate the differences, and put an end to this war, which, if continued, will endanger the public tranquility of the reſt of Europe: and whereas we have made particular and earneſt inſtances with our good brother, the king of Spain, that he would conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms, during which the negotiations for peace might be more eaſily and effectually carried on: and whereas the ſaid catholic majeſty hath appeared to us not averſe to the ſuſpending his further enterprizes, and thereby facilitating our good offices towards a happy accommodation: we therefore, for the better fulfilling the ſeveral engagements we lie under by the treaties aforementioned, and for promoting, in the beſt and moſt effectual manner, the meaſures that may tend to the bringing about an entire reconciliation and perfect friendſhip between the ſaid parties now engaged in war, and thereby putting a ſtop to the fatal conſequences, which might otherwiſe enſue from theſe hoſtilites, have thought it fit and neceſſary, for the purpoſes aforeſaid, and for the welfare of Europe in general, to ſend a ſtrong fleet of our ſhips of war into the Mediterranean under your command.

II. You are therefore, upon the receipt of theſe our inſtructions, forthwith to proceed to the Mediterranean with our ſaid fleet; and, being arrived in the Streights, you ſhall immediately give notice to the catholic king, by our miniſter reſiding at his court, of your arrival in thoſe ſeas, and that you are inſtructed, in our name, to promote all meaſures, that may beſt contribute to the compoſing the differences that are riſen between him and the emperor.

III. You ſhall from thence, without loſs of time, wind and weather permitting, proceed to Port-Mahon, and being arrived there, you ſhall, by expreſſes, give advice of the ſame to the viceroy of the kingdom of Naples, and to the governor of the duchy of Milan, and let them know the purport of your inſtructions, that you are come with our fleet into thoſe parts, to make good our treaties with the emperor, and to hinder the further violation of the ſame by the arms of the catholic king: and to that end, you will hold a correſpondence with the ſaid viceroy and governor during your ſtay in the Mediterranean, and let them know, that you are to take meaſures in concert with them, for preventing any further breach of the neutrality of Italy, which, by our treaty, we are obliged to ſee preſerved: and, as you may probably, at Port-Mahon, get the beſt intelligence of the preparations and proceedings, both of the imperialiſts and the Spaniards, you will accordingly take ſuch ſtations with our fleet under your command, as may be moſt proper to obſtruct any new hoſtilities, and to put theſe our inſtructions in execution.

IV. And as a ſuſpenſion of arms, and a forbearance of all acts of hoſtilities on each ſide, in thoſe parts, is abſolutely neceſſary for the ſetting on foot and concluding the proper negotiations of peace, you are accordingly to make inſtances with both parties to ceaſe from uſing any further acts of hoſtility. But, in caſe the Spaniards do ſtill inſiſt with their ſhips of war and forces to attac the kingdom of Naples, or other the territories of the emperor in Italy, or to land in any part of Italy, which can only be with a deſign to invade the emperor's dominions, againſt whom only they have declared war by invading Sardinia; or if they ſhould endeavour to make themſelves maſters of the kingdom of Sicily, which muſt be with a deſign to invade the kingdom of Naples; in ſuch caſe you are, with all your power, to hinder and obſtruct the ſame. But, if it ſhould ſo happen, that at your arrival, with our fleet under your command, in the Mediterranean, the Spaniards ſhould already have landed any troops in Italy, in order to invade the emperor's territories, you ſhall endeavour amicably to diſſuade them from perſevering in ſuch an attempt, and offer them your aſſiſtance to help them to withdraw their troops, and put an end to all further acts of hoſtility. But, in caſe theſe your friendly endeavours ſhould prove ineffectual, you ſhall, by keeping company with, or intercepting their ſhips or convoy, or, if it be neceſſary, by openly oppoſing them, defend the emperor's territories from any further attempt.

V. And whereas we have thought it for our ſervice, to ſend four battalions of our forces on board our fleet under your command; upon your arrival at our town of Port-Mahon, you are to put the ſaid four battalions on ſhore there, to relieve the garriſons in our iſland of Minorca; and you are to take the ſaid garriſons on board your ſhips of war, in order to employ the ſame in ſuch a manner, and according to ſuch inſtructions as you ſhall receive from us.

VI. And whereas we have thought fit to recal our truſty and well beloved Charles Cornwall, eſq. whom we had appointed our plenipotentiary for concluding a peace with the Moors, and have impowered you to renew that negotiation, you are therefore to diſpoſe of the ſhips now under the command of the ſaid vice-admiral Cornwall, and employ the whole ſquadron, or any part thereof, in the manner you ſhall judge moſt proper for promoting the ſeveral reſpective ſervices, wherein you are employed in the Mediterranean.

The admiral ſailed the 4th of June from Spithead with twenty ſhips of the line, two fire-ſhips, two bomb-veſſels, a hoſpital-ſhip, and a ſtore-ſhip. Being got into the ocean, he ſent the Rupert to Liſbon for intelligence, and arriving on the 30th N.S. off Cape St. Vincent, he diſpatched the Superbe to Cadiz with mr. Allix, his ſecretary, who carried a letter from him to colonel Stanhope (the preſent earl of Harrington) the king's envoy at Madrid, wherein he deſired that miniſter to acquaint the king of Spain with his arrival in thoſe parts, in his way to the Mediterranean, and to lay before him the inſtructions he was to act under with his ſquadron, of which he gave a very ample detail in his letter. The envoy ſhewed the letter to cardinal Alberoni, who, upon reading it, told him with ſome warmth, 'that his maſter would run all hazards, and even ſuffer himſelf to be driven out of Spain, rather than recal his troops, or conſent to any ſuſpenſion of arms:' adding, 'that the Spaniards were not to be frightened; and he was ſo well convinced of their fleet's doing their duty, that if the admiral ſhould think fit to attac them, he ſhould be in no pain for the ſucceſs.' Mr Stanhope, having in his hand a liſt of the Britiſh ſquadron, deſired his eminence to peruſe, and to compare its ſtrength with that of their own ſquadron; which the cardinal took, and threw on the ground with much paſſion. Mr Stanhope, with great temper, deſired him 'to conſider the ſincere attention, which the king his maſter had always had to the honour and intereſt of his catholic majeſty, which it was impoſſible for him to give greater proofs of than he had done by his unwearied endeavours, through the whole courſe of the preſent negotiations, to procure the moſt advantageous condition poſſible for Spain, in which he had ſucceeded even beyond what any unprejudiced perſon could have hoped for; and that, though by the treaty of Utrecht for the neutrality of Italy, which was entered into at the requeſt of the king of Spain himſelf; as alſo by that of Weſtminſter the 25th of May, 1716, his majeſty found himſelf obliged to defend the emperor's dominions, when attaced, he had hitherto only acted as a mediator, though ever ſince the enterprize againſt Sardinia, by his treaties he became a party in the war, and for this year laſt paſt had been ſtrongly called upon by the emperor to comply with theſe engagements; and that even now, when it was impoſſible for him to delay any longer the ſending his fleet into the Mediterranean, it plainly appeared by the admiral's inſtructions, which he communicated to his eminence, and by the orders he had himſelf received, that his majeſty had nothing more at heart, than that his fleet might be employed in promoting the intereſts of the king of Spain; and hoped, that his catholic majeſty would not, by refuſing to recal his troops, or conſent to a ceſſation of arms, put it out of his power to give all the proofs of the ſincere friendſhip be always deſired to cultivate with his catholic majeſty.' All that the cardinal could be brought to promiſe, was to lay the admiral's letter before the king, and to let the envoy know his reſolution upon it in two days; but it was nine days before he could obtain and ſend it away, the cardinal probably hoping, that the admiral would delay, in expectation of it, in ſome of the ports in Spain, and thereby give time for their fleet and forces to ſecure a good footing in Sicily. The anſwer was wrote under the admiral's letter, in theſe words: 'his catholic majeſty has done me the honour to tell me, the che-

valier Byng may execute the orders, which he has from the king, his maſter.

Eſcurial, 15th July, 1718. The cardinal Alberoni.'

Mr Stanhope, ſeeing things tending to a rupture, gave private and early notice of his apprehenſions to the Engliſh conſuls and merchants, ſettled in the Spaniſh ſea-port towns, adviſing to guard and ſecure their effects againſt any danger of a breach between the two crowns.

The admiral purſuing his voyage with unfavourable winds, it was the 8th of July, N. S. before he made cape Spartel, where the Superbe and Rupert rejoined him, and brought him advice of the mighty preparations which the Spaniards had made at Barcelona, and of their fleet ſailing from thence the 18th of June, N. S. to the eaſtward. In paſſing by Gibraltar, vice-admiral Cornwall came out and joined him, with the Argyle and Charles galley. The ſquadron wanting water, and the wind continuing contrary, they anchored off cape Malaga, where, having compleated their watering in four days, they proceeded to Minorca, where the admiral was to land four regiments of foot, which he carried out from England, in order to relieve the ſoldiers there in garriſon, who were to embark, and ſerve in the ſquadron. On the 23d of July, N. S. he anchored with the ſquadron off Port-Mahon. Here he received advice, that the Spaniſh fleet had been ſeen, the 30th of June, within forty leagues of Naples, ſteering ſouth-eaſt: upon which he diſpatched away expreſſes to the governor of Milan, and viceroy of Naples, to inform them of his arrival in the Mediterranean; and, having ſhifted the garriſons of Minorca, he ſailed from thence the 25th of July, N. S. and arrived the 1ſt of Auguſt in the bay of Naples.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the joy of thoſe people, at the long-wiſhed for ſight of a fleet, which alone could aſſure their ſafety. They had been under the greateſt terrors, expecting that the prodigious armament of Spain would have fallen upon that kingdom: and though their fears were relieved for the preſent, by the deſcent of the Spaniards into Sicily, yet the rapidity with which they had over-run the greateſt part of that iſland, and a reaſonable ſuſpicion, that the duke of Savoy would not much expoſe his troops to defend the remainder of a country, which, by the terms of the quadruple alliance, was to be taken from him, and given to a potentate, whoſe power in Italy he dreaded, made them look for the enemy ſoon in Naples, where the ſtrong party that had appeared among the Sicilian nobility for Spain, made them apprehend, that no leſs a faction would riſe in their favour, upon their invading that kingdom, where the Germans had but twelve (ſome ſay eight) thouſand men, and the whole country was ill provided for defence. The common people indeed were generally in the intereſt of the houſe of Auſtria, which was greatly owing to the prudent government of the marſhal count Daun, their viceroy, a man endowed with all the qualities fit for that high employment, and the ſame perſon who had defended Turin ſo well, when it was beſieged by the duke of Orleans in 1706, till it was relieved by the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene. He was of a courteous and affable diſpoſition, but exact and ſteady in the adminiſtration of juſtice; by which means he had ſuppreſſed the banditti, who uſed to infeſt the country; and had put a ſtop to the murders that were ſo frequent in the city, not ſuffering the churches to exerciſe their infamous claim of ſanctuary for ſuch flagitious crimes. He did not indeed affect that ſhew of grandeur, which the Italians are fond of; but, as his frugal manner of living freed him from the neceſſity of oppreſſing them, ſo there was never any complaint of that kind againſt him. He was very zealous for the intereſts of his maſter, which he promoted by juſt and wiſe meaſures; and a certain conformity of manners, wherein he and the admiral reſembled each other, begat ſuch a quic confidence and friendſhip between them, as helped to carry on the ſervice of the common cauſe with unuſual harmony and diſpatch.

The fleet ſailing with a gentle gale into the bay of Naples, conſiſting of twenty-one ſail of the line of battle, moſt of them great ſhips, and three of them bearing flags, afforded ſuch a ſpectacle, as had never been ſeen in thoſe parts before. The whole city was in a tumult of joy and exultation. The ſhore was crouded with multitudes of coaches and people; and ſuch an infinite number of boats came off, ſome with proviſions and refreſhments, others out of curioſity and admiration, that the ſea between the fleet at anchor and the ſhore was literally covered. The viceroy, being incommoded with the gout, ſent colonel count Hamilton to make his compliments to the admiral, and to let him know the feeble condition he was in; but that, nevertheleſs, he intended to come off, and make him a viſit. The admiral returned the civility by his firſt captain, who, waiting on the viceroy, told him, the admiral was ſenſible of the honour he intended him, but deſired he would not give himſelf the trouble, eſpecially as he was ill; and that he would immediately wait on his excellency. The admiral going aſhore, attended by the flag-officers and captains in their boats, was ſaluted, at his landing, by all the cannon round the city and caſtles, and was carried to the duke de Matalone's palace, which had been prepared for his reception during his ſtay at Naples. From thence he was conducted to court, through an infinite throng of people, with the greateſt acclamations of joy, and all the honours and ceremonies paid to a viceroy; where, entering into conference with count Daun, he learnt, that the Spaniſh army, conſiſting of about thirty thouſand men, commanded by the marquis de Lede, had landed the 2d of July, N. S. in Sicily, and had ſoon made themſelves maſters of the city and caſtles of Palermo, and of great part of the iſland; that they had taken the town of Meſſina, and were then carrying on the ſiege of the citadel; that the viceroy did not know how far the Piedmonteſe garriſon was to be depended on; but that they muſt ſoon be obliged to ſurrender, if not relieved. That the laſt letters he had received from Vienna gave hopes, that the king of Sicily might be entered, by this time, into a particular alliance with the emperor, having deſired the aſſiſtance of his troops, and agreed to receive them into the citadel. The next morning the viceroy viſited the admiral, and, renewing their conference on the meaſures to be taken in that conjuncture of affairs, it was agreed, that the viceroy ſhould ſend general Wetzel with two thouſand German foot in tartans to Meſſina, to relieve the citadel and fort St. Salvador; and, as the admiral was directed by his orders to obſtruct any attempts of the Spaniards on Sicily, he conſented to take thoſe troops under his protection; and, accordingly, the tranſports being got ready, he ſailed with them the 6th of Auguſt, N. S. from Naples, and arrived the 9th in view of the Faro, off Meſſina.

Here the admiral pauſed. He ſaw with concern a new war re-kindled in Europe by the ambition of Spain: he weighed with deep conſideration the conſequences of his inſtructions, which made a rupture with that nation unavoidable, if they perſiſted in their enterprize on Sicily; and being ardently deſirous of trying every method of negotiation, before he proceeded to the extremity of his orders, he diſpatched captain Saunders, his firſt captain, to Meſſina, with a letter to the marquis de Lede, acquainting him, 'that the king, his maſter, being engaged by ſeveral treaties to preſerve the tranquility of Italy, had honoured him with the command of a ſquadron of ſhips, which he had ſent into thoſe ſeas; and that he came fully impowered and inſtructed to promote ſuch meaſures, as might beſt accommodate all differences between the powers concerned. That his majeſty was employing his utmoſt endeavours to bring about a general pacification, and was not without hopes of ſucceſs. He therefore propoſed to him to come to a ceſſation of arms in Sicily for two months, in order to give time to the ſeveral courts to conclude on ſuch reſolutions, as might reſtore a laſting peace.' But he added, 'that, if he was not ſo happy to ſucceed in this offer of ſervice, nor to be inſtrumental in bringing about ſo deſirable a work, he ſhould then hope to merit his excellency's eſteem in the execution of the other part of his orders, which were, to uſe all his force to prevent farther attempts to diſturb the dominions his maſter ſtood engaged to defend.' The next morning the captain returned with the general's anſwer, 'that it would be an inexpreſſible joy for his perſon to contribute to ſo laudable an end as peace; but, as he had no powers to treat, he could not of conſequence agree to any ſuſpenſion of arms, even at the expence of what the courage of his maſter's arms might be put to; but ſhould follow his orders, which directed him to ſeize on Sicily for his maſter, the king of Spain. That he had a true ſenſe of his accompliſhed expreſſions; but his maſter's forces would always be univerſally eſteemed in ſacrificing themſelves for the preſervation of their credit, in which caſes the ſucceſs did not always anſwer the ideas that were formed.'

The admiral had received intelligence, that the Spaniſh fleet departed from Paradiſe (which is a road at the entrance of the harbour of Meſſino) the day before his arrival off the Faro, which made him conclude, that they were retired to Malta; and therefore, upon receiving the marquis de Lede's anſwer, he immediately ſailed, with intention to come with his ſquadron before Meſſina, in order to encourage and ſupport the garriſon in the citadel; but, as he ſtood in about

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

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GEORGE BYNG LORD TORRINGTON.

G. Knoller Pinx.t *Goldar Sculp.t*

In the Collection of the Right Hon.t Lord Vic.t Torrington.

Publish'd as the Act directs August. 2. 1783.

the point of the Faro towards Meſſina, he ſaw two of the Spaniſh ſcouts in the Faro; and being informed at the ſame time by a fellucca, which came off from the Calabrian ſhore, that they ſaw from the hills the Spaniſh fleet lying by, the admiral altered his deſign, and ſending away general Wetzel with the German troops to Reggio, ander the convoy of two men of war, he ſtood through the Faro with his ſquadron, with all the ſail he could, after their ſcouts, imagining they would lead him to their fleet, which accordingly they did; for before noon he had a ſight of their whole fleet lying by, and drawn into a line of battle, conſiſting of twenty-ſeven ſail of men of war, ſmall and great, beſides two fire-ſhips, four bomb-veſſels, ſeven gallies, and ſeveral ſhips laden with ſtores and proviſions, commanded by the admiral Don Antonio de Caſtaneta, and under him four rear-admirals, Chacon, Mari, Guevara, and Cammock. On the ſight of the Engliſh ſquadron, they ſtood away large, but in order of battle. The admiral followed them all the reſt of that day, and the ſucceeding night with ſmall gales north-eaſterly, and ſometimes calm, with fair weather. The next morning early, the 11th of Auguſt, N. S. the Engliſh being got pretty near up with them, the marquis De Mari, rear-admiral, with ſix Spaniſh men of war, and all the gallies, fire-ſhips, bomb-veſſels, and ſtore-ſhips, ſeparated from their main fleet, and ſtood in for the Sicilian ſhore; upon which admiral Byng detached captain Walton, in the Canterbury, with five more ſhips after them; and, the Argyle and Canterbury getting within gun-ſhot of the headmoſt ſhip, about ſix in the morning, the Argyle fired a ſhot to bring her to; which ſhe not minding, the Argyle fired another, and the Canterbury, being ſomething nearer, fired another, upon which the Spaniſh ſhip fired her ſtern-chace at the Canterbury, and then the engagement began. The admiral purſuing the main body of the Spaniſh fleet, the Oxford, captain Falkingham, and the Grafton, captain Haddock, came up firſt with them about ten o'clock, at whom the Spaniards fired their ſtern-chace guns. The admiral ſent orders to thoſe two ſhips not to fire, unleſs the Spaniards repeated their firing; which they doing, the Oxford attaced the Santa Roſa of ſixty-four guns, and took her. The St. Carlos of ſixty guns ſtruc next, without much oppoſition, to the Kent, captain Matthews. The Grafton attaced warmly the Prince of Aſturias of ſeventy guns, formerly called the Cumberland, in which was rear-admiral Chacon: but the Bredah, captain Barrow-Harris, and the Captain, captain Archibald Hamilton, coming up, Haddock left that ſhip much ſhattered for them to take, and ſtretched a-head after another ſhip of ſixty guns, which had kept firing on his ſtarboard-bow, during his engagement with the Prince of Aſturias. About one o'clock the Kent, and ſoon after the Superbe, captain Maſter, came up with, and engaged the Spaniſh admiral of ſeventy-four guns, who with two ſhips more fired on them, and made a running fight till about three, and then the Kent bearing down upon him, and under his ſtern, gave him her broadſide, and fell to the leeward. Afterwards the Superbe, putting for it to lay the admiral aboard, fell on his weather-quarter, upon which the Spaniſh admiral ſhifting his helm, the Superbe ranged up under his lee-quarter, on which he ſtruc to her. At the ſame time the Barfleur, in which was the admiral, being aſtern of the Spaniſh admiral within ſhot, and inclining on his weather-quarter, rear-admiral Guevara, and another ſixty gun ſhip, which were to windward, bore down upon him, and gave him their broadſides, and then clapped upon a wind, ſtanding in for the land. The admiral immediately taced and ſtood after them, until it was almoſt night; but there being little wind, and they galing away out of his reach, he left purſuing them, and ſtood in to the fleet, which he joined two hours after night. The Eſſex, captain Rowzier, took the Juno of thirty-ſix guns; the Mountague, captain Beverly, and the Rupert, captain Field, took the Volante of forty-four guns; and rear-admiral Delaval, in the Dorſetſhire, took the Iſabella of ſixty guns. This action happened off Cape Paſſaro about ſix leagues diſtance from the ſhore. The Engliſh received but little damage. The ſhip, that ſuffered moſt, was the Grafton, which being a good ſailor, her captain engaged ſeveral ſhips of the enemy, always purſuing the headmoſt, and leaving thoſe ſhips, which he had diſabled or damaged, to be taken by thoſe, that followed him. Admiral Byng lay by ſome days at ſea, to refit the rigging of his ſhips, and to repair the damages the prizes had ſuſtained; and the 18th received a letter from captain Walton, giving an account, that he had taken four Spaniſh men of war, one of ſixty guns, commanded by rear-admiral Mari, one of fifty-four, one of forty, and one of twenty-four guns, with a bomb-veſſel, and a ſhip laden with arms; and burnt four men of war, one of fifty-four guns, two of forty, and one of thirty guns, with a fire-ſhip and a bomb-veſſel. [h]

The admiral, having thus received a full account of the whole tranſaction, diſpatched away his eldeſt ſon, mr. Byng, to England; who arrived at Hampton-court in fifteen days from Naples, brought the agreeable confirmation of what public fame had before reported, and upon which the king had already written a letter to the admiral with his own hand. [i] Mr Byng met with a moſt gracious reception from the king, who made him a handſome preſent; and ſent him bac with plenipotentiary powers to his father to negotiate with ſeveral princes and ſtates of Italy, as there ſhould be occaſion, and with his royal grant to the officers and ſeamen of all the prizes taken by them from the Spaniards.

The conduct of the Spaniards in the action of Paſſaro did not anſwer the vigour of the reſolutions they had taken before it. Upon notice of the approach of the Engliſh ſquadron, they held a conſultation, in which the queſtion was not, whether they ſhould fight or retreat, but in what ſtation they ſhould expect them; whether go out from Meſſina to meet them, or paſs through the Faro to the ſouthward, and, lying by in order of battle, receive them there? which latter opinion prevailed. But, when the admiral came up near them, they ſoon abandoned their order of battle, and falling into confuſion and uncertainty, whether to reſiſt or fly, by doing neither they became an eaſy prey, and the Engliſh might be rather ſaid to have made a ſeizure, than to have gained a victory. There was indeed ſome diſproportion in the ſtrength of the two fleets; but the inequality was not ſuch, as deterred the Spaniards from a reſolution of fighting, though it was but ill ſupported afterwards in the execution. But this juſtice is due to the admiral Caſtaneta, and to rear-admiral Chacon, that they made as good a defence with their own ſhips, as could be expected, and the former was wounded in both legs. It was reported, that, at a conſultation of the Spaniſh admirals, rear-admiral Cammock gave his opinion, that they ſhould remain at anchor in the road of Paradiſe, ranging their ſhips in a line of battle, with their broadſide to the ſea; which meaſure would certainly have given the Engliſh admiral infinite trouble to attac them. For the coaſt is ſo bold, that the largeſt ſhips could ride with a cable aſhore; and, further out, the currents are ſo various and rapid, that it would have been hardly practicable to get up to them, but impoſſible to anchor or lie by them in order of battle. Beſides, they lay ſo near the ſhore, and could have received ſuch aſſiſtance of ſoldiers from the army to man and defend them; and the annoyance, which the Spaniards might have given from the ſeveral batteries they could have planted along the ſhore would have been ſuch, that the only way of attacing the ſhips ſeemed to be by boarding and grappling with them at once, to prevent being caſt off by the currents; which would have been a very hazardous undertaking, wherein the Spaniards would have had many advantages, and the Engliſh admiral have run the chance of deſtroying his fleet, or buying a victory, if he ſucceeded, very dear. [k]

Admiral Byng, having collected his ſhips after the acti-

[h] Captain Walton was one, whoſe natural talents were fitter for achieving a galiant action, than deſcribing one; yet his letter on this occaſion carries in it ſuch a ſtrain of military eloquence, that it is worth inſerting here:

SIR,

'We have taken and deſtroyed all the Spaniſh ſhips and veſſels, which were upon the coaſt, the number as per margin. I am, &c.

Canterbury, off Syracuſe,
16 Aug. 1718. G. WALTON.'

[i] The letter was in French, and may thus be tranſlated:

Monſieur le chevalier Byng,

'Though I have not yet heard from you directly, I am informed of the victory which the fleet has gained under your command, and I was unwilling to delay the ſatisfaction that my approbation of your conduct might afford you. I thank you for it, and deſire you to expreſs my ſatisfaction to all the brave people who have ſignalized themſelves on this occaſion. Secretary Craggs has orders to inform your more at large of my intentions, but I was pleaſed to aſſure you myſelf that I am,

Monſieur le chevalier Byng,
Hampton-court, Your good Friend,
Aug. 23. 1718. GEORGE R.'

[k] Mr Corbet, in his account of the expedition to Sicily, inſerts here the following digreſſion concerning the affairs of the Spaniards:

'The councils of Spain were, at this time, under the management of two Italians, the queen and the abbot Alberoni, whom ſhe had raiſed to the dignity of cardinal and prime miniſter. They had vaſt deſigns in their view, and by ſecret intrigues with the king of Sicily, and other Italian princes and ſtates, had laid no leſs a ſcheme, than to exterminate the houſe of Auſtria and the imperial power out of Italy. And it was thought to be owing to the doubts they had of the ſincerity of the king of Sicily, that the ſtorm fell firſt upon his dominions, which was intended elſewhere. The armament they fitted

on, put into Syracuſe the 19th of Auguſt, N. S. where he found captain Walton and his prizes. Syracuſe was at that time bloced up by a detachment of the Spaniſh army, into which city count Maffei, the duke of Savoy's viceroy, had retreated with difficulty from Parlermo, and had in the place a numerous garriſon. But the firſt and principal point of the Spaniſh general was to get Meſſina into his hands, as the ſafeſt port for their fleet, and the moſt proper place to facilitate and ſecure the conqueſt of the reſt of the iſland, and from whence they deſigned to tranſport their numerous horſe, and the greateſt part of their foot, over to Calabria, and to have carried the war into the kingdom of Naples. The citadel of Meſſina was defended by a Pidemonteſe garriſon, commanded by the marquiſs d'Andorno; but the duke of Savoy, being unable to ſupport the ſiege, had ſollicited the emperor for his aſſiſtance, and a convention was made between the viceroy of Naples and the count de Bourge, reſident of Savoy, whereby the viceroy was to ſend a detachment of German troops, to be admitted into the citadel on joint and equal terms of command; for which ſervice baron Wetzel was diſpatched away with two thouſand foot, as has been before related. But the ſucceſs of the Engliſh fleet had raiſed ſuch a confidence in the garriſon, of their ſecurity againſt any attempts from the Spaniards, that the reſident endeavoured to elude an agreement, the neceſſity of which he thought no longer ſubſiſted; pretending want of power to make ſuch a conceſſion without an equivalent, but that he would write to his court for farther orders. This coming to Admiral Byng's knowledge, he repreſented, in ſtrong terms, to count Maffei, 'the unfairneſs of ſuch a proceeding, and how contrary it was to what he himſelf had agreed to, in their conference together the day before, upon that ſubject. That ſuch a diſagreement, at a time that the citadel was ſo vigorouſly attaced by the enemy, might be a means of their taking it, which the reputation of the Engliſh fleet would not ſuffer him to be an idle ſpectator of; and therefore, if he was reſolved to ſtay till he had inſtructions from the court of Turin, he ſhould likewiſe ſend to his court for farther orders; and, in the mean time, would retire from the iſland to ſome other place, to refreſh his men, and refit his ſhips, till he ſhould receive new directions from England.' This had ſuch an effect upon the viceroy, that he gave immediate orders for putting the agreement in execution, and for admitting German troops into the citadel. This point being adjuſted the admiral (having ſent away vice-admiral Cornwall, with ſuch of his ſhips as wanted refitting, and all the prizes, to Port-Mahon, with orders not to ſuffer the leaſt embezzlement to be made, but to preſerve every thing intire, till the king's pleaſure ſhould be known) ſailed himſelf, on the 23d of Auguſt, N. S. from Syracuſe, and arrived, the 26th, at Reggio, where general Wetzel informing him, that he hourly expected a reinforcement of four thouſand men from Naples, which, with thoſe he had with him, and the garriſon in the citadle, would make up nine thouſand men, and, upon their arrival, he ſhould form a project for raiſing the ſiege of the citadel, if the admiral would ſtay to countenance and protect him with his fleet; he readily conſented, knowing the extreme importance of not letting Meſſina fall into the hands of the enemy, and being directed by freſh orders from England to do all he could to prevent it. But, thoſe forces proving inſufficient for the execution of the intended project, the general contented himſelf, with ſupplying the citadel from time to time with freſh troops from Reggio; notwithſtanding which, the Spaniards puſhed on the ſiege with ſo much vigour and ſucceſs, that the gover-nor ſurrendered the citadel by capitulation, on the 29th of September, N. S. to the great ſurprize and diſſatisfaction of the Germans. The Piedmonteſe part of the garriſon was tranſported by ſea to Syracuſe, and the Germans to Reggio.

Admiral Byng receiving advice, that the rear-admiral Cammock, with three Spaniſh men of war, and as many frigates, which had eſcaped from the battle, was at Malta, and that a rich Engliſh merchant-ſhip, homeward bound from Turkey, was detained in the port, and in ſome danger; as likewiſe five Sicilian gallies, which had taken refuge there ever ſince the arrival of the Spaniſh fleet in Sicily; he ſtood over to that iſland, where he learnt that rear-admiral Cammock had ſailed from thence five days before with four ſhips, which he had cleaned there. The marquiſs de Rivaroles, general of the Sicilian gallies, coming off to the admiral, made great complaints of the partiality and ill uſage of that government, in ſuffering him to be expoſed to daily affronts from the Spaniards, and prayed his protection and aſſiſtance to get away from thence; upon which the admiral ſent his firſt captain with his compliments to the grand maſter, and deſired, that thoſe gallies might have free liberty to come out to him. The grand maſter ſent off three great croſſes of the order to the admiral, and with much politeneſs gave him all the aſſurances poſſible of freedom for the gallies to do what they pleaſed; upon which the admiral ſent word to the marquiſs to come out. But he returning an anſwer, that the Spaniſh ſhips had laid themſelves in the way to ſtop his paſſage, and threatning to ſink him, if he offered to ſtir, the admiral ſent to the grand maſter a ſecond meſſage, that, if he ſuffered the neutrality of the ports to be violated, or any ill treatment to be given to the gallies, he ſhould take the meaſures, that would be neceſſary on that occaſion; but the grand maſter proteſting, that no violence ſhould be uſed, and that he would be anſwerable for it, the admiral ſent again to the marquiſs to come out, aſſuring him, that, if the Spaniards offered the leaſt obſtruction, he would aſſiſt him to deſtroy them in the very port. But, the marquiſs continuing under great perplexity and terror, the admiral tired with his delay, ſent him word, that he was well ſatisfied of the honour of the grand maſter in preſerving the privilege of the port; and therefore, if he would not make uſe of the preſent opportunity, he ſhould ſuſpect, that his fears were affected, and uſed only as an artifice to ſtay there, and would give himſelf no farther trouble about him; and accordingly weighed, in order to depart; but this meſſage wrought ſo upon the marquiſs, that he immediately haſtened out with the gallies, without any obſtruction from the Spaniards; but they were in ſo miſerable condition, that the admiral was forced to lend them ſeamen and pilots to navigate them, and caulkers to ſtop their leaks. The Turkey ſhip came out likewiſe, and joined the admiral, who ſent the gallies under a convoy to Syracuſa; and having ſeen the Turkey merchant-ſhip clear of danger, he arrived the 2d of November, N. S. in the bay of Naples, from whence he ſent rear-admiral Delaval, with two eighty gun-ſhips and a fire-ſhip, home to England. Here the count de Luzon, ſon-in-law to the marquiſs de Rialp, ſecretary of ſtate at Vienna, brought the admiral a gracious letter from the emperor written with his own hand, and his picture ſet round with large brilliant diamonds.

The taking of Meſſina was a point of great conſequence, as it made the Spaniards maſters of all Sicily, except Syracuſa, Trapani, and Melazzo (where the duke of Savoy

out was ſuitable to the greatneſs of the undertaking; never any nation ſent to ſea an army ſo numerous, ſo well appointed, and ſo provided with all neceſſaries for a diſtant expedition; the leaſt implement was not forgotten. All which was owing to the indefatigable care of don Joſeph Patinho, a man of great abilities, who went in the expedition, and had the abſolute direction and management of the whole enterprize, except the military command. The world was amazed to ſee Spain exerting a vigour, ſhe had not ſhewn for above a century paſt. Some of the principal priſoners, and Caſtaneta himſelf, aſſured the admiral, that they intended, the ſummer following, to have at ſea fifty ſail of the line of battle; which the great preparations in the ports of Biſcay, and other ports of Spain, made very probable. Thoſe in Biſcay, which were one man of war of ſeventy guns, and two of ſixty, newly built, with an increditable quantity of timber, pitch and tar, and other naval ſtores, for building more, were all deſtroyed by an Engliſh ſquadron, aſſiſted by a detachment which the duke of Berwick ſpared from his army, at the ſollicitation of colonel Stanhope the Engliſh miniſter, who contrived the deſign, and, ſerving as a voluntier in the enterprize, principally contributed to the execution of it.

It ſhould ſeem but ill policy in a court, intent on ſuch mighty deſigns, to provoke and irritate, without cauſe, a nation, the moſt capable in the world of thwarting and defeating them. And yet they ſeemed to make it a ſtudied point to vex and diſtreſs the Engliſh by all manner of ways in their commerce, inſomuch that their trade with Spain was almoſt ruined and loſt. They demanded arbitrary and heavy duties from the Engliſh factories reſiding in their ports, from which the treaties expreſſly exempted them; and, upon refuſal of payment, their houſes were ſurrounded by ſoldiers, their warehouſes and cheſts broken open, and their goods ſold at public outcry. The royal officers uſed them with ſuch injuſtice and inſolence, as if they knew they made their court by doing ſo. Every poſt brought complaints to the Engliſh miniſter at Madrid, of new grievances and oppreſſions. The memorials delivered to that court for redreſs were numberleſs, without the leaſt regard had to them. When any tranſportation of troops was intended, they immediately embargoed all the Engliſh merchant-ſhips in their ports, compelling their maſters, with great circumſtances of ſeverity, to enter into their ſervice, impriſoning them in common goals, if they refuſed, and obliging them to unload their cargoes, though periſhable, and conſigned to other markets. They proceeded ſo far in their unjuſt treatment, that the cruizers brought into the ports of Spain whatever Engliſh merchant-ſhips they met with in the open ſea, though bound to Italy, or other parts, and compelled them to unload their cargoes, and enter into their ſervice. Such, as were not uſed by them for tranſports, had their ſeamen taken away to ſerve in their men of war. Rear-admiral Cammock preſſed no leſs than ſixty for his own ſhip, and one of the maſters, endeavouring to keep his men, had both his ears cut off. The battle of Paſſaro was fortunate to thoſe poor people, for, when the iſſue of it was known, forty-five Engliſh tranſports made their eacape from Meſſina to Reggio, ſeveral of them laden with military ſtores and proviſions; and, their maſters applying to the admiral, he granted them a convoy to the ports in Italy, where they deſired to go; but ſome choſe to ſtay and enter into the emperor's ſervice, to tranſport his troops from Genoa and Naples to Sicily.

had ſtill garriſons) and as it deprived the Engliſh fleet of a port to winter in, there being no other good harbour in thoſe parts. The emperor ſaw before him a difficult taſk, to get poſſeſſion of an iſland, which the quadrupe alliance had deſigned for him. The duke of Savoy had only the three aforementioned towns to deliver up, which he ſcrupled doing without the promiſed equivalent; and the emperor had it not to give him. But, though the emperor had gotten theſe places, the recovery of the reſt of the iſland was to be a work of conqueſt. The Spaniards had an army well appointed, well paid, and the affections of the people on their ſide. They would have little feared any enterprizes of the Germans, if the ſea had been neutral between them.

The duke of Savoy finding himſelf under circumſtances of difficulty, the Spaniards on the one hand, taking moſt of his towns in Sicily from him, and the emperor, on the other, by virtue of the quadruple alliance, demanding his evacuation of the reſt, whilſt the iſland of Sardinia, allotted to him by the ſame treaty, remained in the hands of the enemy; and having jealouſy, that, when the imperialiſts had obtained their iſland, he ſhould be left to get the other as he could, and deſiring to have ſome reaſonable ſecurity for the one, before he departed with his intereſt in the other, a convention was made between thoſe princes at Vienna (Monſieur de St. Saphorin, the king's miniſter, aſſiſting) dated 29th of December, 1718, whereby it was agreed to form an army for an expedition to Sardinia as ſoon as poſſible, towards which the emperor was to furniſh ſix thouſand five hundred foot, and ſix hundred horſe, at his own expence, and the duke of Savoy was intirely to evacuate Sicily, and join five thouſand men of his troops from that iſland to act with the imperialiſts on that ſervice; and in the mean time, till they could be tranſported from Sicily, they were to co-opperate with the Germans againſt the common enemy: this treaty of convention was ſent to Naples for the viceroy, the duke of Savoy's miniſter, and admiral Byng, to conſult together of the beſt means to put it in execution. The buſineſs hung long perplexed with difficulties on the part of the miniſter of Savoy, from a jealouſy and diſtruſt of the Germans; but the admiral interpoſing, and removing by degrees all ſcruples, an agreement was at laſt concluded and ſigned between them, upon which the miniſter of Savoy delivered to the viceroy his maſter's orders to count Maffei to evacuate the towns in his poſſeſſion to the imperialiſts. But the expedition againſt Sardinia did not go on, as will be ſhewn hereafter.

The winter being now ſet in, the viceroy and admiral Byng held frequent conſultations together, about the farther operations againſt the enemy. It was judged abſolutely neceſſary to maintain the poſt of Melazzo, which had been long blockaded, and was now beſieged by the Spaniſh army, both ſides making this their principal point during the winter, the one holding their footing in the iſland by means of this place; the other, by taking it, to ſhut them out. All the troops from Reggio, and ſome horſe from Naples, being got into the town, under the command of the generals Caraffa and Veterani, it was reſolved, in a council of war, held the 14th of October, to ſally out upon the enemy. Accordingly, the next morning, by break of day, they marched out in two columns, the firſt conſiſting of ſix, and the other of five battalions, and attaced the Spaniſh intrenchments, which they carried, after an engagement of four hours, and got poſſeſſion of their camp in the center and on the left, with three pieces of cannon. But, the ſoldiers falling to plunder, the Spaniards rallied on their right; and the marquis de Lede coming up at the ſame time with freſh troops from Meſſina, who had lain ſhort the night before, they attaced the Germans in their turns, and drove them bac into their camp, under the walls of the town, whoſe artillery protected the retreat, and prevented a greater ſlaughter. In the action, about twelve hundred men were killed and wounded on each ſide, and general Veterani was taken.

Melazzo is an ill fortified town, on the north ſide of the iſland of Sicily, not far diſtant from the Faro, ſtanding on a nec of land, which runs out into the ſea like an Iſthmus. Caraffa being recalled to Naples, baron Zumjungen arrived at Melazzo the 27th of November, N. S. to command the forces; and being followed by the generals Wachtendonck and Seckendorf, with large ſupplies of troops from Italy, and the place being too ſtrait to contain them, they carried their intrenchments out of the town, within leſs than piſtol ſhot of thoſe of the Spaniards; ſo that, neither ſide being able to advance farther, both lay all the winter in an unwholeſome ſituation, it being low bad ground, and the trenches filled with water in rainy, and by the ſea blowing weather; ſo that great numbers of men periſhed on both ſides. The Germans had no proviſions but what came from time to time in ſmall imbarkations from Calabria, and other ports of Naples. Rear-admiral Cammock, who was got with his ſquadron into Meſſina, and the inhabitants of the iſland of Lipari, who are eſteemed bold mariners, and have many armed veſſels, lay in the way of intercepting thoſe ſupplies; and the leaſt diſappointment muſt have ſtarved the garriſon, for their conſumption was very great, and they had no magazines. It was very hard ſervice, unknown and aſtoniſhing to the pilots of that country, to employ ſhips cruizing in thoſe dangerous ſeas, during the rigour of the winter. For when the weſterly or northerly winds blow, there is ſo little ſea-room in that narrow ſtation, and the currents ſet in ſo ſtrong upon the Calabrian ſhore, accompanied with a vaſt rolling ſea, that it is extremely difficult for ſhips to work to windward, or indeed to hold their own, and avoid ſtanding on a lee-ſhore. The admiral had appointed a ſquadron, under the command of captain Walton, to cruize upon this ſtation, to hinder rear-admiral Cammock from coming out of the Faro, and to ſecure the paſſage of the veſſels with proviſions for the German camp. It chanced to prove ſuch tempeſtuous weather, that no proviſions had arrived in a month at Melazzo, and captain Walton was blown off from his ſtation, and had not been ſeen nor heard of in ſix and twenty days. Rear-admiral Cammock took hold of this opportunity to get out of Meſſina, the moment the weather abated, and appearing before Tropea with Engliſh colours, ſent a letter a-ſhore to the governor, under a fictitious name of one of the Engliſh captains, acquainting him, that he was come thither by admiral Byng's orders, to convoy the imbarkations with proviſions to Melazzo, and preſſed him to diſpatch them away, the place being in the utmoſt diſtreſs. Had this ſtratagem ſucceeded, it would have intirely ruined the emperor's affairs in Sicily; but the governor happened to be a wary man, and obſerving the letter to be written on Genoa paper, from that ſingle circumſtance conceived a ſuſpicion, which made him refuſe to ſend the imbarkations out to him. In the mean time, the admiral being made ſenſible of the extremities the Germans were reduced to, had no other way left, than to fill four men of war, (juſt arrived at Naples from Port-Mahon) with proviſions, directing their captains to attempt, at all hazards, to get to Melazzo, which three of them did with much difficulty and danger (the fourth being diſabled by bad weather) and came providentially to the relief of the garriſon, at a time they muſt otherwiſe have ſurrendered to the enemy, or periſhed by famine. A few days after, captain Walton recovered his ſtation, upon the ſight of whom, rear-admiral Cammock retired into Meſſina.

Melazzo being reſcued from danger, and reinforced daily with freſh ſupplies of men and proviſions, the Spaniards, deſpairing to take the place, turned the ſiege into a blockade, and worked hard in fortifying their own intrenchments, in order to keep the Germans pent up in the town, and obſtruct the deſcent of the army expected in the ſpring.

The admiral having made a proper diſpoſition of ſhips in different ſtations round the iſland, to keep the ſea open to the Germans, and ſhut to the Spaniards, was preparing to depart with the reſt, that had ſuffered by bad weather, to refit at Port-Mahon, when the viceroy intreated him to aſſiſt at a conference to be held at the palace, where he met the general Caraffa, Wetzel, and the marquis de Fuencalada, general of the Neapolitan gallies. The viceroy opened it by acquainting them, 'that, a truce with the Turks being concluded, prince Eugene was ſending from Hungary a body of about ſix thouſand horſe, and ten thouſand foot, which, added to the troops in Melazzo, was thought a ſufficient number for the conqueſt of the iſland. That they would probably arrive at Naples in the beginning of March, and he ſhould be glad to know their ſentiments of the propereſt place for their landing in Sicily, and touched on ſeveral propoſitions about it, as at Syracuſa or Taormina, on the eaſt-ſide of the iſland, or at Patti on the north-ſide, not far weſtward from Melazzo.' General Caraffa objected to the landing at Syracuſa, 'as it would be a means of prolonging the war: that the place was too diſtant from Melazzo; and, Auguſta and Catania lying in the way, the ſiege of thoſe places would coſt more time and men, than could be ſpared, beſides the garriſoning them afterwards. That their march from thence lay for the moſt part over barren mountains, amongſt a diſaffected people, where they ſhould find no ſubſtance but what they carried with them; and that paſſing afterwards through narrow defiles into the plain

of Melazzo, where the enemy lay, was to attac them at two great a disadvantage: and therefore he concluded for seeking the enemy as soon as possible, and for that end to land as near to them as might be.' General Wetzel, being next to speak, preferred the landing at Syracusa, 'as it would be a work of ease and safety, and done without interruption: that it would probably draw some of the enemy's force that way, and to relieve the troops in Melazzo: that it would expose the army too much to land in the neighbourhood of the enemy, who, seeing them approaching from the sea, would easily guess at the place they designed to land, and leaving a guard in their camp, marched a sufficient body of troops to oppose the descent, which was a difficult and tedious work in itself, especially with regard to the imbarking the horse.' Caraffa asking him, how long he thought the enemy might be marching to the landing-place, after they knew where it would be, and Wetzel allowing eight hours, Caraffa replied, the foot could be all landed in that time, and formed into proper order to receive the enemy, and the landing the horse might be afterwards a work of leisure. But Wetzel adhered to his opinion. The general of the gallies next, in a very long discourse, 'excused himself from giving any opinion upon a subject, that related to the land-service, and, referring himself to what the two generals had said before him, concluded, the great caution ought to be taken, which ever opinion should be followed.' The admiral gathering from their discourse, that part of the expected troops were to embark at Fiume and Trieste, and to come round by sea to Reggio, and probably pass on through the Faro, to Naples, told them, 'that land-forces should be trusted to the the sea as little as possible, especially in the early and uncertain season: that, if they landed at Manfredonia on the Atlantic side, the traject would be short, and their march more certain to the rendezvous at Naples.' He then went on to deliver his opinion, 'that the troops they expected were not sufficient to recover the island from the enemy. That it was a great error to hold the Spaniards in contempt, whose behaviour hitherto in Sicily had given no reason for it. That they were become used to arms and hardships, and the Germans would find them like other men. That, according to a calculation he had made, when those troops should be joined to the forces in Melazzo, they would not be able, after leaving the necessary garrisons in the towns, which the duke of Savoy was to deliver up, to bring into the field a greater number than what the Spanish army was reported to be; and that, without a considerable superiority, little success was to be expected in a country, where the ill-will of the people towards them, and their inclinations to the Spaniards, were so very evident, that they were to hope for no assistance, but expect every distress from them.' He added, 'that they were not to look upon the enemy as a mouldering army, for, notwithstanding the care of the cruisers, they received frequent recruits from Spain and Sardinia, and even from Italy, in open vessels and boats, which was not always in his power to prevent. And besides, the marquis de Lede had lately raised four regiments of foot, and one of horse, in the island itself.' The viceroy acknowledged the force of the admiral's reasoning, but lamented the distance of the court of Vienna, which hindered them from seeing into, and considering enough these difficulties, and who pursued only one maxim, that, if they sent men, they ought to conquer. The admiral proposed, that an officer should be sent to Vienna, to represent the posture of affairs to that court in a better light than they seemed to view them in, and to bring bac their final resolutions concerning the operations of the war; and count Hamilton was pitched upon for that purpose.

The conference being ended, the admiral took his leave of the viceroy, and set sail the 3d of February for Port-Mahon, to refit his ships, and put them in a condition to go on early with the operations of the campaign, leaving his eldest son at Naples to manage his correspondence with the viceroy, and to inform the court of England of all occurrences in those parts.

The defeat of the Spanish fleet made a great noise, and England was upbraided with it as inconsistent with the rules of good faith, for the observance of which she had always been so famous.

Cardinal Alberoni, in his letter to the marquis de Monteleone at London, called it an unworthy action. 'His majesty (says the cardinal) approves of the justness of your expressions,[1] to expose the breach of faith of that ministry, in relation to the over-hasty proceedings of admiral Byng, when nothing was pretended to but a mediation, to facilitate the project of peace, or, at most, to defend the territories actually in the possession of the archduke in Italy, when my lord Stanhope was in Spain, at a small distance from the court, to propose projects of peace and a suspension of arms. In truth (added he) no impartial person can hear, without surprize, that the fleet of his Britannic majesty did, without any provocation, necessity, or pretence, and forgetting the title of peaceful mediator, which his master assumes, attac the fleet of Spain, only to frustrate the expedition against Sicily, after having been at Naples to concert with count Daun so base an action; received great sums of money, by way of supposed arrears; and, finally, after having come near to Messina, and sent trusty officers to confer with the commanders of the king's army, and to assure them, that he would commit no act of hostility.'

The best part of Europe (continued the cardinal) is impatient to hear how the British ministry can justify so rash a violence. He said, the preserving the neutrality of Italy was a weak argument, since every one knew, that neutrality had long been at an end, and that the princes, guarantees of the treaty of Utrecht, were entirely free, not only by the scandalous breaches of the Austrians, in the evacuation of Catalonia and Majorca, but also becaufe the guaranty was no longer binding, than till a peace was made with France. He reproached the British ministry for reviving and supporting the neutrality, not by an amicable mediation, but by open force, and by artfully abusing the confidence and security of the Spaniards. In proof of what he advanced, he observed, that admiral Byng, struc with remorse of his unjust conduct, alledged, in his account of the engagement, contrary to the truth, that the Spanish ships drew up first, in a line of battle, and fired upon the English. If he had no design to attac them, why did he pursue them from the Faro to Syracusa? Why did he send four of the prime sailors of his fleet to come up with them?

On the contrary, mr. secretary Craggs, in his answer to

[1] Soon after the news of the action in the Mediterranean, the marquis de Monteleone wrote a letter to mr. secretary Craggs, to which the cardinal here refers. The letter begins thus:

SIR,

'The news that is spread in the world of admiral Byng's having attaced the Spanish fleet, and obtained considerable advantages over them, obliges me naturally not to act in any affair, till I receive orders and instructions from the king, my master, concerning an action so surprizing and unexpected, and that even seems to agree but very little with the declarations made to the court of Madrid by the said admiral; since they gave to understand, that the English fleet would proceed no farther than as a guarantee to defend the dominions of the archduke, in case they were invaded.

Nevertheless, as I cannot doubt in the least but that your excellency makes serious reflections on the just resentments which the king, my master, and all the Spaniards, must needs have, to see themselves thus assaulted and abused, with so much animosity, by a nation to whom they have shewn the most favour, and see them act contrary to reason, politics, and even against their own interest, to increase the exorbitant power of the Germans in Italy, I cannot dispense with my not acquainting your excellency with the good and generous intentions of the king my master, that were communicated to me by his letters of the 20th of August, N. S. as also the orders he gave concerning the arrival of the fleet of Mexico at Cadiz, which, in silver and other effects, is valued at nine millions of crowns.

His majesty informs me, that notwithstanding admiral Byng's declaration, and the intimation that has been given him of the articles lately signed, whereof I send a copy to your excellency, and that although the said declaration and articles rather denote an obvious design of making war, than that of maintaining a perfect understanding between the two nations, and undertaking an impartial mediation; yet it is resolved not to make the least change in any thing that relates to trade; that the effects arrived in the said flota shall be delivered as before to those to whom they belong; and, in a word, that it is his majesty's will and intention that the treaty of peace and commerce should be religiously observed, and that the English should continue to enjoy all the advantages and grants that were given them heretofore.

This last and so singular instance of his majesty's justice and moderation ought not certainly to have been prevented by the said event, of which he must have received the news a few days after he had given so evident a mark of his favourable dispositions towards the English nation.'

The articles mentioned in this letter were delivered by earl Stanhope to the court of Madrid, a day or two after the action of Syracusa, and were as follows:

I. That the catholic king shall have three months to accept of the treaty, reckoning from the day it was signed.

II. That, if his catholic majesty does not accept of the same within the said term of three months, then the confederates shall supply the emperor with such forces as are stipulated in the treaty of alliance.

III. That if, in consequence to the assistance given to the emperor, the king of Spain should declare or make war against any one of the confederates, either by invading his dominions, or seizing his subjects ships, or effects, then the other confederates shall immediately declare and make war against his catholic majesty, and shall carry on the same till such time as satisfaction shall be given to their wronged ally.

IV. That, in case his catholic majesty should refuse to accept of the said treaty, the confederates shall unanimously dispose of his expectations on the dominions of Tuscany and Parma, in favour of some other prince.

V. That the emperor shall not act within the said term of three months, upon condition that the king of Spain does not act on his side; but that, if his catholic majesty, instead of accepting the said treaty, should within the said term act any hostilities, which might prevent the execution of any disposition of the said treaty, then the allies shall immediately, and without waiting the expiration of the said term, supply the emperor with such forces as are therein stipulated.

the marquis de Monteleone's letter (referred to by the cardinal) ſaid, that it appeared by the admiral's account that the Spaniards began the hoſtilities: that the action might well be expected by his catholic majeſty, and therefore ought not to have ſurprized him, ſince admiral Byng, by his letter of the 20th of June, O. S. plainly informed him of his inſtructions, to which a haughty anſwer was returned, bidding him follow his orders. [m]

Whether hoſtilities were begun by the Engliſh or by the Spaniards, or whatever irregularities there were in the proceedings on either ſide, the action was not only deciſive, but neceſſary to diſconcert the cardinal's projects, which tended to no leſs than the involving all Europe in a war, the flames whereof had been ſo lately extinguiſhed. This is ſufficient to juſtify, in the eyes of true politicians, a ſlight breach of faith, ſuppoſing there had been any. The cardinal could never recover this ſhoc; his complaints and invectives, to which he had recourſe, could not reſtore his deſigns, and ſerved only to throw him from that high ſtation, where chance much more than merit had placed him. But, before his fall, he made thoſe two princes very uneaſy, whoſe ſuperior genius had defeated his projects.

As king George had ſeveral reaſons for aſſembling the parliament, he fixed the day of meeting by proclamation to the 11th of November. He not only wanted to have the ſteps he had taken approved, but alſo to be authoriſed to ſupport them. Beſides, he was acquainted with the enterprizing genius of cardinal Alberoni, knew, he breathed nothing but vengeance, and was preparing ſome deſign in favour of the pretender, as appeared by ſome expreſſions which had dropped from him. He was not ignorant that too many were ready for a ſecond rebellion, which perhaps might ſucceed, unleſs proper meaſures to prevent it were taken. All theſe conſiderations induced him to have a ſpeedy recourſe to the parliament.

On the day appointed, the king came to the houſe of peers, and opened the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech, which was read by the lord chancellor to both houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'Since your laſt receſs, I have, by the bleſſing of Almighty God, concluded ſuch terms and conditions of peace and alliance between the two greateſt princes of Europe, as will, in all human appearance, induce others to follow their example, and make any attempts to diſturb the public tranquility, not only dangerous, but impracticable.

Theſe engagements, I am perſuaded, will be ſo much the more agreeable to all my good ſubjects, as they bind the contracting powers to ſupport the ſucceſſion to theſe kingdoms in my family, to which ſome were not at all, and others not ſo fully bound by any former treaties.

During the whole courſe of theſe negotiations, a moſt ſtrict regard has been had to the intereſt of Spain, and better conditions have been ſtipulated for that king, than were inſiſted upon in his behalf, even at the treaty of Utrecht. But the war in Hungary (which by our mediation, is ſince happily ended) having tempted the court of Spain unjuſtly to attac the emperor, and the hopes they have ſince conceived of raiſing diſturbances in Great-Britain, France, and elſewhere, having encouraged them to believe that we ſhould not be able to act, in purſuance of our treaties, for the defence of the dominions invaded by them, nor even to the ſupport of thoſe other eſſential and neceſſary conditions of the treaty of Utrecht, which provided againſt the great monarchies of Europe being at any time hereafter united under one ſovereign; they have not only perſiſted in ſuch a notorious violation of the public peace and tranquility, but have rejected all our amicable propoſals and have broke through their moſt ſolemn engagements for the ſecurity of our commerce.

To vindicate therefore the faith of our former treaties, as well as to maintain thoſe, which we have lately made, and to protect and defend the trade of my ſubjects, which has in every branch been violently and unjuſtly oppreſſed, it became neceſſary for our naval forces to chec their progreſs. It was reaſonable to hope, that the ſucceſs of our arms, the repeated offers of friendſhip, which I have never ceaſed to make in the moſt preſſing manner, and the meaſures taken in concert with the emperor and the moſt chriſtian king to reſtore the public tranquility, would have produced a better diſpoſition in the court of Spain; but I have received informations, that, inſtead of liſtening to our reaſonable terms of accommodation, that court has lately given orders at all the ports of Spain, and of the Weſt-indies, to fit out privateers, and to take our ſhips.

I am perſuaded, that a Britiſh parliament will enable me to reſent ſuch treatment, as becomes us; and it is with pleaſure, that I can aſſure you of the ready and friendly reſolution of our good brother the regent of France, to concur and join with me in the moſt vigorous meaſures.

The firm confidence I repoſe in the affection of my people, together with my earneſt deſire to eaſe them of every charge not abſolutely neceſſary, determined me, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of our great alliance, to make a very conſiderable reduction of our land-forces; nor could I better expreſs, than by ſo doing, how little we apprehend the attempts of our enemies to diſturb the peace of my kingdoms, even though Spain ſhould think fit to continue ſome time in war. Our naval force, employed in concert with our allies, will, I truſt in God, ſoon put a happy end to the troubles, which the ambitious views of that court have begun, and ſecure to my ſubjects the execution of the many treaties in force relating to our commerce.'

Gentlemen of the houſe of Commons,

'I muſt deſire you to grant me ſuch ſupplies, as will enable me to carry on the ſervice of the year. I have given orders to have the proper eſtimates laid before you, whereby you will perceive, I have reduced the expence as much as our circumſtances can well admit. I have the pleaſure to obſerve to you, that the funds, appropriated for ſinking the public debts, have anſwered above expectation. I muſt, however, recommend to you to conſider of proper methods for improving them, by preventing the frauds and abuſes daily committed in the public revenues, not doubting, in all your proceedings, you will have that regard to the inviolable preſervation of the public credit, which may quiet the minds of all thoſe, that have truſted to parliamentary engagements.'

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'There never was a time when your unanimity, your vigour and diſpatch, were more neceſſary to ſo many good ends, as thoſe we have now in view. I have done my part. It remains with you to give the laſt finiſhing to this great work. Our friends and our enemies, both at home and abroad, are waiting the event of your reſolutions. And I dare promiſe myſelf, that the firſt have nothing to apprehend, nor the other to hope from your conduct in this important juncture, who have, during the whole courſe of my reign, given ſuch lively proofs of your zeal and affection to my perſon, and of your love to your country.'

How plauſible and important ſoever this ſpeech might be, it occaſioned great debates. The addreſſes that were to be preſented drew the attention of both parties: On the manner in which they ſhould be expreſſed, depended, as it were, the operations of the ſeſſion.

The king was no ſooner withdrawn, but the lord Carteret moved for 'an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty, for his care in preſerving the public peace, and the ballance of power in Europe: For the conſiderable reduction of the land-forces; and for having obtained further ſecurities of the ſucceſſion in his family: as alſo to congratulate the ſeaſonable ſucceſs of his naval forces; and to aſſure him, that the houſe would ſupport him in the purſuit of thoſe prudent and neceſſary meaſures he had taken to ſecure the trade and and quiet of theſe kingdoms, and the tranquility of Europe.' The lord Carteret was ſeconded by the lord Tenham; but ſeveral lords excepted againſt the congratulating the king

[m] As to the favours ſhewn the Engliſh, in regard to their trade (mentioned in Monteleone's letter) mr. Craggs ſaid, he had the king's commands to repeat the following grievances:

1. Impoſts have been laid on our merchandizes, directly contrary to our treaties of commerce with the crown of Spain.

2. Several kinds of goods have been prohibited, which are expreſly allowed by the ſame treaties.

3. The ſchedules for their annual veſſels have been denied the South-Sea company, contrary to the expreſs letter of the treaty; without any better reaſon given for it, than that it was not for the convenience of the court of Madrid to grant them.

4. Our merchant-ſhips have been ſeized in all the ports of Spain: the Spaniſh men of war and privateers have brought them in by force; have obliged them to take out their cargoes, and, to their inexpreſſible loſs, have conſtrained them to tranſport the troops, horſes, ammunition, &c. for this very expedition which has diſordered the affairs of all Europe. I am even aſſured what I can ſcarce believe, that owners of theſe veſſels, for endeavouring to ſtruggle with ſuch unheard of proceedings, have had their ears cut off: and that the firſt thing done by the Spaniards, upon their entering Meſſina, was to thruſt the king's conſul into priſon. He then deſires him to examine how conſiſtent theſe things are with the favourable declaration he had made for the trade of Great-Britain.

upon the ſeaſonable ſucceſs of his naval forces, and the promiſe to ſupport him in the purſuit of thoſe prudent and neceſſary meaſures he had taken, becauſe it was, in effect, to approve a ſea-fight, which might be attended with dangerous conſequences, and give the ſanction of that auguſt aſſembly to meaſures, which, upon examination, might appear either to claſh with the laws of nations or former treaties, or to be prejudicial to the trade of Great-Britain. That, according to the conſtant uſage of that houſe, they ought to proceed with the utmoſt caution and matureſt deliberation, in an affair, wherein the honour, as well as the intereſt of the nation, were ſo highly concerned. And lord Strafford inſiſted, 'that, before they approved the ſea-fight, they ought to be ſatisfied whether the ſame happened before or after the ſigning of the quadruple alliance; and therefore moved for an addreſs, that ſir George Byng's inſtructions might be laid before the houſe.'

To this it was anſwered by earl Stanhope 'that there was no manner of occaſion for ſuch an addreſs, ſince, by his majeſty's command, he had already laid before the houſe the treaties, of which the late ſea-fight was a conſequence; and, in particular, the treaty for a defenſive alliance between the emperor and his majeſty, made at Weſtminſter the 25th of May, 1716; and the treaty of alliance for reſtoring and ſettling the public peace, ſigned at London the 22d of July, O. S. after this, he accounted at large for the juſtice and equity of thoſe treaties, which were calculated to preſerve, reſtore, and ſettle the peace of Europe, by rendering the treaty of Utrecht effectual, particularly in preventing the union of the two great monarchies of France and Spain under one ſovereign, and ſecuring the ſucceſſion of theſe kingdoms in his majeſty's family. At the ſame time he ſhewed, how the court of Spain had violated the treaty of Utrecht, and acted againſt the public faith, in attacing the emperor's dominions, while he was engaged in a war againſt the enemies of Chriſtendom; and in what manner they had rejected his majeſty's friendly offices, and repeated offers of mediating an accommodation between the emperor and his catholic majeſty. To which purpoſe he gave the houſe an account of his late journey to, and negotiations in, Spain. He added, that it was high time for Great-Britain to chec the growth of the naval power of Spain, in order to protect and ſecure the trade of the Britiſh ſubjects, which had been violently oppreſſed by the Spaniards: To which purpoſe ſeveral letters were read. He concluded with obſerving, that both with relation to ſir George Byng's inſtructions, and in all other reſpects, in this whole affair his majeſty had acted by the advice of his privy-council: that he was one of that number: and he thought it an honour to have adviſed his majeſty to theſe meaſures, becauſe he was perſuaded they intirely agreed with the honour and intereſt of his country: that he doubted not, but, upon the ſtricteſt examination, thoſe meaſures would be approved by all true Engliſhmen, and that he was ready to anſwer for them with his head.' This ſpeech made a great impreſſion on the whole aſſembly; and though ſeveral peers ſtill urged, that the making war, before the declaring of it, was a manifeſt violation of the laws of nations; and others raiſed leſs material objections; yet, after a five hours debate, it was carried for the addreſs as moved by the lord Carteret, by eighty-three votes againſt fifty. The principal ſpeakers on the court-ſide were, the lords Carteret and Tenham, and the earls of Sunderland and Stanhope; and, on the other ſide, the dukes of Bucks, Devonſhire, and Argyle; the earls of Nottingham, Cowper, Orford, and Ilay, the lords North and Grey, and Harcourt.

In the mean time the ſame affair was debating in the houſe of commons. The lord Hinchinbroke moved, that the houſe in an addreſs of thanks ſhould declare their entire ſatisfaction in thoſe meaſures, which the king had already taken for ſtrengthening the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and eſtabliſhing a laſting tranquility in Europe; and particularly in relation to the crown of Spain; and their reſolution to inable him, in concurrence with his allies, not only to reſent the injuries that crown had already done to our commerce, in breach of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two nations, but to ſupport him in the moſt effectual manner, in ſuch further meaſures, as he ſhould judge neceſſary to compleat the public tranquility in Europe, and to chec the growth of that naval power which muſt otherwiſe prove dangerous to the trade of theſe kingdoms, and to the repoſe of Europe. This motion was attended with a very warm debate. [n] The oppoſing ſide chiefly objected to the words entire ſatisfaction in theſe meaſures which his majeſty had already taken. In order to have theſe words left out of the addreſs, it was alledged, 'that it was unparliamentary and unprecedented, on the firſt day of a ſeſſion, to enter upon particulars. That the buſineſs in queſtion being of the higheſt importance, peace or war, deſerved the matureſt deliberation. That, before they approved the meaſures that had been taken, they ought to examine the treaties, and the reaſons, on which thoſe meaſures were founded, which muſt needs take up ſome time; and therefore they ought, for the preſent, according to the uſual cuſtom, to content themſelves with returning his majeſty thanks for his moſt gracious ſpeech, with general aſſurances of their zeal and affection for his perſon and government; and then appoint a day to take the ſpeech into conſideration.' To this it was anſwered, 'that, though all applications from this houſe to the throne differed according to the various circumſtances of affairs, yet there were not wanting precedents to ſupport the expreſſions excepted againſt, of which ſome inſtances were produced. That the meaſures, which had been taken, were grounded on treaties, that had been laid before them, and which might be examined into as ſoon as the houſe thought fit. But that it was neceſſary, at this critical juncture, when the eyes of all Europe were fixed on this parliament, early to come to a vigorous reſolution, which would not fail having its due weight abroad.' This was warmly oppoſed by mr. Walpole, who urged, 'that it was againſt the common rules of proceeding in that houſe, to approve a thing before they knew what it was: that he was thoroughly convinced of, and as ready as any perſon in that auguſt aſſembly, to acknowledge his majeſty's great care for the general peace of Europe, and the intereſt of Great-Britain: but that the giving ſanction, in the manner propoſed, to the late meaſures, could have no other view than to ſcreen miniſters, who were conſcious of having begun a war againſt Spain, and who would now make it the parliament's war. He concluded with obſerving, that, inſtead of an entire ſatisfaction, they ought to ſhew their entire diſſatisfaction, with a conduct, that was contrary to the laws of nations, and a breach of ſolemn treaties.' Upon this, mr. Craggs gave the houſe an exact account of the meaſures, which the king and his miniſters had purſued for reſtoring and ſecuring the tranquility of Europe; and ſaid, in particular, 'that, upon that view, a treaty of defenſive alliance between his majeſty and the emperor had been ſigned in May, 1716, and by that very gentleman, then in high ſtation, who now excepted againſt theſe meaſures. That, at the ſame time, his majeſty ſincerely deſired and endeavoured to maintain a perfect friendſhip with the king of Spain, and had even propoſed a defenſive alliance to him, before he made one with any other power. That, notwithſtanding the engagements his majeſty was under to guarantee the neutrality of Italy, and to defend the emperor in the poſſeſſion of his dominions, which, upon the invaſion of Sardinia, might have juſtified his majeſty's aſſiſting him againſt Spain, yet the king choſe rather to act as a friendly mediator, and, in concert with the regent of France, endeavoured to find out means of reconciling the intereſts of the emperor and the king of Spain, as the only way to put a ſtop to the war, that threatened Italy, and in which all Europe might be involved. That the catholic king was often ſollicitated by the Britiſh miniſters at Madrid, to concur with his majeſty's good intentions, and to give ſuch inſtructions to the Spaniſh miniſter here, as would put it in his majeſty's power to ſtand up for the intereſts and advantages of Spain in the enſuing negotiations. That the catholic king having declined to concert meaſures with Great Britain, and demanding, in general, ſatisfaction for the breaches he pretended the emperor had made upon the treaty of Utrecht, the balance of power in Europe, and the ſecurity and liberty of the princes and ſtates of Italy; all that his majeſty, with the regent's aſſiſtance, could do, was to obtain of the emperor ſuch conditions, as were thought moſt agreeable to his catholic majeſty; namely, an abſolute renunciation of the monarchy of Spain and the Indies, and a very conſiderable ſettlement in Italy for a prince of Spain, particularly the great duchy of Tuſcany. That, as the emperor's pretenſions to Sicily were the principal reaſons of his oppoſing the treaty of Utrecht, from which he could not afterwards be brought off by the treaty of Baden, it became neceſſary, towards an accommodation, to diſpoſe of that iſland in favour of his imperial majeſty, of whom, upon

[n] The ſpeakers for the motion were, the lord Hinchinbroke, the lord Tyrconnel, ſir David Dalrymple, mr. Lechmere, mr. ſecretary Craggs, mr. Smith, ſir Gilbert Heathcote, ſir Gilfrid Lawſon, mr. Hampden, mr. Aiſlabie, mr. Boſcawen, mr. Bladen, and ſerjeant Mead; againſt the motion were, mr. Freeman, mr. Heyſham, mr. Walpole, mr. Snell, mr. Hungerford, mr Herne, ſir Joſeph Jekyll, mr. Cowper, ſir William Wyndham, mr. Shippen, the lord Moleſworth, and general Roſs.

that conſideration, his majeſty and the regent of France obtained the diſpoſition of Sardinia in favour of the king of Sicily. That theſe were the principal articles of the treaty of alliance, for reſtoring and ſettling the public peace, commonly called the quadruple alliance, which was a long while depending, and at laſt ſigned here, on the 22d of July, 1718. That, in order to ſupport the views of this treaty, and to add weight to the endeavours to reſtore the tranquility of Europe, his majeſty acquainted the commons, towards the end of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, that he intended to employ a naval force, when it ſhould be neceſſary; whereupon this houſe unanimouſly reſolved to return his majeſty their thanks for his unwearied endeavours to promote the welfare of his kingdoms, and to preſerve the tranquility of Europe, and to aſſure his majeſty, that they would make good ſuch exceedings of men for the ſea-ſervice, of the year 1718, as his majeſty, in his royal wiſdom, ſhould find neceſſary to obtain thoſe deſirable ends. [o] That this unanimous reſolution undoubtedly implied an entire ſatisfaction in the meaſures his majeſty was, at that time, concerting for preſerving the tranquility of Europe; and, if an action has ſince happened, and in conſequence of thoſe meaſures, this cannot, with any juſtice, be called the war of the miniſters, but the war of the parliament. That, however, it was not with deſign of making war, but only of reſtoring peace, that his majeſty ſent a ſtrong ſquadron into the Mediterranean. That, purſuant to this view, as ſoon as ſir George Byng reached the coaſt of Spain, he wrote a letter to that king, deſiring him to accept his majeſty's mediation, and to deſiſt from the hoſtilities already begun; offering him his ſervice, either to withdraw his troops, or even to aſſiſt him, in caſe the emperor ſhould not conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms, which the admiral propoſed, while an accommodation ſhould be negotiated. That the Spaniards having with haughtineſs rejected his majeſty's repeated amicable projects, and not only perſiſted in the violation of the public peace, by the invaſion of Sicily, but likewiſe broke through the moſt ſolemn treaties for the ſecurity of our trade, it became neceſſary for his majeſty's naval forces to chec theſe inſolent and violent proceedings, as well to maintain the faith of his majeſty's engagements, and prevent the conſequences of this war, as to protect and defend the trade of the Britiſh ſubjects, which labours under the heavieſt hardſhips and difficulties.' And this particular was confirmed to the houſe by colonel Bladen, who produced a liſt of many merchant-ſhips taken or detained by the Spaniards. Several members on the oppoſing ſide, having, like mr. Walpole, made ſolemn profeſſions of their duty and affection to the king, and of their readineſs to acknowledge his care and conſtant endeavours for the ſecurity and welfare of his people, and the tranquility of Europe; diſtinguiſhed between his majeſty and his miniſters, and ſhewed an unwillingneſs to approve the meaſures purſued by the latter, till the treaties, on which theſe meaſures were founded, had been fully and maturely examined. Mr Craggs readily admitted of the diſtinction between the king and his miniſters; adding, 'that he obſerved, with a great deal of pleaſure, how unanimous they were all for the king; and that he ſhould be extremely ſorry, if the miniſters ſhould be the occaſion of any delay in the houſe's expreſſing their duty and affection to him. That, he owned, miniſters were not infallible: that he had the honour to be one of his majeſty's ſervants, and had gone as great lengths as any in the meaſures that had been taken; but that he was poſitive, that, in the courſe of this whole affair, nothing had been done, that was not entirely conſiſtent with the faith of treaties, and the honour and intereſt of the nation. That he durſt promiſe, both for himſelf and the reſt of the miniſters, that, if the houſe came into this vote, which he thought of the higheſt importance at this critical juncture, no manner of advantage would be taken of it to palliate any faults, which, through human frailty, might have been committed; and that, for his own part, he was ready to undergo the ſevereſt examination, whenever the houſe ſhould think fit to enquire into the conduct of the miniſtry.' This ſpeech had great weight with the majority of the houſe; and mr. Craggs was ſo ſtrongly ſupported, that the addreſs, as moved by the lord Hinchinbroke, was at laſt carried by two hundred and ten voices againſt one hundred and fifty-five. And, on the 13th of November, the commons, as well as the lords, preſented their addreſs to the king.

The commons purſuant to their addreſs immediately voted a ſupply. They allowed for the ſea-ſervice thirteen thouſand five hundred ſailors at 4l. a month each, amounting to 702,000l. Twelve thouſand four hundred thirty-five men were voted for the land-ſervice, whoſe pay amounted to 526,964l. 11s. 8d. Theſe ſums, with what was voted for making good deficiencies, for the ordinary of the navy, and other things, amounted in all to 2,257,581l. 19s. This ſupply was raiſed by a land-tax of three ſhillings in the pound, the malt-tax, and a lottery for 500,000l. The bills for the land and malt-tax were preſented, and both paſſed in one day, a diſpatch not to be paralleled in any parliament ſince the revolution.

The king judging by the diſpoſition of the parliament, that it would be a proper time to execute a deſign, he had long been meditating, reſolved to attempt it this ſeſſion. Ever ſince his acceſſion to the throne he had aſſured the church of England of his protection, but at the ſame time declared for a juſt toleration, by removing the odious diſtinctions between churchmen and non-conformiſts. In the former ſeſſion he had plainly enough diſcovered his intention, but the proſecution of it was prevented, by the miſunderſtanding among the whigs. The diſſenters, beſides the occaſional and ſchiſm bills, lay under the weight of the ſacramental teſt. As they had been zealous aſſerters of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, they expected to be relieved from theſe burdens as ſoon as that ſucceſſion took place. To that end conſultations had been held the laſt year, but without any effect. [p] The affair was now reſumed, and debated by the diſſenters in many meetings, in ſeveral parts of the kingdom. The majority in theſe meetings were for a general repeal of the acts that they thought hardſhips upon them, or leaving matters as they ſtood. But they were aſſured that the king had preſſed the affair to the utmoſt with the miniſters, and that the lord Sunderland ſaid, 'it was impracticable, and to attempt a repeal of the teſt would ruin all.' [q] Upon this the teſt was given up, after aſſurances that the teſt-act ſhould alſo be repealed in a more proper time. Earl Stanhope therefore was to move for a repeal of the occaſional and ſchiſm acts paſſed in the latter end of the reign of queen Anne. Accordingly, on the 13th of December, he told the houſe of lords, that, in order to unite the hearts and affections of the well-affected to the preſent eſtabliſhment, he had a bill to offer under the title of 'an act for ſtrengthening the proteſtant intereſt in theſe kingdoms,' which he deſired might be read. The bill was read, importing in ſubſtance a repeal of the acts againſt occaſional conformity, and the growth of ſchiſm, and of ſome clauſes in the corporation and teſt-acts. Many of the peers were ſurprized at the bringing in this bill at a time, when none but ſuch as were in the ſecret expected any ſuch thing; and earl Stanhope having moved, that it might be read a ſecond time, it occaſioned a long debate. The author of the bill endeavoured to ſhew 'the equity, juſtice, reaſonableneſs, and advantage of reſtoring diſſenters to their natural rights, and of eaſing them of theſe ſtigmatiſing and oppreſſive laws, that had been made againſt them in turbulent times, and obtained by indirect methods, for no other reaſon, than becauſe they ever ſhewed their zealous and firm adherence to the revolution and proteſtant ſucceſſion;' urging, 'that this deſirable union of all true proteſtants, as it would certainly ſtrengthen the proteſtant intereſt, ſo would it rather be an advantage, than any prejudice to the church of England by law eſtabliſhed, which would ſtill be the head of all the proteſtant churches; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury become the patriarch of all the proteſtant clergy.' He was ſeconded and ſupported by the earls of Sunderland and Stamford, and ſome other lords: but the dukes of Bucks, and Devonſhire, the earls of Nottingham, Aylesford, Oxford, Cowper, and the lord North and Grey, either ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the bill, or endeavoured to put off the ſecond reading to a long day. It was alledged in general, 'that this bill, if paſſed into a law, inſtead of ſtrengthening, would certainly weaken the church of England, by plucing off her beſt feathers, inveſting her enemies with power, and ſharing with them the civil and military employments of which churchmen only are now in poſſeſſion.' The duke of Devonſhre in particular ſuggeſted, 'that it was irregular to bring in a bill of ſo great conſequence, without previouſly acquainting the houſe.' But it was readily anſwered by earl Stanhope, 'that his grace had forgot, that about two years before he had brought in himſelf in the ſame manner, a bill of much greater conſequence:' meaning the bill for

[o] See page 106.
[p] See note, page 84.
[q] The king told the lord Barrington (a diſſenter) 'that, if there were any hopes of carrying the whole, he would not be againſt it; but, if there were no hopes, as he was aſſured by his miniſters, he believed the diſſenters were too much his friends, to inſiſt upon a thing which might be infinitely prejudicial to him, without doing them any good; but, on the contrary, a great deal of hurt.'

ſuſpending the act for triennial parliaments. The earl of Nottingham ſaid, among other things, 'that the church of England is certainly the happieſt church in the world, ſince even the greateſt contradictions contribute to her ſupport; for nothing could be more contradictory, than a bill, which is ſaid to be calculated to ſtrengthen the proteſtant intereſt, and the church of England, and which, at the the ſame time, repeals two acts, that were made for her further ſecurity.' After which he gave his reaſons againſt the repealing thoſe laws. Earl Cowper made alſo a long ſpeech againſt ſome parts of the bill, and among other things, ſaid, 'that he had no manner of prejudice againſt the diſſenters, but rather a tender regard for them: that as he had been bred in, ſo he had ever communicated with, the church of England, which he believed to be the beſt proteſtant church, and the moſt agreeable to the primitive pattern of chriſtianity. But that, however, if he had happened to be at Geneva, he would not have ſcrupled to have communicated with the proteſtants there. That he was for giving the diſſenters as much eaſe, as was conſiſtent with the ſafety of the conſtitution in church and ſtate, and would readily give his vote for the repealing of the ſchiſm act; but that he could not but oppoſe that part of the bill now laid before them, whereby part of the teſt and corporation acts were effectually repealed with relation to the diſſenters, becauſe he looked upon thoſe acts as the main bulwark of our excellent conſtitution in church and ſtate, and therefore would have them inviolably preſerved and untouched.' The earl of Ilay ſaid, 'that every body knew he was educated in a different way from the church of England; but, nevertheleſs, he could not but be againſt this bill, becauſe, in his opinion, it broke the pacta conventa of the treaty of union, by which the bounds both of the church of England, and of the church of Scotland were fixed and ſettled; and he was apprehenſive, if the articles of the union were broke with reſpect to one church, it might afterwards be a precedent to break them with reſpect to the other.' The lord North and Grey urged, 'that this was an affair of ſo great importance, that it ought to be maturely conſidered and debated in a full houſe,' and therefore moved, 'that the ſecond reading be put off for a month.' The duke of Bucks was of his opinion, but the friends of the bill, being unwilling to let the affair cool by adjourning it ſo long, propoſed, that the ſecond reading might only be put off till the 18th of December, which was agreed to without dividing.

Upon that day, the bill was read a ſecond time, and a motion made for committing it; but this being oppoſed by the earl of Nottingham, and ſome other peers, the earl of Cholmondley ſuggeſted, 'that before they proceeded any further in an affair, wherein the church was ſo nearly concerned, he thought it very proper to have, in the firſt place, the opinion of that venerable bench, pointing to the biſhops. This being unanimouſly aſſented to, the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſtood up, and declared againſt the bill, for which he gave his reaſons, importing in ſubſtance, 'that the acts, which by this bill were to be repealed, are the main bulwark and ſupporters of the eſtabliſhed church. That he had all imaginable tenderneſs for all the well-meaning conſcientious diſſenters; but he could not forbear ſaying, that ſome among them made a wrong uſe of the favour, and indulgence that was ſhewn them upon the revolution, though they had the leaſt ſhare in that happy event: and therefore it was thought neceſſary for the legiſlature to interpoſe, and put a ſtop to the ſcandalous practice of occaſional conformity, which was condemned by the ſobereſt part of the diſſenters themſelves. And, as to the act againſt ſchiſm, though it might carry a farce of ſeverity, yet it ſeemed needleſs to make a law to repeal it, ſince no advantage had been taken of it againſt the diſſenters ever ſince it was made.' The archbiſhop of York (ſir William Dawes) ſpoke on the ſame ſide, and ſaid, 'that the arguments uſed the other day for this bill had no more weight with him, than they had with his brother of Canterbury. He urged in particular the danger of truſting the diſſenters, the open and avowed enemies of the church, with power and authority; and endeavoured to account for the acts againſt occaſional conformity and ſchiſm, by ſaying, they were never to be gained by indulgence.' To that purpoſe he quoted a paſſage out of a treatiſe, intitled, 'a perſuaſive to lay-conformity,' written by dr. Hoadley, biſhop of Bangor, who, as he ſaid, had, ſince the writing of that book, embraced and maintained other principles. The biſhop of Bangor anſwered the archbiſhop of York, particularly with relation to the paſſage quoted out of his treatiſe. He ſaid, 'he was ſo far from having altered his principles, that, both before and after he had been promoted to the ſtation he held in the church, he had endeavoured to bring over the diſſenters; but that he ever was of opinion, that gentle means are the moſt effectual for that purpoſe. After this, he ſhewed at large the unreaſonableneſs and ill policy of impoſing religious teſts, as a qualification for civil or military employments, which abridges men of their natural rights, deprives the ſtate of the ſervice of many of his beſt ſubjects, and expoſes the moſt ſacred inſtitutions and ordinances to be abuſed by profane and irreligious perſons. He alſo endeavoured to prove, that the occaſional and ſchiſm acts were, in effect, perſecuting laws; and that, by admitting the principle of ſelf-defence and ſelf-preſervation, in matters of religion, all the perſecutions of the heathens againſt the chriſtians, and even the popiſh inquiſition, may be juſtified. As to the power, of which ſome clergymen appeared ſo fond, and ſo jealous, he owned, that the deſire of power and riches is natural to all men; but that he had learned both from reaſon and the goſpel, that this deſire muſt be kept within due bounds, and not intrench upon the rights and liberties of their fellow-creatures and counrymen.'

After theſe and ſeveral other ſpeeches of the biſhops, [r] the debate was adjourned to the next day, when, after

[r] Dr Smalridge, biſhop of Briſtol, urged, 'that the late king William having recommended to both houſes from the throne, that they would leave room for the admiſſion of all proteſtants, that were willing and able to ſerve; and a clauſe having been thereupon offered to be inſerted in a bill depending in the lords houſe, to take away the neceſſity of receiving the ſacrament, to make a man capable of enjoying any office, employment, or place of truſt; the clauſe was rejected by a great majority, as well as another clauſe (offered alſo to be inſerted in that bill) to prevent the receiving the ſacrament of the lord's ſupper upon any other account than in the obedience to the holy inſtitution thereof:' adding, that ſoon after the lords addreſſed king William, 'that he would maintain the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed.' All which he applied to the preſent caſe, and ſo voted againſt the bill. He was anſwered by the biſhop of Gloceſter, who, among other things, endeavoured to remove the imputation of hypocriſy caſt upon the diſſenters. The biſhop of Lincoln made an hiſtorical deduction of the affair, and commended the zeal of a noble earl, when ſecretary of ſtate, in promoting a comprehenſion, according to king William's deſire. He alſo took notice, that religion was ever uſed by crafty men as a blind and pretence to carry on political deſigns; and he remembered, in particular, in the late reign, 'that, while our arms were victorious abroad, the church was in danger at home; but no ſooner was a ſtop put to that glorious war, than the church was in a flouriſhing condition.' The earl of Nottingham, who was meant by that prelate, and was the promoter of the occaſional bill, and had oppoſed the bill now in queſtion, thought proper to juſtify his conduct, by ſaying, he was in thoſe days but a young man, and had wanted opportunities to know the diſſenters, whom he had ſince found to be an obſtinate ſort of people, never to be ſatisfied. After which he entered upon the merits of the bill, and voted againſt it. The biſhop of London did the ſame, and urged, 'that in all wiſe governments, all offices and places of truſt are in the hands of thoſe of the national church; which his lordſhip confirmed by what is practiſed in Sweden.' The biſhop of Rocheſter ſpoke alſo on the ſame ſide, and ſaid in ſubſtance, 'that he was not in the houſe at the firſt reading of this bill, but that the laſt ſeſſion of parliament he foreſaw from the bill about an alms-houſe at Briſtol, and the bill for applying part of the fund for the building of new churches to the rebuilding of an old one (St. Giles's) both which he had oppoſed, that ſomething of this nature would be attempted. That he was ſorry he had been a prophet, ſince, in his opinion, this bill overturned the foundation of the ſecurity of the church. That this bill even ſtruc at the act of uniformity, which was confirmed by the act of union, and ſo was levelled againſt the church of Scotland, as well as againſt the church of England. For which reaſon he hoped thoſe peers, who repreſented the nobility of Scotland, would be againſt this bill, particularly a noble lord, who was too great an enemy to prieſtcraft, to ſuffer himſelf to be aſſembly-ridden.' He concluded with obſerving, 'that we live in a changeable country; and that the hardſhips which the diſſenters now being upon the church, may one day or other be ſeverely and with more juſtice retaliated upon them.' Hereupon dr. Kennet, the new biſhop of Peterborough, ſpoke ſtrenuouſly for the bill, and refuted moſt of the arguments uſed on the other ſide. He ſaid, in ſubſtance, 'that he did not deſign to reflect on any of his brethren for ſpeaking againſt this bill, becauſe he ſuppoſed they did it out of a ſincere zeal for the church: that, for his own part, he did not believe this bill to be againſt the church, but rather for its advantage and ſecurity; and therefore he was for it: that he obſerved from hiſtory, that the church was moſt ſafe and flouriſhing, when the clergy did not effect more power than falls to their ſhare, and were tender of the rights and liberties of their fellow-ſubjects; but that, when the clergy promoted arbitrary meaſures and perſecutions, as ſome did in king Charles the firſt's reign, they firſt brought ſcandal and contempt upon the clergy, and at laſt, ruin both upon the church and ſtate.' Then he ſhewed the abuſe of the word church, which in a true ſenſe is venerable; and illuſtrated the matter by the words holy, and the temple of the Lord, which were ſacred among the Jews; but, when thoſe words came to be abuſed ſo far as to countenance rebellion, as in caſe of Dathan, Corah, and Abiram, and other wicked practices, then they rather became words of execration. That, in like manner among us, the words church and the church's danger, had often been made uſe of to carry on ſiniſter deſigns; and then theſe words made a mighty noiſe in the mouth of ſilly women and children; but that in his oppinion the church, which he defined to be a ſcriptural inſtitution upon a legal eſtabliſhment, was founded upon a roc, and could not be in danger as long as we enjoyed the light of the goſpel, and our excellent conſtitution. After this he gave his reaſons for his being for this bill, and animadverted upon three things, which had been advanced by other prelates. 1. That the diſſenters got more than the church by the revolution, though they had the leaſt ſhare in it. For he ſhewed, 'they only got a toleration, which they might have had under king James, if they would have complied with his meaſures, whereas the church ſecured all ſhe now enjoys, which would have been irrecoverably loſt, had not the revolution happened. 2. That the churchmen, and even the clergy, ſhewed more affec-

ſome clauſes concerning the teſt and corporation acts were agreed to be left out, the bill was committed, and, being read a third time, paſſed the houſe, and was ſent down to the commons, where it was alſo warmly debated; but at laſt carried by a majority of two hundred and twenty-one againſt one hundred and ſeventy. [f]

The manner in which the king had, in his ſpeech, mentioned Spain, and his ſaying, that he was perſuaded a Britiſh parliament would enable him to reſent ſuch treatment, were plain intimations of his intention to declare war againſt that crown. On the 17th of December, the king ſent a meſſage to the commons to acquaint them, that all his endeavours, as well as thoſe of the king of France, to procure redreſs for the injuries done to his ſubjects by the king of Spain, to the unſpeakable detriment of their trade, or even to obtain a diſcontinuance of his unjuſt hoſtilities, having proved ineffectual, he had found it neceſſary to declare war againſt Spain.

After the reading of this meſſage, it was moved for an addreſs to aſſure the king, that they would, with the greateſt chearfulneſs, and the utmoſt vigour, aſſiſt and ſupport him in the war, till Spain was reduced to accept of reaſonable terms of peace, and agree to ſuch conditions of trade and commerce as the nation was juſtly entitled to by their ſeveral treaties. Mr Shippen and ſome others excepted againſt the motion, or againſt ſome expreſſions in it, which occaſioned a warm debate. They alledged, they did not ſee the neceſſity of declaring war againſt Spain, but were rather inclined to believe, the grievances complained of by the merchants might be amicably redreſſed. Mr Stanhope aſſured the houſe, that he had preſented, at leaſt, five and twenty memorials to the court of Spain upon that ſubject without any ſucceſs. Mr Methuen endeavoured to account for the dilatorineſs of the court of Madrid in the diſpatch of commercial affairs, occaſioned by the different regulations in the ſeveral provinces and ports of Spain; which might be the reaſon why the grievances had not been redreſſed ſo ſoon as might have been expected. It was alſo ſuggeſted, that the miniſters had ſhewn no great concern for the trade and intereſt of the nation, ſince it appeared, by the anſwer from a ſecretary of ſtate to the marquis de Monteleone's letter, that they would have paſſed by the violations of the treaties of commerce, provided Spain had accepted the terms of the quadruple alliance; and that his majeſty did not ſeek to agrandize himſelf by any new acquiſitions, but was rather inclined to ſacrifice ſomething of his own, to procure the general quiet and tranquility: that nobody could yet tell how far that ſacrifice was to extend; but certainly it was a very uncommon piece of condeſcenſion. [t] Mr Horatio Walpole made alſo a long ſpeech, wherein he found fault with the treaty of quadruple alliance, particularly as to the diſpoſition of Sicily, in favour of the emperor, which was a breach of the treaty of Utrecht. Mr Walpole, his brother, likewiſe exclaimed againſt the injuſtice of attacing the Spaniſh fleet before a declaration of war. They were anſwered by mr. Craggs, and ſir Joſeph Jekyll cloſed the debate with ſaying: 'that ſome weeks before, when this affair was firſt mentioned in the houſe, he was ſhy of giving his opinion, becauſe he had not then examined the ſeveral ſteps that had been taken in it; but that now he was fully convinced, that, if there was any injuſtice, it was on the ſide of the king of Spain; and that the conduct of his majeſty and his miniſters was entirely agreeable to the law of nations, and the rules of juſtice and equity. Was it juſt, added he, in the king of Spain to attac the emperor's dominions (Sardinia) while he was engaged in a war with the Turks, without any declaration of war? was it juſt in the ſame prince to invade the dominions of one of our allies, the king of Sicily, without the leaſt provocation? and was it not juſt in his majeſty to vindicate the faith of his treaties, and to defend and protect the trade of his ſubjects, which had been violently oppreſſed?' After theſe ſpeeches, the addreſs was carried by a majority of a hundred and ſeventy-eight, againſt a hundred and ſeven, and preſented the next day.

Earl Stanhope brought the ſame meſſage to the houſe of peers, and, the like addreſs being moved for, it was carried without a diviſion.

The declaration of war was publiſhed with the uſual ſolemnities, but not with the ſame acclamations as when war was proclaimed againſt France in the two former reigns. The declaration was well drawn, and began with an artful turn, which ſeemed to intimate as if the action of Syracuſa had been a conſequence of the ill ſucceſs of the earl of Stanhope's negotiations at Madrid. For after the king had mentioned his being guarantee of the neutrality of Italy, his engagement to defend the emperor's dominions, and the king of Spain's invaſion of Sardinia: 'we did ſend (ſays he) our fleet into the Mediterranean this laſt ſummer, with a full and earneſt intention to make uſe of its appearance there for ſetting on foot negotiations of peace towards reconciling the parties engaged in war, and thereby preventing the many calamities that muſt enſue therefrom. And whereas we did likewiſe, to teſtify our moſt ſincere inclinations to peace, ſend our right truſty and right well beloved couſin and councellor James, earl Stanhope, one of our principal ſecretaries of ſtate, to Madrid, with full power and commiſſion to offer our moſt hearty endeavours for re-eſtabliſhing the quiet of Europe, and for cultivating and improving the friendſhip of the king of Spain. And whereas, notwithſtanding all the inſtances we could poſſibly make, all the tenders of amity and affection we could uſe, our plenipotentiary returned without the leaſt hopes of peaceable diſpoſitions in the court of Spain; and our admiral in the Mediterranean, finding alſo no tendency to amicable meaſures, was obliged to aſſiſt and protect the emperor's dominions by force, which were in eminent danger by the further invaſion of the kingdom of Sicily, and by the great fleets and armies which the king of Spain had in thoſe parts.'

To ſhew that the war was not purely on the emperor's account, the declaration ſet forth the ſeizing of the effects and perſons of the Engliſh, in violation of treaties and antient privileges; and then touched upon the true motives of the war, the diſabling the king of Spain to unite the crowns of France and Spain, or to aſſiſt the pretender. Thoſe were juſt motives, which though perſonal to king George, and the duke of Orleans, yet were of the utmoſt concern to the nations they governed.

Cardinal Alberoni was not idle whilſt meaſures were taken to cruſh him. He raiſed troops, fitted out ſhips, put the coaſts in a poſture of defence, ſent ſuccours to Sicily, and provided for the ſafety of Sardinia. But, what efforts ſoever Spain might make, he was ſenſible of the impoſſibility to reſiſt the three moſt powerful ſtates of Europe combined againſt him. To efforts therefore he joined plots and intrigues to ſupport his undertakings. He began with the duke of Orleans, believing, if he could remove him, the forces of France would be at his diſpoſal, at leaſt they would not be employed againſt him, and king George, deprived of ſo powerful and ally, would be obliged to moderate his zeal for the emperor's intereſts.

The plot was eaſy to be laid, and was ſo well conducted, that the ſucceſs ſeemed infallible. France abounded with mal-contents, and the regent had many enemies who either wiſhed his removal, or the execution of the late king's will. Theſe mal-contents, in order to be ſupported, had

on to the preſent government than the diſſenters during the late rebellion:' to which he anſwered, that by the laws, which by this biil were to be repealed, the diſſenters were then under an incapacity to ſerve the government, which evinced the neceſſity of this bill: and as for a clergyman, who had given ſignal proofs of his zeal for the government in the north, that it was well known he was never rewarded for it, but rather diſregarded ever ſince by his neighbours. 3. As to what had been ſuggeſted, that all offices and places of truſt ought to be in the hands of thoſe of the eſtabliſhed church, his lordſhip ſaid, he hoped they ſhould never draw precedents from Sweden. He concluded with returning thanks to the lay-lords for bearing ſo long and ſo patiently with that bench leaving the iſſue of this debate to their judgments; and only taking notice, that as the wiſdom of Solomon never more eminently appeared than in diſcovering the true mother of the child; ſo their lordſhips might eaſily know the reaſon, why ſome perſons ſpoke with ſo much tenderneſs for the acts, which, by this bill, were to be repealed. Dr Gaſtrel, biſhop of Cheſter, was of the contrary opinion, and, in particular, excepted againſt a clauſe in the bill, whereby a puniſhment or cenſure was to be inflicted on ſuch clergymen, as ſhould refuſe to adminiſter the ſacrament to any, that deſired to receive it; which, he ſaid, was againſt the canons of the church.

[f] Sir William Thompſon having urged againſt the ſchiſm-bill, that it deprived parents of their natural right of educating their children as they pleaſed, mr. Shippen anſwered, 'it was ſomewhat ſtrange to ſee ſo able a lawyer inconſiſtent with himſelf: for, when the twelve judges were conſulted in a caſe relating to a great family, he was of the opinion of ten of them, that children may be taken from their parents, and educated as the good of the nation required.' To this ſir William readily replied, 'that, as he never was conſulted, ſo had he never declared his thoughts, in that nice caſe hinted by that gentleman, and therefore he could not, with any colour of juſtice, be ſaid to have changed his opinion: but that the member who taxed him with it, and who thereby declared againſt the opinion of the ten judges, if he would be conſiſtent with himſelf, muſt now be for the bill that repeals the ſchiſm act, which reſtores parents to their natural right.'

The lord Guernſey propoſed the inſerting a clauſe, that any perſon, when he came to take the abjuration oath, in order to his qualification, ſhould acknowledge, that the old and new teſtament were given by divine inſpiration, and profeſs his belief of the ever-bleſſed trinity. But this motion was rejected. Pr. H. C.

It was obſerved that the archbiſhop Wake had proteſted againſt paſſing the very bill, the repeal of which he now oppoſed, as did alſo the earl of Notingham the duke of Devonſhire, and ſome others.

[t] By the ſacrifice was meant the ceſſion of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, which, it was reported, the regent of France had offered to the king of Spain, in caſe he would accede to the quadruple alliance.

recourſe to the Spaniſh court, where the reſentment againſt the duke of Orleans procured them a favourable hearing. The prince de Cellamare, the Spaniſh embaſſador at Paris, was ordered to treat with them. The plot was ſoon formed; biſhops, magiſtrates, nobles, prieſts, monks, officers, and governors, were ready for the undertaking, and were numbered among the conſpirators. The project was to ſeize the regent in ſome party of pleaſure, which he frequently made about Paris with his miſtreſſes, the king's perſon was at the ſame time to be ſecured, and proper orders were to be iſſued to the governors of the provinces and towns to aſſemble the parliaments, for ſettling the government, whilſt the ſtates of the kingdom ſhould meet, and make a final determination of matters. Many papers were kept in a readineſs to juſtify theſe undertakings, and encourage the people to ſupport them.

The mines were charged and ready to ſpring, when the affair was diſcovered. The firſt advice came from king George, who warned the regent of ſome attempt contriving againſt his perſon and government. This notice, though general only, was of great uſe. The duke of Orleans and the abbot du Bois were very vigilant. Several perſons were ſuſpected, particularly the duke and dutcheſs of Maine, and the Spaniſh embaſſador, all whom were narrowly watched, till the whole affair was diſcovered by the following accident. The prince de Cellamare, for the greater ſafety, entruſted his diſpatches to the abbot de Portocarrero, nephew of the cardinal of that name, and to one of the ſons of the marquis de Monteleon. Theſe gentlemen (with only ſir Joſeph Hodges, who paſſed for an Engliſh lord) ſet out from Paris in a poſt-chaiſe. They had not gone above two leagues before the chaiſe broke down in a ſlough. The poſtilion obſerved, the abbot ſhewed much more concern for his portmanteau than for himſelf, and heard him ſay, he would not have loſt it for a hundred thouſand piſtoles. The poſtilion, having conducted them to the firſt ſtage, returned to Paris, and gave immediate notice to the government, of what he had ſeen and heard. Upon which they were purſued and overtaken at Poictiers. Their perſons were ſeized, and the portmanteau ſent to Paris, wherein were found two letters which plainly diſcovered the plot. The prince de Cellamare was put under a guard, and his papers were ſealed up with his and the regent's ſeals, to be delivered to the perſons the king of Spain ſhould ſend to receive them. A few days after the prince was conducted to the frontiers of the kingdom. The marquis de Pampadour and ſeveral other perſons of note were impriſoned. The duke of Maine was ſent priſoner to the citadel of Dourlens in Picardy, and the dutcheſs to the caſtle of Dijon in Burgundy. The cardinal de Polignac was ordered to his abby of Auchin, that place being allowed him for his priſon.

On the 29th of December, war was declared at Paris againſt Spain. The declaration was accompanied with a long manifeſto, ſhewing the cauſes of rupture between France and Spain, and concluded with the following paragraph, in relation to cardinal Alberoni's plot: 'we now ſee with horror what it was that made the miniſter of Spain inacceſſible to all projects of peace. He would thereby have ſeen all the odious plots which he formed againſt us prove abortive: he would have loſt all hopes of laying this kingdom deſolate, of raiſing up France againſt France, of having the management of rebels among all the orders of ſtate, of kindling a civil war in the boſom of our provinces; and, in fine, of becoming to us the ſcourge of heaven, by putting in execution thoſe ſeditious projects, and ſpringing that mine which was, according the words of the embaſſador's letter, to ſerve as a prelude to the conflagration. What a recompence is this to France, for the treaſures and blood of which ſhe has been ſo profuſe for the ſake of Spain!'

1718-19.] To ſupport the reaſons alledged in the manifeſto, armaments were prepared in France and England. The beginning of January, an army of thirty-ſix thouſand men were on the march towards Spain. Ships of war were fitted out for ſeveral expeditions. The barrenneſs of the country, where the war was to be carried, occaſioned great expences, eſpecially for proviſions. The duke of Orleans was at ſome loſs for a general: marſhal Villars, to whom he offered the command, refuſed it, affirming he would never draw his ſword againſt the houſe of Bourbon, but the duke of Berwick, not being ſo ſcrupulous, accepted of the command.

Cardinal Alberoni's intrigues were not confined to France, he had formed the ſame deſigns againſt king George. The pretender was treated with, who readily came into the cardinal's views to annoy his enemy. The duke of Ormond repaired to Spain the latter end of the year, and meaſures were taken to ſtir up their friends in Great-Britain, and engage them to ſupport the deſigns of Spain.

The pope was doubtleſs in the ſecret, and his affection for the chevalier de St. George hindered him from conſenting, that he ſhould be expoſed, till it was ſeen what ſucceſs the firſt attempt might have. He ſuffered him, however, to go into Spain. The pretender was watched, and there was need of addreſs to eſcape the vigilance of the Germans, who were ſpread over the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. He had lately left Urbino, where he reſided, and was come to live at Rome. He went from thence on a ſudden, and cauſed it to be reported, that he was gone to Bologna. He ſent thither the earls of Mar and Perth, with one Paterſon, who was to paſs for their maſter. This artifice was attended with the expected ſucceſs: all three were arreſted at Voghera by the imperialiſts, but preſently after releaſed. As for the pretender, he came to Nettuno without any accident, and embarked for Cagliari, from whence he came to Roſes in Catalonia, the beginning of March.

He was magnificently received at Madrid, where he entered in one of the king's coaches, attended by the guards, and was conducted to the palace of Buen-retiro. On the morrow he was viſited by the king, the queen, the prince of Aſturias, and the great officers of the crown, and complimented by them as king of Great-Britain. Upon his arrival, the ſquadron, which had been fitting out ſome time for this expedition, ſailed from Cadiz towards England, conſiſting of ten men of war and tranſport-ſhips, with ſix thouſand regular troops on board, moſtly Iriſh, with arms for ten or twelve thouſand men. The duke of Ormond was the conductor of this undertaking, with the title of captain-general of the king of Spain: he was to publiſh, in the proper places, a declaration in that king's name, wherein he ſaid, that for many very good reaſons he had reſolved to ſend part of his land and ſea-forces into England and Scotland, to ſerve as auxiliaries to king James: what had confirmed him in his reſolution, was the certain advices he had received, that many of the two nations, notwithſtanding their ſtrong inclination to acknowledge that prince for their ſovereign, durſt not openly declare for him, becauſe they did not ſee him ſupported by any of the ſtates of Europe who had either power or will to aſſiſt them: that, to remove this difficulty, and others that might ariſe, he declared he was determined to uſe all his power for the reſtoration of a prince, to a country belonging to him by undeniable right: that he hoped providence would favour ſo juſt a cauſe; but, that the fear of ill ſucceſs might not hinder any perſon from declaring readily for him, he promiſed a ſecure retreat in his dominions, to all that ſhould join him, and, in caſe they were forced to leave their country, he declared, that every ſea or land officer ſhould have the ſame rank as he enjoyed in Great-Britain, and the ſoldiers ſhould be received and treated like his own.

Theſe preparations had not been ſo ſecret, but the king had received timely notice to take the neceſſary precautions: the duke of Orleans, in return for the ſame favour, had acquainted him with all he could diſcover. A proclamation was publiſhed againſt the duke of Ormond, and the other lords that were with him, with a reward of 5000l. for ſeizing the duke, and of 1000l. for each of the reſt, and of 500l. for every gentleman.

As the rumour of the invaſion increaſed, ſome forces were ordered into the north and into the weſt of England: the ſtates-general had notice to have two thouſand men ready to tranſport into England when occaſion required; and were, at the ſame time, deſired not to ſuffer the ſuſpicious embarkations of ammunition and men that were making at Amſterdam, which they agreed to, notwithſtanding the endeavours of the Spaniſh miniſters to the contrary. Above all, the naval armament againſt the Spaniſh ſquadron was haſtened; and, upon the repeated advices of the regent, the king came to the houſe of peers, and ſaid, that he had given orders to the lord-chancellor to declare to both houſes a matter of the greateſt importance. Upon this the lord-chancellor read the following ſpeech:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'Having received from our good brother and ally, the moſt chriſtian king, repeated advices, that an invaſion will ſuddenly be attempted from Spain againſt my dominions, in favour of the pretender to my crown, I have judged it convenient to make you acquainted with it, and ſhall, on my part, take all the neceſſary meaſures to defeat the deſigns of our enemies.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

'This attempt, if it proceed, muſt engage me in ſome farther expences by ſea and land than proviſion has been made for. I muſt therefore recommend it to you, that I be enabled in ſuch manner, as you ſhall judge convenient, to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for our ſecurity; and you may depend upon it, that I ſhall upon this, and all other occaſions, have as much regard to the eaſe of my people, as ſhall be conſiſtent with their ſafety.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'The many proofs, I have had of the affection and loyalty of this parliament, leave me no room to doubt of your ſteady and vigorous perſeverence in ſupport of my perſon and government upon this occaſion.'

This ſpeech had all the effect the king could expect or deſire. Both houſes aſſured him of their ſupport; and the commons deſired him to augment his forces by ſea and land, in ſuch manner as he ſhould think fit, promiſing to make good any increaſe of expence on that account. With theſe aſſurances of the parliament, the king had the ſatisfaction to ſee his allies exert their zeal in his defence. The States ſent over the two thouſand men; and the marquis de Prie, governor of the Auſtrian Netherlands, ſix battalions of imperialiſts. The duke of Orleans offered no leſs than twenty battalions, but it was not thought proper to accept his offer. Theſe precautions taken by the king were very juſt, but, as it happened, they proved needleſs. The Spaniſh fleet came with a fair wind as far as cape Finiſtere, when a violent ſtorm aroſe, which laſted two days and two nights. The fleet was entirely diſperſed, and diſabled from purſuing their courſe. The admiral's ſhip of ſixty-four guns, having loſt all her maſts, made for the coaſt of Spain, as did all the reſt in the beſt manner they could. By this ſtorm, the men and horſes were for the moſt part rendered unſerviceable.

Though the Spaniſh ſquadron miſcarried, the frigates arrived at Kintail in Scotland. Theſe frigates ſailed from Port-Paſſage the latter end of February, and came to Kintail the 16th of April, without having ſeen any of the Spaniſh fleet in their way. They brought with them the earls of Seaforth and Mariſchal, and the marquis of Tullibardine, with three hundred and ſeven Spaniards, being a detachment of twelve men in a company of Don Pedro de Caſtro's regiment of foot, commanded by a lieutenant-colonel with ſix captains, ſix lieutenants, and as many enſigns. They brought alſo arms for two thouſand men. The lieutenant-colonel was aſſured there were ten thouſand men in arms ready to join him, but, very few appearing, he kept the frigates two days, reſolving to go off again, but he was at laſt prevailed with to let them ſail. The two earls and the marquis, who had ventured themſelves with ſo ſmall a force, went with the Spaniards and joined the rebels. After this junction, they poſſeſſed themſelves of Donan-Caſtle, and put in it a garriſon of fifty men; but captain Boyle, in the Worceſter, and ſome other ſhips came before the place, and took the garriſon priſoners. In the mean time, general Wightman was ordered by the lord Carpenter, to march with the forces under his command in queſt of the rebels. He marched from Inverneſs the beginning of June, and, having halted one day at the head of Lochneſs, came up with them at a place called the paſs of Glenſhill, which they gave out they were reſolved to defend; but, upon the approach of the king's troops, they immediately deſerted it, and retired to another paſs called Strachell, where they were more advantageouſly poſted. The general, having viewed their ſituation, made the following diſpoſition for the attac: on the right were poſted all the grenadiers under the command of major Milbourn, being about a hundred and fifty in number, who were ſuſtained by Mountague's regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Laurence, and a detachment of fifty men commanded by colonel Harriſon; the reſt of the regiment being in garriſon at Inverlochy. Theſe were ſupported by Haffel's Dutch regiment, and four companies out of Amerongon's. This wing had fifty-ſix of lord Strachnaver's men in the flank, under the command of enſign Mackey; and the whole wing was commanded by colonel Clayton, who acted as brigadier upon this occaſion. The left wing conſiſted of Clayton's regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Reading, and had on the flank about fourſcore men of the Monroes, under the command of mr. Munroe of Calcairn. The dragoons, which were a hundred and twenty in number, commanded by major Robertſon, and had made their march from Inverneſs without the loſs of a ſingle horſe, or the leaſt inconvenience, were ordered to keep the road, having four cohorns placed in their front. The major-general himſelf was poſted in the centre, where every one had free acceſs to him for orders.

The rebels forces conſiſted of one thouſand ſix hundred and forty Highlanders, beſides three hundred Spaniards, and a body of five hundred Highlanders, who were poſted on a hill, in order to make themſelves maſters of the baggage of the king's troops, it being always one of their chief aims. From this diſpoſition it is evident, that the king's forces, actually engaged, did not exceed eight hundred and fifty men, beſides the one hundred and twenty dragoons, and one hundred and thirty-ſix Highlanders. The left wing was ordered to begin the attac; and the rebels always, as they had fired their muſkets, ſkipping off, and never venturing to come to a cloſe engagement, were driven from roc to roc, the king's forces chaſing them above three hours, till they gained the top of the hill, where the rebels were immediately diſperſed. The earl of Seaforth and lord George Murray were wounded. There were twenty-one men killed, and an hundred and twenty-one wounded, officers included, of the king's troops, who lay on their arms all night, in order to bring off the wounded; and marched the next morning to Glenſhill, where about two in the afternoon the Spaniards ſurrendered themſelves priſoners at diſcretion and deliverd up all their arms and ammunition. Their commander ſaid, the earl of Seaforth and all the reſt were ſhifting for themſelves, and believed, they would endeavour to get off as ſoon as poſſible at the ſea-port towns were they could hope to have friends to let them eſcape. General Wightman acquainted the lord Carpenter, that he had taken two hundred and ſeventy-four Spaniards priſoners, and was making a tour through the difficult part of Seaforth's country, to terrify the guilty, and preſerve the well affected, and that he had utterly diſperſed the rebels, the chiefs of whom Seaforth, Tullibardine, Mariſchal, and others, were gone off to the Lewis or Orkney iſlands. Thus ended Cardinal Alberoni's enterprize upon Great-Britain.[u]

When the king ſent the meſſage to both houſes about the Spaniſh invaſion, the lords were debating upon the famous peerage bill. This bill, by which the number of peers was to be limitted, is ſaid to have been chiefly intended to put a reſtraint on the prince of of Wales, when his ſucceſſion ſhould take place, from whom the preſent miniſtry could expect but little favour. Be this as it will, the whigs had exclaimed againſt the numerous promotion of the peers by queen Anne, particularly the creation of twelve peers at once, in order to gain a ſuperiority in the houſe of lords, and to prevent the like for the future, it was reſolved to bring in a bill, to fix the number of peers.[v] The perſon by whom this bill was moved for, was the duke of Somerſet, who, on the laſt day of February, repreſented in the houſe of lords, that the number of peers being of late years very much increaſed, eſpecially ſince the union of the two kingdoms, it ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary to fix the ſame,

[u] A marriage was this year agreed upon for the pretender, with a daughter of prince Sobieſki, eldeſt ſon of John Sobieſki, king of Poland, who had gained ſo much honour by raiſing the ſiege of Vienna. But the court of Vienna thought fit to intereſt itſelf ſo much in preventing this intended marriage, that the princeſs was ſtopped in paſſing through Tirol into Italy, and carried into confinement at Inſpruck. Great application was made to the emperor for her releaſe; but he continued inflexible, and ſeemed the more to extend his authority in this affair, as the whole family of Sobieſki lay under great and uncommon obligations to him, on account of penſions and conſiderable allowances, which they received from him, in acknowledgment of the great ſervices of the late king of Poland to the empire. Prince James Sobieſki, father of this young princeſs, held his ſubſiſtance chiefly at the emperor's pleaſure. On this occaſion he went therefore to Vienna, to make his ſubmiſſion to the emperor, whom he underſtood to be highly diſpleaſed with him; but his imperial majeſty would be no ways reconciled to him, or agree to a continuance of his cuſtomary allowance upon any other terms, but his entirely breaking off the match.

Whilſt interceſſion was making for her liberty, the princeſs Sobieſki eſcaped from her confinement in the beginning of May, in man's cloaths, and, repairing to Bologna, was there married by proxy to the pretender, then in Spain. A few days after ſhe went to Rome, where ſhe was very kindly entertained by the pope and ſome of the cardinals. She ſeemed impatient to be conducted to her ſpouſe; but the hazard of the preſent conjuncture, and the uncertainty of his reſidence, till his projects were brought to ſome criſis, made the pope continue her under his care at Rome. No other opportunity of correſpondence could therefore be obtained but by letters; and, about the latter end of June, an account was brought to England of one Maſſy, who was ſent from Rome with diſpatches from her to the pretender and cardinal Alberoni; and, quicly after, earl Cadogan had notice of a perſon of the ſame name in Holland, with letters and papers of conſequence; whereupon, at his inſtances, Maſſy's lodgings were ſearched, and his perſon and papers ſecured.

[v] The ſame day this bill was brought in, there was printed and delivered to the lords, a liſt of the peers exiſting at the time of king James I's acceſſion to the crown, and of thoſe who have ſince been advanced to the peerage;

both to preſerve the dignity of the peerage, and to prevent the inconveniences that may attend the creation of a great number of peers to ſerve a preſent purpoſe; of which they had a remarkable inſtance in the late reign. He therefore made a motion for bringing in a bill to ſettle and limit the peerage in ſuch a manner, that the number of Engliſh peers ſhould not be enlarged beyond ſix above the preſent number, which, upon failure of male iſſue might be ſupplied by new creations; and that, inſtead of ſixteen elective peers, twenty-five ſhould be made hereditary on the part of Scotland, whoſe number upon failure of heirs male ſhould be ſupplied by ſome other Scots peers. The duke of Argyle (who was now lord-ſteward of the houſhold) ſeconded this motion, which was alſo ſupported by the earls of Sunderland and Carliſle, before they came to any reſolution; and thereupon his lordſhip, the earl of Oxford, excepted againſt it, and ſaid, 'as it tended to take away the brighteſt gem from the crown, it was matter of wonder to ſee it ſupported by thoſe, who, by the great employments they enjoyed, ſeemed under the ſtricteſt obligation to take care of the royal prerogative. That therefore there muſt be a ſecret meaning in this motion; but for his own part, though he expected nothing from the crown, yet he would never give his vote for lopping off ſo valuable a branch of the prerogative, becauſe this would put it out of the power of the crown to reward merit and virtuous actions.' To this the earl of Sunderland anſwered, 'that though the number of peers were limited, yet the crown ſhould ſtill be the fountain of honour, and preſerve its prerogative of creating new peers upon the extinction of old titles for want of male iſſue, which happened frequently; and that thoſe extinctions would give the prince on the throne ſufficient opportunities to beſtow honours upon commoners of diſtinguiſhed merit and abilities.' The debate being adjourned to the 2d of March, upon that day, earl Stanhope delivered to a full houſe the following meſſage from the king:

George R.

'His majeſty being informed, that the houſe of peers have under conſideration the ſtate of the peerage of Great-Britain, is graciouſly pleaſed to acquaint this houſe, that he has ſo much at heart the ſettling the peerage of the whole kingdom upon ſuch a foundation, as may ſecure the freedom and conſtitution of parliaments in all future ages, that he is willing, that his prerogative ſtand not in the way of ſo great and neceſſary a work.'

A motion being made for an addreſs of thanks for this meſſage, the earl of Nottingham excepted againſt it, ſaying, 'it was unuſual for the king to take notice of any thing depending in parliament, before the ſame was laid before him in a parliamentary way.' But the duke of Bucks over-ruled this objection, and ſaid, 'it could not be ſuppoſed, that the king alone ſhould be ignorant of what every body elſe knew; and that, ſince his majeſty pleaſed, for the good of his ſubjects, to ſuffer his prerogative to be reſtrained, they ought readily to accept, and thankfully acknowledge, ſo great and ſo gracious a condeſcenſion.' Upon this the addreſs was agreed to, and the debate was put off to the next day; when the earl of Sunderland, in a long ſpeech, ran over the ſeveral changes, that had happened in the peerage, ſince the reign of queen Elizabeth to this time; urged the neceſſity of limiting the number of peers; and propoſed the duke of Somerſet's ſcheme, with relation both to the Engliſh and Scotch peers. Earl Cowper in anſwer to this ſpeech endeavoured to ſhew, 'that what was intended to be done, with relation to the Scots peerage, was a manifeſt violation of the treaty of union, and the higheſt piece of injuſtice; for it was no leſs than to deprive perſons of their right without being heard, and without any pretence of forfeiture on their part; urging, that the Scots peers, who ſhould be excluded from the number of twenty-five hereditary, would be in a worſe condition than any other ſubjects, ſince they would be neither electing nor elected, nor repreſenting nor repreſented, which could not fail of raiſing dangerous diſcontents amongſt them. That beſides it would be a breach of truſt in thoſe, who repreſented the Scots peerage, wholly to diveſt their principles of a power, with which they had intruſted them only for a few years: and therefore he was of opinion, that the Scots peers ought to have been conſulted, before any ſteps were made in ſo nice and ſo important an affair.' Theſe objections were anſwered by the earls of Sunderland, Stanhope, and Cadogan, the dukes of Bucks and Newcaſtle, the biſhop of Gloceſter and ſome other Engliſh lords, who were ſupported by ſeveral Scots peers, particularly the dukes of Roxburgh and Montroſe, the marquis of Annandale, and the earl of Ilay. In the firſt place, it was alledged, 'that the ſettling the peerage, in the manner propoſed, was rather a benefit than a diſadvantage to the Scots peerage, whoſe repreſentatives were threby increaſed by nine, and all made hereditary: and as for thoſe peers, who, for the preſent, would be excluded, they would afterwards have a chance to come in upon failure of any of the twenty-five: that this regulation could not be looked upon as a violation of the union, two things only being made unalterable fundaments of that contract, religion, and the proportion of public taxes: that the conſulting of the Scots peers in this affair, would be altogether improper and unparliamentary, and attended with great inconvenience. The earl of Ilay in particular repreſented, 'that the bringing in a number of peers into that houſe, by election, was certainly derogatory to the dignity of that auguſt aſſembly, and of the higheſt tribunal in the united kingdoms: and therefore he had long before wiſhed to ſee this defect in the union rectified, and the Scots peers freed from that ignominious mark of diſtinction, which made them be looked upon as dependant on the court and miniſtry, and not at liberty to vote like the other members, for the good and intereſt of their country.' The earl of Nottingham, the lord Townſhend, and ſome other peers, declared, 'that they were not againſt the ſettling and limiting the peerage, but only againſt the doing it in ſuch a manner, as, in their opinion, was unjuſt, and might be attended with dangerous conſequences.' But, after a long debate, reſolutions agreeable to the duke of Somerſet's motion was agreed to, and the judges were ordered to prepare and bring in the bill.[w]

As this affair had made a great noiſe, and alarmed, not

as alſo of the ſeveral peers extinct in his and the ſucceeding reigns. By this liſt it appears that,

		extinct	added
At the death of queen Elizabeth, the number of Engliſh peers was	59		
King James I. created	62	17	45
King Charles I.	59	21	38
King Charles II.	64	53	11
King James II.	8	8	0
King William and queen Mary	30	21	9
Queen Anne	30	24	6
King George	20	10	10
	332	154	119
Extinct	154		
Remains	178		

At the time of debating the bill, the ſtate of the peers was as follows:

The prince of Wales and duke of York	2
Dukes	22
Earls	73
Viſcounts	13
Barons	68
	178
Archbiſhops and biſhops	26
Peers of Scotland	16
	220.

[w] The reſolutions about the Scots peers were theſe ſix:

I. That, in lieu of the ſixteen elective peers to ſit in this houſe on the part of Scotland, twenty-five peers to be declared by his majeſty, ſhall have hereditary ſeats in parliament, and be the peers on the part of the peerage of Scotland.

II. That ſuch twenty-five peers ſhall be declared by his majeſty, before the next ſeſſion of parliament.

III. That nine of the ſaid twenty-five ſhall be appointed by his majeſty to have immediate right to ſuch hereditary ſeats in parliament, ſubject to the qualifications requiſite by the laws now in being.

IV. That none of the remaining ſixteen, ſo to be declared by his majeſty, or their heirs, ſhall become ſitting peers of the parliament of Great-Britain, till after the determination of this preſent parliament, except ſuch as are of the number of the ſixteen peers now ſitting in parliament on the part of Scotland and their heirs.

V. That if any of the twenty-five peers, ſo to be declared by his majeſty, and their heirs, ſhall fail, ſome one or other of the peers of Scotland ſhall be appointed by his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, to ſucceed every ſuch peer ſo failing, and every peer ſo appointed ſhall be one of the peers on the part of the peerage of Scotland, in the parliament of Great-Britain, and ſo, toties quoties, as often as any ſuch failure ſhall happen.

VI. That the hereditary right of ſitting in parliament, which ſhall accrue to the twenty-five peers of Scotland, to be declared by his majeſty, ſhall be ſo limited, as not to deſcend to females.

The reſolutions concerning the Engliſh peers (which were agreed to the next day) were theſe five:

I. That the number of peers of Great-Britain, on the part of England, ſhall be enlarged, without precedent right, beyond ſix above what they are at preſent: but, as any of the ſaid preſent peers, or ſuch new peers, in caſe they be created, ſhall fail, their number may be ſupplied by new creations of

only the generality of the Scots peers, but alſo many of the Engliſh commoners, a pamphlet, ſaid to be written by mr. Benſon, called the Plebian, was publiſhed againſt the bill, which was anſwered by mr. Addiſon, in his paper called the Old Whig. In theſe papers, the chief arguments, on both ſides of that important queſtion, are largely and fully diſplayed.[x]

1719] Whilſt the public was in expectation of the iſſue of this affair, a ſudden ſtop was put to all farther proceedings. Earl Stanhope, when the bill came to be read the third time, made a ſpeech, wherein he obſerved, 'that this bill had made a great noiſe, and raiſed ſtrange apprehenſions: and ſince the deſign of it had been ſo miſrepreſented, and ſo miſunderſtood, that it was like to meet with great oppoſition in the other houſe, he thought it adviſable to let the matter lie ſtill till a more proper opportunity.' Upon this, the third reading was put off a fortnight, by which means the bill was dropped for this ſeſſion: for the king, four days after, came to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech, which the lord-chancellor read to both houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I am now come to put an end to this ſeſſion, in which you have ſhewn many great and ſeaſonable proofs of your duty and affection to my perſon and government, and of your care and ſafety and welfare of your fellow-ſubjects.

By the bleſſing of God on our endeavours, we have hitherto diſappointed the ill deſigns of our enemies, who flattered themſelves with ſucceſs from our unhappy diviſions.

We perceive by the raſh and wicked counſels which have lately prevailed in the court of Spain, that the deſperate and extravagant projects of one ambitious man, though not capable of giving fears to their neighbours, may occaſion to them ſome expence and trouble.

That court being influenced by counſels odious and deſtructive to the Spaniards, who find themſelves neglected and oppreſſed, after having endeavoured to fomet conſpiracies and ſeditions both here and in France, and ſtooped to practices unuſual, accompanied by manifeſtoes of a ſtile unheard of among great princes, has at laſt proceeded to acknowledge the pretender.

As this news has given great ſurprize to all Europe, I queſtion not, but it will be received by every good Briton with indignation and contempt.

It is our happineſs, at this juncture, to find ourſelves aſſiſted by the greateſt powers in Europe againſt an enemy, that has no allies, but thoſe, who would betray the government, under which they live, and are protected.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

'I thank you very heartily for the ſupplies you have granted me this year. The manner, in which you have raiſed them, without any new burden to my people, the great addition you have made to the fund for ſinking the debts of the nation, the diſcharge of the exchequer bills, and the proviſions you have made to pay whatever remains juſtly due to foreign ſtates and princes, are the ſtrongeſt proofs of your wiſdom, as well as of your zeal for my ſervice, and the good of your country. You may obſerve, I have hitherto been very cautious of making uſe of the power you have given me, to increaſe our forces by ſea and land. If our enemies ſhould oblige me to a greater expence, it ſhall be employed for your ſervice. This is what the truſt you repoſed in me requires at my hands, and what I owe to ſo dutiful and affectionate houſe of commons.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'There being nothing more deſirable, at all times, than a firm union between proteſtants, I reflect with ſatisfaction upon the law you have paſſed this ſeſſion, which will, I hope, prove effectual to that purpoſe. As it is a ſignal inſtance of moderation and indulgence in our eſtabliſhed church, ſo I hope it will beget ſuch a return of gratitude from all diſſenting proteſtants, as will greatly tend to her honour and ſecurity, both which I ſhall ever have near at heart.

I have always looked upon the glory of a ſovereign, and the liberty of a ſubject, as inſeparable; and think it is the peculiar happineſs of a Britiſh king, to reign over a free people. As the civil rights, therefore, and privileges of all my ſubjects, and eſpecially of my two houſes of parliament, do juſtly claim my moſt tender concern: if any proviſion deſigned to perpetuate theſe bleſſings to your poſterity remains imperfect, for want of time, during this ſeſſion, maturely to diſcuſs and ſettle matters of ſo great importance, I promiſe myſelf, you will take the firſt opportunity to render my wiſhes for your happineſs compleat and effectual, and to ſtrengthen the union, which is of ſo much conſequence to the welfare of this kingdom.

'If the circumſtances of my affairs ſhall allow of my going abroad this ſummer, I ſhall take the ſame care of your intereſts, as if I remained here. The many negotiations, which will be on foot, to reſtore the peace of the north, in which the trade and tranquility of this kingdom may be very much concerned, will make my preſence there of great uſe to theſe my dominions. And, as in that caſe I deſign, by the bleſſing of God, to meet you early next winter, I will only recommend to you moſt earneſtly, that, laying aſide all animoſities, you would, in your reſpective counties and ſtations, uſe your utmoſt endeavours to preſerve the public peace, and ſee a due execution of the laws.'

After this ſpeech the parliament was prorogued to the 19th of May; and afterwards, by ſeveral prorogations, to the 23d of November.[y]

Soon after the prorogation, the king declared his intention of going to Hanover, and appointed for lord juſtices, in his abſence, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, lord-chancellor Parker, the dukes of Kingſton, Argyle (now alſo Greenwich) Newcaſtle, Bolton, Marlborough, and Roxburgh; the earls Sunderland, Berkley, and Stanhope, and ſecretary Craggs. The prince and princeſs of Wales, not being appointed regents, retired into the country, and appeared no more till the king's departure, a few days after which they came to St. James's to ſee the young princeſs, who kept a levee twice a week: and to them it was, that the lords juſtices, and a numerous appearance of foreign miniſters, nobility, and gentry, made their compliments on the king's birth-day, who was entered into the ſixtieth year of his age.

As the king thought his preſence in Germany neceſſary to forward the many negotiations that were on foot, he ſet out the 11th of May, and, after a ſhort paſſage of ſeventeen hours, arrived in Holland. With the king embarked earl Stanhope, the dutcheſs of Munſter (now dutcheſs of Kendal) and the lord and lady How, with ſome others. The king ſtaid two days at Oſnabrug, and came to Herenhauſen, the 18th of May.

The death of the king of Sweden having removed the chief obſtacle to the peace of the north the king turned his thoughts firſt that way. The new queen, who had ſucceeded her brother Charles XII, as well as the whole nation, were deſirous of peace; drained of men and money, they were unable to make war: almoſt the whole army, led by the late king to the fatal expedition of Norway, miſerably periſhed. But it was not ſufficient to give peace to Sweden, it was neceſſary alſo to diſarm her other enemies, and bound their pretenſions. Theſe enemies were the czar, and the kings of Denmark, Pruſſia, and Poland. King George, diſpleaſed with the czar, whom he ſuſpected of having entered into all the projects which had been formed againſt him, reſolved to keep no meaſures with him. He began with a ſincere reconciliation with Sweden, then

commoners, natural born ſubjects of this kingdom, and ſo, toties quoties, as often as ſuch failure ſhall happen.

II. That no perſon be at any time hereafter created a peer by writ, nor any peerage granted by patent for any longer eſtate than for the grantee, and the heirs male of his body.

III. That there be not any reſtraint on the crown to create any of the princes of the blood peers of Great-Britain, with right to ſit in parliament.

IV. That, whenever any of the lords now ſitting in parliament, whoſe ſons have been called by writ, ſhall die, then it ſhall be lawful for his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, to create a peer to ſupply the number ſo leſſened.

V. That every creation of a peer hereafter to be made contrary to theſe reſolutions ſhall be null and void to all intents and purpoſes.

[x] The Plebeian has the following expreſſions: 'the greateſt traitor to civil ſociety, that ever yet appeared, will be the man, if ſuch a one can be found, who ſhall contend for ſuch a bill, ſhould it be propoſed among the commons, with the aſſurance in his pocket of being a peer, as ſoon as the bill paſſes. And ſhould he ſucceed, which God forbid, that honour, which is to be the reward of ſo baſe a treachery, will be a laſting mark of infamy to the family that bears it, whilſt any notion of honour remains among mankind.'

Mr Benſon was ſoon after removed from his poſt of ſurveyor-general of his majeſty's works, and was ſucceeded by ſir Thomas Hewet.

[y] An act paſſed after the reſtoration, obliging all mayors and aldermen, &c. at their admiſſion into offices, to ſign a declaration againſt the ſolemn league and covenant, on a conſiderable penalty. As this act was ſtill in force and all the magiſtrates liable to the penalty of it, becauſe the declaration had been univerſally neglected, on a petition of the lord mayor and aldermen of London, an act paſſed this ſeſſion to repeal it, under the title of 'an act for quieting and eſtabliſhing corporations.'

The truſtees of the forfeited eſtates delivered in an account of the value of the eſtates of papiſts, which had, in purſuance of an act, for that purpoſe, been regiſtered in the ſeveral counties of England, amounting to 375,284l. 15s. 3½d.

endeavoured to ſoften the king of Denmark, and induce the two others to proceed with great moderation, to acknowledge him for mediator, and join with him, if neceſſary, to compel the czar to accept of equitable conditions.

The duke of Orleans, in concert with king George, had offered his midiation to Sweden for a reconciliation with that prince. The offer was accepted, and, in July, a proviſional treaty was ſigned, by which a peace was to be concluded as ſoon as poſſible, agreeable to the plan, and terms agreed upon with the mediator. This was punctually performed, and in November, the ſieur de Baſſewitz, miniſter of his Britannic majeſty, as duke and elector of Brunſwick, ſigned the peace with the plenipotentiaries of queen Ulrica.

By this treaty Sweden gave up for ever, to the royal and electoral houſe of Hanover, the duchies of Bremen and Verden, with all their rights and dependencies, according to the treaty of Oſnabrug, of the 23d of October, 1648, by virtue of which the kings of Sweden had enjoyed them. On the other hand, the elector of Hanover engaged to continue to his new ſubjects their rights, privileges, effects, and religion; and to diſcharge the engagements of his predeceſſors in thoſe duchies. Moreover, he obliged himſelf to pay to the queen of Sweden a million of rix-dollars at two payments; the firſt before the ſigning of the treaty; the ſecond, five or ſix weeks after the exchange of the ratifications. He engaged likewiſe to renew, both as king of Great-Britain, and elector of Hanover, the alliances formerly eſtabliſhed with his predeceſſors and the kingdom of Sweden. Laſtly, the treaty of Weſtphalia was renewed with a reſervation of demanding and accepting the guarantee of the emperor, and, according to circumſtances, of ſome other powers.

At the ſame time the lord Carteret, embaſſador plenipotentiary from Great-Britain to the court of Sweden, was employed to negotiate the confirmation of this treaty of peace, by an alliance between the two crowns, ſtill under the mediation and guarantee of France. But this alliance was not concluded till the next year, as will be related.

Theſe negotiations with the queen of Sweden were not the moſt difficult; ſhe readily agreed to a peace, and conſidered it as the ground of her ſafety, and the end of her miſeries. But it was not the ſame either with the king of Denmark or the czar, who looked upon theſe negotiations as the ruin of their ſchemes, and an obſtable to their conqueſts. As for king Auguſtus, he entered entirely into the views of the king of Great-Britain, and was contented with being acknowledged king of Poland; he did not even require, that the intereſts of his competitor ſhould be abandoned, and conſented, that, in the proviſional treaty, the queen of Sweden ſhould reſerve to herſelf the liberty of demanding for him what ſhe ſhould think proper.

The king of Pruſſia was a little more difficult; but he complied at laſt, and, accepting the mediation of Great-Britain, granted a ſuſpenſion of arms till the concluſion of the peace.

The king of Denmark had made great preparations for an expedition againſt Sweden, which he was to execute in perſon: he had already had ſome ſucceſs, but of a ſudden he deſiſted, and, conſenting to a ſuſpenſion of arms for ſix months, accepted of the mediation of France and Great-Britain, and, after numberleſs diſputes, gave way to the inſtances of the mediators, and accepted of a ſum of money by way of ſatisfaction for the conqueſts, which he was obliged to reſtore. The czar was the only prince who would not comply, but ſent his fleet to the Scheuron or Batſes of Sweden, where twelve or fifteen thouſand Muſcovites landed, and made a dreadful ravage. The Engliſh fleet, which, under ſir John Norris, was in thoſe ſeas to ſupport the negotiations, had orders to treat the Ruſſian fleet, as admiral Byng had done that of Spain; but the czar recalled his fleet, and prevented the blow. Thus ſtood affairs in the north; it was time now to ſee what was done in the Mediterranean this ſummer.

Whilſt admiral Byng and the viceroy of Naples were waiting for the return of count Hamilton, whom they had agreed to ſend to Vienna, to repreſent the poſture of affairs and bring bac the final reſolutions of that court concerning the operations of the war, the admiral ſailed to Port-Mahon to refit his ſquadron. [z]

Signior Patinho had hitherto reſided in Meſſina, directing the affairs of the iſland for the intereſt of his maſter with great prudence; but, his preſence being wanted at the court of Spain, he embarked on board a felucca, on the 16th of January in the night, and put to ſea, attended by two gallies. If the darkneſs had continued an hour longer, he would have undoubtedly fallen into the mouths of two of the Engliſh cruizers, which chaſed his gallies into a bay near Palermo; but the felucca eſcaped, and landed him in Italy, from whence he proceeded to Madrid, and, by his councils and induſtry, all methods were uſed for ſupporting their army in Sicily with recruits of men, and all neceſſaries of war. The Venetians and Genoeſe, and even the French conſuls in the ports of Italy, notwithſtanding the ſevere prohibitions of the regent, were corrupted to give them all the aſſiſtance poſſible; and, though many veſſels were taken many eſcaped. As to the French, admiral Byng found himſelf under a difficulty how to treat the ſhips of a nation, that was in ſtrict alliance with England. He made loud complaints of their partiality, till at laſt the regent gave him leave to confiſcate all thoſe he met with in the ſervice of Spain, which put ſome ſtop to their clandeſtine proceedings. [a]

Admiral Byng, having refitted moſt of his ſquadron at Port-Mahon, haſtened away from thence with four men of war, the 30th of March, leaving the reſt to follow him, and arrived the 4th of April at Naples, where he hoped to find the army from Hungary arrived, and in a readineſs to embark; but, contrary to his expectations, he ſaw every thing in extreme backwardneſs, partly for want of money.

On the 23d of April, count de Mercy arrived at Naples from Vienna, to take upon him the command of the whole army. He was a native of Lorrain, but brought up in the emperor's ſervice, where he had riſen to the rank of general of the horſe. He was of a tall graceful preſence, with a very ſoldier-like appearance, but had the misfortune of being ſhort-ſighted, almoſt to purblindneſs. He had great ſtrength of body and mind, and was indefatigable in the uſe of both, when neceſſary. He was full of fire, and his con-

[z] Captain Matthews being left with a ſquadron at Pentemelia, to obſerve rear-admiral Cammock, and hinder his eſcaping out of Meſſina to the ſouthward, had the good fortune to run one of them a-ſhore, a ſhip of ſixty-four guns, called the S[ta] Roſelia; and another called the St. Pedro of ſixty guns was caſt away in Tarento-bay. Cammock himſelf, endeavouring to get away to Spain in a ſmall frigate of twenty-two guns, was chaſed the 6th of February by a ſhip of captain Matthews's ſquadron, and eſcaped with much difficulty in his boat to Catania, but the frigate was taken, with all his effects and papers, amongſt which was a commiſſion from the pretender, appointing him admiral of the white ſquadron.

This unhappy man was a native of Ireland, and, being bred up at ſea, had raiſed himſelf to the poſt of a captain, and ſerved in queen Anne's war, with no bad character. But aſſociating himſelf with thoſe who were enemies to the houſe of Hanover, and becoming obnoxious to the government, on the acceſſion of that family to the crown, he abandoned his country, and entered into the ſervice of Spain, where he was promoted to the rank of a rear-admiral, and ſerved in that poſt in the expedition againſt Sicily. He had never been noted to want courage, but, in the action of Paſſaro, he ran away among the firſt, and eſcaped to Malta, affording an inſtance, how much a conſciouſneſs of guilt and dread of puniſhment depreſſes the heart, more than the fear of an enemy. He was a vain boaſting man, with a roving unſettled head, filled with airy ſchemes and projects, without any judgement or diſcretion. He aſſured ſignor Patinho, that he could put moſt of the Engliſh fleet into his hands, in recompence for that which he had loſt; and, in that ſenſeleſs confidence, wrote a letter to the admiral, to let him know, that he had the pretender's commands to aſſure him, if he would bring over the greateſt part of his fleet to Meſſina, or to any port in Spain, he would create him duke of Albemarle, with a royal bounty of one hundred thouſand pounds to ſupport the honour and dignity of that rank; and that every captain ſhould have ten thouſand pounds, and the ſeamen a gratuity of two months wages. That ſignor Patinho would ſatisfy him of the king of Spain's ecurity for the performance of this agreement, and that no body elſe but the dukes of Ormond and Mar were in the ſecret. Whether he wrote by direction or not, does not appear, but the letter met with the contempt it deſerved. He likewiſe ſent another letter to captain Walton, with the promiſe of a reward of ten thouſand pounds, a commiſſion of admiral of the blue, and to be made an Engliſh peer, if he would bring his ſhips into Meſſina, which the honeſt captain brought to the admiral, with vehement expreſſions of abhorrence and indignation.

[a] Mr Corbet mentions here an inſtance or two of the unfair practice of other nations at this time upon the Engliſh trade, and which, it is apprehended, will always be the caſe, whenever England is engaged in foreign wars. The admiral having intelligence from Genoa, that a privateer of twenty-four guns had been fitted out by French merchants of that place, and was cruizing with a Spaniſh commiſſion off of cape Corſo, and having no ſmall frigates with him, he converted the Loo hoſpital ſhip into a frigate, and, putting twenty guns and one hundred men into her, ſent her, under the command of captain Prothero, in queſt of the ſaid privateer. The captain fortunately met with her off the iſland of Capraia, and after a ſmart engagement took her. She had one hundred and thirty men, moſt French, of whom fifty-ſix were killed, and nineteen wounded, with the loſs only of two men in the Loo, and four wounded. The admiral directed the priſoners to be ſent to Thoulon, and delivered into the cuſtody of the intendant; and he wrote to the Engliſh embaſſador at Paris to repreſent thoſe proceedings to the regent, to whoſe juſtice he left the priſoners. Another ſhip was fitted out at Venice, with fifty guns, and two hundred and fifty men, all Venetians, except three Spaniards, and eight Engliſh; and having taken a Spaniſh commiſſion at Malta, which ſignor Patinho had lodged there for her, ſhe went a cruizing on the coaſt of Spain. The admiral, being informed of it, ſent the Orford and Rupert after her, the latter of which, meeting with her off of Peniſcola, engaged and took her by boarding, having killed ſixty-one men, and wounded twenty-nine, with the loſs only of one man killed and three wounded.

verſation abounded with wit and humour. He had great ſkill in courting and careſſing perſons, when he wanted to gain any point, but, at other times, his behaviour diſcovered much haughtineſs. He had an inſatiable thirſt for glory, which was ſeconded by a bold and moſt reſolute temper, always headed his troops himſelf, and ſeemed to have a ſort of paſſion for fighting. He was ſeldom in any action but he was wounded, and was not eſteemed a fortunate officer. He deſpiſed an enemy too much, was impatient for engaging, and had the character of not caring what men he ſacrificed to obtain his purpoſe, when a few days pacience might perhaps have ſucceeded as well without it; which opinion made the ſoldiers uneaſy under him, as they were in continual apprehenſions of being led to the ſlaughter. Upon the whole, as he had great parts, and great experience of ſervice, he muſt have been made a great general (as he was a complete fine gentleman) if he had had a cooler temper, or could have commanded it better. But with all his faults he was certainly in the ſuperior rank of men, of which there needs no better proof, than that he was a favourite of prince Eugene. He was now going to encounter an old ſchool-fellow in the marquis de Lede, who was a Fleming by birth, and a good general under a quite oppoſite character, being as different from the other in perſon, as he was in temper. He was of a low miſhapen ſtature, not affable nor open in his diſpoſition, but much eſteemed for his judgment and prudence, and was of great military experience too. He was as cautious and circumſpect, as the other was bold and enterprizing; and, in this reſpect, both ſeemed to be in their proper employment, the one in a ſituation of defence, and the other of attac. It was thought, that in the courſe of this war, he ſlipped ſome opportunities, which the overſight, or wants of the Germans, gave him of acting upon them to advantage; but, he conſidered, that he was in a country, where he was ſhut up from receiving any conſiderable ſupplies of men, while the enemy poured in what numbers they pleaſed, and that any large diminution of his troops might endanger the whole, and therefore made it a principal point to preſerve his army as much as poſſible, and with the advantage of the paſſes, and the affection of the country people, to diſtreſs and diſable his adverſary, which he effected with much ſkill and wiſdom, and maintained the honour of the arms of Spain with great reputation; and at laſt, when the king his maſter was forced by the weight of the alliances againſt him, to relinquiſh the iſland, he brought a gallant army bac into Spain. [b]

Whilſt the troops were arriving, and the veſſels to tranſport them getting ready, admiral Byng aſſiſted at ſeveral conferences with the viceroy of Naples and general Mercy, about the intended decent on Sicily. All agreed, that Syracuſa was out of the way, but it was not ſo eaſy to determine, whether it would be beſt to land at Palermo, or near Melazzo. Palermo was judged ſafeſt, and would not only make them maſters of the capital city, but alſo of the fertile province of Mazzara, from whence they might eaſily draw proviſions and neceſſaries for the ſubſiſtance of the army. But Melazzo was moſt expeditious, as it would preſs the enemy cloſer, and bring matters more quicly to a deciſion; and this opinion prevailed. But, when they came to examine into the ſtate of their military ſtores, they were ſo deficient in a train of artillery, that the admiral yielded to ſupply them with cannon, powder, and ball from the Spaniſh prizes, rather than ſuffer time to be loſt for want thereof.

All things being at length got ready, the army embarked, conſiſting of ten thouſand foot, and three thouſand five hundred horſe, all choice troops, and the flower of thoſe that had lately ſerved victoriouſly in Hungary. The admiral ſailed from the bay of Baiæ, the 22d of May, N.S. with eight men of war, and above two hundred tranſports; and, on the 27th in the evening, arrived before Melazzo, from whence general Zumjungen came off, and adviſed count de Mercy to land in the bay of Patti, about twenty miles weſtward, the coaſt to the eaſtward being all guarded by the enemy. Upon this, ſo good a diſpoſition and order was made, that, the next morning early, all the foot landed in leſs than two hours, and moſt of the cavalry by three in the afternoon, having loſt only two horſes in the voyage.

Upon the landing of the imperialiſts, the marquis de Lede decamped with precipitation, and marched, without halting, to Franca Villa, a ſtrong poſt, thirty-two miles diſtant, in a mountainous country, and from whence three roads led to Palermo, Meſſina, and Syracuſa. Count de Mercy arrived, by eaſy marches, at Melazzo, and found in the Spaniſh camp ſome cannon, with ammunition and utenſils of war, which the haſte of the Spaniards had left behind.

Whilſt matters were preparing here for the further operations of the army, count Seckendorf was detached with a body of two thouſand five hundred foot, and one hundred and fifty horſe, to reduce the iſlands of Lipari to the emperor's obedience, which he effected, after ſome reſiſtance, in four days time. This conqueſt was abſolutely neceſſary to keep open the navigation between Naples and Sicily, which had been diſturbed by the armed veſſels of thoſe iſlands. Lipari, the principal iſland, is ſaid to contain eight thouſand inhabitants, a bold people, addicted to pillage, and the beſt mariners in thoſe parts.

It was now under deliberation, whether the army ſhould go and beſiege Meſſina, or follow the Spaniards, who were ſtrongly intrenching themſelves at Franca Villa. Meſſina had a numerous garriſon, and was well provided for a long ſiege, which might waſte away the ſummer, whilſt the Spaniards got in the corn, now near ripe, and kept the magazines of the iſland in their poſſeſſion. It was therefore determined to march towards the enemy, and endeavour to bring them to battle. The haſty retreat they had made from Melazzo animated count de Mercy ſo much, that he did not imagine they would make any great ſtand at Franca Villa, but that he ſhould trample them under foot (which was his expreſſion) when he came up with them. The way to the enemy lay through a barren mountainous country, and it took up ſo much time to get together a few mules and horſes for carriage from Calabria, that the army did not move from Melazzo till the 17th of June, N. S. amounting to about twenty-one thouſand men. They ſuffered a moſt painful march of three days, through wild unknown roads, broken up, and rendered almoſt unpaſſable by the enemy, conducted by ignorant guides, and climbing over cragged rocs and precipices, the ſoldiers oppreſſed with the weight of their ammunition, and ſix days bread, which they carried, beſides their arms, with a fiery ſun burning over their heads, and harraſſed and aſſaulted all along the heights and eminences by the armed peaſants of the country, mixed with ſome Spaniſh foot; but arriving, the 19th in the afternoon, on the top of the mountain of Tre Fontane, they diſcovered the enemy incamped below, in the valley of Franca Villa. At the ſight of their camp, a ſhout of joy ran through the whole army, in hopes of coming to a deciſive action, which ſeemed to promiſe favourably to them, it not being imagined, that the enemy could poſt themſelves in a bottom, with ſo much advantage againſt an army deſcending from higher ground upon them.

The ſituation of the Spaniſh camp was in this manner. The rapid river Cantara, whoſe banks are of a ſteep quic roc, from ſix to eight feet perpendicularly deep, and runs through the valley of Franca Villa, was in their front. Their left was on the riſing grounds about Franca Villa (the town lying behind in their center) and extended to a high mountain, where they had placed ſome armed peaſants, and a few foot. On the other ſide of the river (but joined by a bridge to the town of Franca Villa) was a ſteep roc, with a convent of Capuchins upon it. Here they placed five battalions of their beſt troops, in as many rows of intrenchments cut into the roc, one above the other; and at the point of the roc was a ſmall battery of two pieces of cannon of three pounders. On their right they had carried on a fortification of large ſtones, like a wall, all along the river, as far as a high rocky hill, which had a convent on the top, as advantageouſly fortified, as that of the Capuchins; and, cloſe behind the hill, the ſteep river Caſtiglione runs into the Cantara, by means of whoſe confluence, and the neighbouring mountains being guarded by armed peaſants, the Spaniards were ſecure from any danger in their rear. It

[b] The city of Naples was at this time full of general officers, and perſons of high quality and diſtinction, and abonded in all the pleaſures of that delightful climate. The viceroy was ſtudious of making the place agreeable to the admiral, as much out of affection, as politeneſs. On the feſtival day of St. Januarius, he appointed him a box near his own, to behold that famous ceremony. The blood continued long without liquifying, at the approach of the head of the ſaint. The vaſt concourſe of people began to ſhew ſigns of concern: they fell firſt to praying, afterwards proceeded to groans and lamentations; and at length, ſuch a confuſed murmuring and uneaſineſs was perceived among them, that the viceroy, being apprehenſive of ſome ill conſequences, ſent count Hamilton to the admiral, to beg he would not take it ill, if he deſired him to retire, not knowing what effect it might have upon the populace, if they ſhould take it into their heads to attribute the failing of the miracle to the ſaint's being diſpleaſed at his preſence. The admiral had no ſooner quitted his box, and was ſtepping into the viceroy's coach, but he heard a prodigious ſhout of, é fatto, é fatto! it is done, it is done! and ſuch joy and exultation appeared in every countenance, as if they had been delivered from ſome terrible calamity.

was unfortunate to the Germans, that not one deſerter, nor even a peaſant of the country (who were all up in arms in favour of the Spaniards) came over to give them the leaſt information, ſo that they knew little of the ſtrength and advantage of the enemies poſt, till they came to action, and were within muſket-ſhot of their trenches.

Count de Mercy made a diſpoſition for attacing the enemy that evening at three different places. He detached all the firſt line of foot, conſiſting of ſixteen battalions and twenty-three companies of grenadiers, with three hundred Huſſars, under the command of general Zumjungen, to an adjoining hill on the left. He had under him the lieutenant-generals Wallis, Wachtendonck, and the prince of Holſtein. Upon that hill general Zumjungen was to ſeparate his men in two bodies, the one under the command of Wallis, conſiſting of eight battalions and eleven companies of grenadiers, being to deſcend on the right, whilſt Zumjungen did the ſame on the left with eight battalions, twelve companies of grenadiers, and the Huſſars. All the horſe and ſecond line of foot, this conſiſting of twelve battalions under lieutenant-general Seckendorf, and the horſe under lieutenant-general count de Eck, conſiſting of thirty-five ſquadrons, including three companies of horſe-grenadiers, and as many carabiniers, were at the ſame time to deſcend from the mountain of Tre Fontane, and join the other bodies below. Before all this could be effected, night came on, which obliged them to put off the attac till the next morning; and at break of day the ſecond line of foot being got down, and meeting with ten or twelve ſquadrons of the enemy in the valley, they obliged them, as they advanced, to retire towards their intrenchments. When the army was got down to the places appointed in the valley, count de Mercy perceiving, that the enemy poſſeſſed ſeveral conſiderable poſts on a hill to his right, from whence they would flank him in his attac, he ordered lieutenant-general Seckendorf, and the prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, with ſix battalions, to endeavour to diſlodge them from thence, and then to deſcend and rejoin the army in the general attac, which the generals Zumjungen and Wallis were ordered to defer till they ſaw Seckendorf engaged, and deſcending towards them. The hill being very ſteep and difficult, and the enemy being very advantageouſly poſted, Seckendorf was obliged to make many windings, which took up much time to get up to them. In the mean while the enemy, ſeeing that detachment, ſent more foot thither, which made count de Mercy ſtrengthen him with four battalions more; ſo that it was four in the afternoon before they all arrived on the top of the mountain. Seckendorf, having his ten battalions together, drove the enemy down from thence to their intrenchments; and, if night had not came on too ſoon, it was thought he would have been able to have forced his way into their lines, which at that place were weakeſt, and moſt eaſy to be penetrated. At the ſame time four companies of grenadiers of Wallis's body attaced a poſt of the enemy on the bac of the ſame hill, and drove them thence, whilſt the reſt of the grenadiers (being ſeven companies) ſuſtained by the battalions of the ſame body, and the regiment of dragoons of Anſpach, attaced a ſmall intrenchment, which the enemy had made acroſs the valley, and, having carried it, they advanced on towards the roc of the Capuchins, which they attaced about ſix in the evening, being reinforced by two battalions of Leffelholtz, which count Mercy had drawn from the left to ſuſtain them. Here was very warm and bloody work, the Germans being expoſed to a continual fire from the ſeveral trenches of the enemy on the ſides of the roc. During this attac, count d' Eck, with the carabiniers and horſe-grenadiers, followed by the regiments of horſe of Liege, Hanover, and Portugal, traverſed the valley within half muſket-ſhot of the enemy, and placed himſelf to the left of Zumjungen, the plain there appearing large enough for the horſe to act, and to ſuſtain Zumjungen's attac, and penetrate with him into the enemies intrenchments. But this motion of the horſe croſſing Zumjungen in his march, did very much retard his attac, ſo that it was late before he attaced three caſſines, which ſtood near the river, within eighty paces of the enemies lines, which he took, not without loſs of men. Here the prince of Holſtein was mortally wounded, and, being left on the field of battle, he ſent to the marquis de Lede, who cauſed him to be carried into Franca Villa, where he died three days after. While Zumjungen was diſpoſing his troops to attac the intrenchments, by the way of a mill, which lay on the river oppoſite to the caſſines, he perceived the Heſſian battalions on the right following by miſtake the two battalions of Leffelholtz to the roc of the Capuchins, which diſappointed his deſign, for it was night before they returned. Count de Mercy animated his troops every where by his preſence and example, heading himſelf the two battalions of Leffelholtz at the attac of the Capuchins, and after having one horſe killed under him, and two diſabled, he was at laſt himſelf dangerouſly wounded in the reins with a muſket-ball. Night coming on put an end to the action, and left things undecided, except that the Germans maintained ſome ſmall poſts they had gained, which ſerved to ſtraiten the enemy in their camp. In this action the Germans had eight hundred and forty-ſix men killed, and two thouſand four hundred and forty-nine wounded; amongſt the latter admiral Byng's ſecond ſon very dangerouſly, who ſerved as a volunteer. The Spaniards had about one thouſand five hundred men killed or wounded.

Count de Mercy, having withdrawn his wounded men in the night, ranged his army in order to renew the attac next morning; but, the action of the day before having convinced the other generals of the ſtrong ſituation of the enemy, and perceiving the ſoldiers extremely diſpirited and dejected with their hardſhips and ill ſucceſs, they, with much difficulty, prevailed upon him not to perſiſt in that reſolution, but, by extending to the left, endeavour to cut off the enemy from Meſſina, and open a communication with the Engliſh convoy, which (according to agreement) was to rendezvous in Schiſo-bay, near Taormina, a ſea-port town, about three hours diſtant from Franca Villa, with the tranſports laden with proviſions, ammunition, baggage, and other neceſſaries, which the army ſtood in extreme need of. Here was a contingency of great hazard and danger, which gave the Germans much fear and uneaſineſs. For it might have happened, that the winds had hindered the convoy from paſſing through the Faro. Or, if they ſhould have gained their paſſage into Schiſo-bay, Taormina and all that coaſt was poſſeſſed by the enemy, and it was poſſible, that the ſhips might not be able to open a communication with the ſhore. Or ſtill, if both theſe points ſucceeded, the eſtabliſhing a correſpondence between the ſea and the camp, through an hoſtile country, was another work of hazard and difficulty; and a diſappointment, in any one of them, was the inevitable ruin of the whole army, who ſaw themſelves near the end of their proviſions, without any other poſſibility of getting more. But they were ſoon delivered from their fears, by hearing, that the convoy was ſafe arrived in Schiſo-bay; that the ſailors had taken and deſtroyed a ſmall fort of two guns, which had endeavoured to moleſt their anchoring; and that the guns of the men of war had diſperſed a body of troops, which the marquis de Spinola had ſent from Meſſina to the ſea-ſide, to oppoſe them. Upon this reviving news, count de Mercy ſent general Wachtendonck, with three thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, down to incamp on the ſea-ſide, where the ſhips lay at anchor, and ordered the roads, which were hardly paſſable, to be repaired, under the direction of engineer-general Schmettau; and, having got ſome field-pieces from the ſhips up to the camp, he greatly annoyed the enemy, who lay beneath him. This communication was too important for the marquis de Lede not to endeavour to interrupt it; and, amongſt many ſkirmiſhes that daily happened, a party of ſeven hundred Spaniſh horſe fell in with the bread-waggons and mules, that were returning from the ſea-ſide, laden with proviſions for the camp, and guarded only by three hundred horſe. The defence, which the Germans made, was reckoned a gallant action. A ſmall party of foot, that happened to be in the neighbourhood, hearing the fire, and coming up to their aſſiſtance, they put the Spaniards to flight, and conducted the waggons and mules ſafe to the camp.

When count Mercy parted from the admiral Byng at Melazzo, to go in queſt of the Spaniſh army, it was the admiral's deſign to return to Naples, and put things there in motion for an intended expedition to Sardina, which the duke of Savoy had much at heart, and was no leſs preſſed by the courts of England and France. But reflecting within himſelf, that the impetuous temper of the German general, and the contempt he ſaw he had of the enemy, might poſſibly bring about ſome occaſions that would want his aſſiſtance, he tarried a few days on the coaſt, in uneaſy expectation of the news of the ſucceſs of their march from Melazzo. The armed peaſants had cut off all communication between Franca Villa and Melazzo; ſo that the firſt miſdoubt he entertained, that things had not gone well, was from hearing the firing of the guns at Meſſina and at the Faro, and ſeeing great illuminations made along the coaſt. Soon after he perceived the Neapolitan gallies rowing out of the Faro, and the general of them, coming on board, gave him an imperfect account of the action, but enough to ſatisfy him, that it had not been fortunate; upon which he immediately embarked two battalions from

the garriſon of Melazzo, and about a thouſand recruits, who were juſt arrived there, and ſent them, the ſame day, under a convoy, through the Faro to Schiſo-bay. In the evening he received letters from count de Mercy, informing him of the particulars of the whole action, with the great difficulties he laboured under, and uncertainty what to do; earneſtly preſſing him to come to the camp, that they might confer and conſult together. Upon this, the admiral ſent his firſt captain with his own ſhip and two others to Naples, by whom he ſent a letter to the viceroy, giving his opinion, that all thoughts of an expedition to Sardinia ſhould be laid aſide for the preſent, and the troops, which could be ſpared from his government, ſent immediately into Sicily, till whoſe arrival all things there would be at a ſtand; and that he had ſent his officers and ſhips to promote that ſervice. He then embarked on board the general of the gallies, laying aſide the ceremony of his flag and character, and in his way to Schiſo, count de Ligneville came to him in a felucca, bringing freſh letters from count de Mercy, which expreſſed his great impatience to ſee him. Being landed at Schiſo, general Wachtendonck renewed the ſame intreaties, which the admiral's zeal did not want; who accepting that general's horſes, and forgetting for a while his own ſtation and element, ſet out under a ſtrong eſcourt, attended by captain Matthews and his eldeſt ſon, and paſſing through roads ſtrewed with dead bodies of men and horſes, that had fallen in ſkirmiſhes the day before, between the ſea-ſide and the camp, he alighted at count de Mercy's tent in the evening, where a guard of grenadiers being drawn out for his reception, one of them was ſhot through the head by a muſket-ball from the enemy's camp, at the door of his tent, and fell down dead at his feet. He found the general very weak and faint with his wound, the ball ſtill remaining in his reins; but as he had a magnanimity of ſpirit ſuperior to his condition, it did not hinder them from entering into converſation on the melancholy ſituation of their affairs. The general made great complaints of Zumjungen, to whoſe ſlowneſs in marching, and coming ſo late into action, he attributed his ill ſucceſs. He ſaid, 'he himſelf was ſtill of opinion to make another attac upon the enemy, rather than decamp and retire; but that his officers in general were againſt it; and in that caſe he ſaw nothing left for them to do, but to go down, and join the forces at the ſea-ſide, and march into the country about Catanea and Syracuſa, for their better ſubſiſtance. That he had wrote for two battalions of Savoyards to be ſent to him from Syracuſa, which, with the troops the admiral had ſent from Melazzo, would repair his loſs of men: but that the loſs of his officers was irretrieveable; for beſides many killed, a conſiderable number of the beſt and principal were wounded, and incapable of preſent ſervice.' After many propoſitions and ſchemes ſtarted and diſcuſſed between them, without any being concluded on, the count deſired the admiral to ſtay in the camp that night, to be preſent at a conſultation of general officers next morning. The converſation being ended, the admiral went to ſee his ſon, who (as mentioned before) was wounded in the action, and whom he found languiſhing in his tent, in a way that gave little hopes of his recovery, not ſo much from the malignity of the wound (though that was in a dangerous part) as from the unſkilfulneſs of thoſe who attended him, the German army being very ill provided with ſurgeons and medicines.[c]

Such an univerſal detection had reigned throughout the army, on account of the ill ſucceſs of the late action, and for the loſs and diſability of ſo many brave officers, and they had ſuch continual apprehenſions, that the fiery temper of their general would order them on another attac, that their joy on the arrival of the admiral was inexpreſſible. They looked on him as their deliverer, who alone, they thought could extricate them from their preſent difficulties and misfortunes, and influence their general with cool and prudent counſels. In the morning early he viſited general Zumjungen, the ſecond perſon in the army, whoſe ſedate deliberate temper had procured him great eſteem and confidence among the ſoldiery. He complained much 'of the general's raſh impatience, in not giving time to all the troops to come up; which if he had done, and had delayed the attac till next morning, they would have had the whole day before them, have judged better of the meaſures for carrying it on, which would then have been diſpoſed in another manner, and with more reaſonable expectation of ſucceſs; and that this was not his own ſingle opinion, but that of all the other officers. He bewailed the little regard the general gave to the advice of his officers; and intreated him to oppoſe any overture he might make at the conſultation for another attac, which he feared was not out of his head, and what he (the admiral) only had credit enough to diſſuade him from it.'

The principal officers of the army being met in the general's tent, the firſt point he put in queſtion was, whether the enemy ſhould be attaced again? the officers keeping a long ſilence, and directing their looks to the admiral, he addreſſed his ſpeech to the general, wherein he 'reminded him of the warning he had formerly given him not to deſpiſe the enemy, whoſe numbers and reſolution he now experienced to be otherwiſe than what he expected. He ſaid, that he had viewed the ſituation of the enemies camp, the night before; and, though he did not pretend to much judgment in the operations of the land ſervice, yet it ſeemed to his plain underſtanding, that for one army to attac another equal in number, under the ſhelter of ſtrong and almoſt impregnable intrenchments, was rather an undertaking of deſpair than diſcretion, and could not be attended with any reaſonable hopes of ſucceſs.' All the other officers declaring themſelves of the ſame opinion, that queſtion was laid aſide. It came next under deliberation, what the army was to do? The general opinion was, 'that it was inſufficient for a ſpeedy conqueſt of the iſland, in regard the enemy had as numerous an army, with all the ſtrong holds and magazines in their poſſeſſion, and the affection of the people on their ſide. That, as they could not continue where they were, it was his opinion, they ſhould march into the fertile country about Catanea, and endeavour to make themſelves maſters of Auguſta; or elſe canton themſelves about Syracuſa for their better ſubſiſtance, till new and effectual ſupplies of troops were ſent from Germany.' To this the admiral replied, 'that he was ſo much of his opinion, that they wanted a further reinforcement of men, that, upon the firſt news of the ill ſucceſs of the battle, he had wrote to the viceroy of Naples his ſentiments accordingly: that indeed the courts of London and Paris did earneſtly preſs the carrying on the enterprize againſt Sardinia; but, when they ſhould come to be informed of the ſtate of affairs, they would probably conſent to have the army, deſigned for that expedition, paſs firſt into Sicily, which, as things ſtood, he thought the neareſt way to the conqueſt of both iſlands. That, after his departure from them, he would immediately go to Naples, and labour that point with the proper courts, with all the earneſtneſs and application poſſible. That, as to their marching in the mean time into the country about Catanea for ſubſiſtance, he apprehended, it would give the world a worſe opinion of the late action than it deſerved, and make it be concluded, that they had been defeated and diſabled; which would blemiſh the credit of their arms, and give too much ſpirit to the enemy, and to the Sicilians in their intereſt. That being now joined by the recruits he had ſent them, and the battalions from Syracuſa being daily expected, they would be in a condition to act offenſively, and advance the emperor's affairs: that Auguſta was out of the way, and not worth their attention, and delaying their time there was drawing the war into unneceſſary length; but that the way was open to Meſſina, the beſieging of which city would ſupport the character of their arms, and the taking of it make the reduction of the reſt of the iſland eaſy. That, as to what regarded the fleet, the experience of the laſt winter in keeping two ſquadrons, one within, the other without the Faro, to bloc up the ſhips in Meſſina, and ſecure the paſſage of the proviſions, which the army at Melazzo drew from Calabria and Apulia, had determined him never to hazard again the deſtruction of his maſter's ſhips on a ſea-ſervice of ſuch evident danger in that tempeſtuous ſeaſon, without having a port to ſhelter or befriend him. That the reduction of Meſſina was their mutual intereſt, as his ſhips would then clean there, and be

[c] Mr Corbet obſerves here, it may be wondered that the emperor is ſo well ſerved in the courage of his troops, when ſo little care is generally taken of their preſervation in accidents of wounds or ſickneſs. Surgeons and medicines are few and bad in their armies, and there is little difference between being wounded and killed in action, except that of a lingering or a ſudden death. After the battle of Franca Villa, the wounded men were laid on the ground, with their ammunition-bread ſet by them, and left expoſed to the ſun and fortune. The general himſelf had only his own valet de chambre to dreſs his wound, and attend him. It was a moving ſpectacle to the admiral, to meet with great numbers of poor wretches in his way up to the camp, ſome endeavouring, with the ſupport of their wives or comrades, to crawl down to the ſea-ſide, in order to get a paſſage over to the hoſpital at Reggio; others unable to go on from pain or faintneſs, falling down on the earth, and left to die there. This is a great blemiſh of their ſervice, and gives handle to the maxim which their enemies would fix on them, that they account it cheaper to get a man than to cure one, and ſo give themſelves little concern for his recovery.

more at hand to aſſiſt them; and, the cauſe of the blocade being removed, he ſhould be able to ſend a detachment to cruiſe on the coaſt of Spain, which would ſtreiten the enemy, and obſtruct their ſending ſuccours into Sicily.' This remonſtance had the weight it deſerved, and not only convinced, but gave great ſatisfaction to the general and his officers; eſpecially after his removing an objection of their being in want of cannon for battery, by agreeing to ſpare them out of the Spaniſh prizes twenty-ſeven cannon of twenty-four pounders, twelve of eighteen, and as many of twelve pounders; with a proportionable quantity of powder and ball, to enable them to begin the ſiege, and promiſing to ſollicit ſtrongly at Naples for remitting to the army all things neceſſary for carrying on that important ſervice with ſucceſs.

The conference being over, the admiral took his leave, the general and all his officers expreſſing the greateſt eſteem and affection for him at their parting, and being eſcorted down to the water-ſide, he embarked in the neareſt man of war, and, without regard to his own dignity of moving at the head of a fleet, ſailed away with two ſhips only, and after an impatient paſſage of eleven days, a time tedious to a mind active and charged with emportant affairs, he arrived at Naples, where the firſt thing he heard, with great ſurprize and concern, was, that his friend count Daun was removed from the government, and departed for Vienna, though his time was not expired, and that count de Gallas was come thither in the room. The diſplacing at that juncture a man ſo experienced in military affairs was a ſtep very inconvenient to the emperor's intereſt, and an unhappy effect of court faction; for, though the new viceroy was a man of undoubted worth and honour, and had ſuſtained the character of ambaſſador at the courts of England and Rome, with proper dignity and magnificence, and in quieter times might have filled his government with greater ſufficiency and applauſe, yet, not being bred a ſoldier, it was not to be expected, he could ſo readily comprehend the ſprings of motion in armies, or foreſee every proviſion neceſſary for military opperations, the timely ſupplies of which are the ſureſt foundations of ſucceſs in war.

After the firſt civilities, the admiral, entering into conconference, with the viceroy, painted out to him in very lively colours the ſtate of the imperial army in Sicily, where the event of things, he ſaid, had not anſwered the ſanguine hopes they had flattered themſelves with, on their landing on that iſland; that, inſtead of trampling over the enemy, they had received ſuch a ſhoc themſelves, as very much humbled their ſpirits and expectations, and had been ſo far from making impreſſion on an army favoured and aſſiſted by the natives, that they were reduced to think of their own preſervation, being entangled among barren mountains, depending on a precarious ſubſiſtance from the ſea, and in a country, where every man they ſaw was their enemy; and finally, that, without a reinforcement equal to another army, the conqueſt of the kingdom was impracticable.' The admiral having proceeded thus far, was cautious of touching on the army, that lay in the Milaneſe, deſigned for Sardinia; for, by the laſt letters, the courts of England, France, and Turin, were ſtill very preſſing for that great expedition: but he demanded of the viceroy, whether the emperor had any conſiderable number of troops in Italy, beſides thoſe deſigned for Sardinia? To which he replyed, he believed not: the admiral aſked, whether, if thoſe troops deſigned for Sardinia were immediately ſent over to Sicily, they could ſoon be replaced by other troops from Germany, to go on that expedition? which the viceroy doubting, he then ſpoke out his opinion plainly, 'that the expedition to Sardinia ought to be laid aſide for the preſent: that the carrying on both undertakings together would end in the failure of both; and that the ſhorteſt way of getting both iſlands was by conquering one firſt.' The viceroy replied, 'that the propoſitions was ſo much for his maſter's intereſt, that his concurrence with it was not to be doubted, but that he feared, he was not at liberty to divert thoſe troops, without the conſent of the other courts in alliance; and prayed the admiral to make the proper repreſentations thereupon to them, as he would do himſelf to the emperor.' The conference being over, the count de Ligneville, whom count de Mercy had ſent with the admiral to Naples, was diſpatched away to Vienna, with inſtructions to lay before that court the ſtate of their affairs in Sicily, and the meaſures propoſed for retrieving them.

Naples ſeemed to be at this time, the center of affairs in Europe. All the powers in the quadruple alliance, as well as thoſe, who had any concerns with them, had miniſters there to watch over their reſpective intereſts, and drew their meaſures from information of what paſſed there. The admiral went with the viceroy to viſit the marquis de Breille, the king of Sardinia's miniſter; and ſhewing him the weak condition of the imperial arms in Sicily, and that the expedient of ſending the troops deſigned for Sardinia thither, was the effect of invincible neceſſity, and not a pretence for poſtponing his maſter's intereſts, which the courts of England and France had as much at heart as thoſe of the emperor, he convinced that miniſter of the reaſonableneſs of the meaſure, who, at his requeſt, repreſented the matter in a true light to his own court, and obtained his maſter's concurrence.

During the admiral's ſtay at Naples, the Grafton brought in two Genoeſe ſhips, which ſhe had taken off Palermo, with ſix hundred Swiſs recruits on board for the Spaniſh army, who were committed priſoners to the caſtles. The Lenox ran a third a-ſhore, with about two hundred more ſoldiers, and burnt her, but moſt of the men eſcaped.

There being nothing more to do at Naples, till the ſentiments of the ſeveral courts were known, upon the propoſed alteration of meaſures, the admiral determined, in the mean time, to paſs over again into Sicily, hoping to find the army before Meſſina, in which caſe his aſſiſtance would be wanting. He had then a ſtrong feveriſh diſorder hanging on him, which had reduced him to a very low condition; a little reſt ſeemed neceſſary for his recovery; but his heart was with the army, and his health had no part in his thoughts. The viceroy too was ill in bed of a fever; they were deſirous of ſeeing each other before the admiral departed, having ſome neceſſary points to ſettle together. The admiral, ſcarce able to ſtand, was carried to the viceroy's bed-ſide, where being ſeated, they could do little more than give broken and imperfect hints to each other, of what their minds laboured with, and were ſoon obliged to put an end to a conference, wherein the weakneſs of their bodies did not ſecond the zeal of their hearts for the public. The admiral complimented the viceroy with as many of the Swiſs priſoners, as would be neceſſary to exchange what Germans were priſoners in Sicily; and taking a final leave of him, embarked for that iſland. The viceroy died two days after, whoſe ſickneſs the Italians attributed to his travelling through the Campania of Rome in the dog-days, which they eſteem fatal. His death threw the affairs of that kingdom into great confuſion; the collateral council aſſuming the goverment, and the military power refuſing to obey their orders, which proved no ſmall diſſervice and retardment to the affairs in Sicily.

During the admiral's abſence, count de Mercy, being ſtruc blind with an apoplectic fit, was obliged to quit the camp, and paſs over to Reggio for advice, leaving the command of the army to general Zumjungen, general Wachtendonck had taken by ſtratagem the town of Taormina, a ſtrong paſs in the way to Meſſina, upon which encouragement Zumjungen broke up from Franca Villa with his army, on the 17th of July, without any moleſtation from the enemy, and forcing the ſtrong paſſes of Alexis and la Sceletta, with leſs oppoſition than was expected, after a painful march through a mountainous country and exceſſive heats, but aſſiſted by the tranſport veſſels coaſting along with the proviſions, artillery, and heavy baggage, he ſat down, the 20th, before Meſſina; in which the enemy had three thouſand men, under the command of the marquis de Spinola, an officer of great reputation, and well furniſhed with proviſions and all neceſſaries for a long and obſtinate defence. In the mean time, count de Mercy burning with impatience to lie idle at Reggio, notwithſtanding the anguiſh of his wound, and the ſurgeon's not being able to get the ball out of his body, as ſoon as ever he began to ſee a little with one eye, returned to the camp before Meſſina. The admiral, after a paſſage of five days, anchored, the 28th, off of the point of the Faro, and being too weak to go out of his ſhip, ſent his firſt captain a-ſhore to the general to acquaint him with his proceedings at Naples; and learning, that he was in great want of powder, ſent him a conſiderable ſupply.

The imperialiſt having taken the caſtle of Gonzaga, which ſtands on a hill over the city; and the baſtion of the town, called Secreto, having a conſiderable breach made in it, and the governor having withdrawn his troops from the town into the citadel, the ſenate of the Meſſina ſent out deputies to capitulate upon articles; but the general deſiring to know whether he was to treat with them as ſubjects of the emperor, or as enemies; if as the former, he bid them open the gates, and receive his troops, and he would interpoſe his good offices with the emperor in their favour; but, if

he was to treat with them as enemies, they were to get the beſt terms they could for themſelves; and he gave them leave to go bac into the town to conſider with their principals about it. They returned the ſame evening, and told the general, that the next morning, as ſoon as it was day, they would open the gates, and rely on the emperor's clemency; and accordingly the troops marched on the 8th of Auguſt, N. S. and took poſſeſſion.

The city being taken, the admiral landed ſome Engliſh grenadiers, who took the tower of the Faro; which opening a free paſſage for his ſhips, he came to an anchor in Peradiſe Road, which the officers of the Spaniſh men of war in the Mole perceiving, and deſparing now of getting out to ſea, they unbent their ſails, and unrigged their ſhips, expecting their fate with that of the citadel. This gave the admiral great eaſe, and enabled him to employ ſhips on other ſervices, which had long attended the blocing up of that port. It came now to be matter of debate, what was to be done with thoſe ſhips, when the citadel ſhould be taken, and they fall into their hands. Signor Scarampi, general of the king of Sardina's gallies, firſt ſtarted the queſtion, and claimed the two beſt of ſixty and ſixty-four guns, new ſhips, which had belonged to his maſter, and were ſeized by the Spaniards in the port of Palermo. He grounded his right on a convention made at Vienna, the 29th of December, 1718, in which it was ſaid, 'that as to the ſhips belonging to the king of Sardinia, if they be taken in the port, they ſhall be reſtored to him: but that this ſhall be referred to admiral Byng to anſwer.' To this the admiral replied, 'that this convention having been only a ground-work for another to be made at Naples, he could be directed by none but that, which was made in conſequence thereof in April 1719, between the viceroy of Naples, the marquis de Breille, miniſter of Sardinia, and himſelf, in which no mention is made of thoſe ſhips; and, as to the reference to his opinion, he did freely declare, he could not think the king of Sardinia had any ſhadow of title to them: that they had been taken by the enemy, and were now fitted out, and armed at their expence, and under their colours: that they would put out to ſea, if he did not hinder them, and attac all Engliſh ſhips they met with; and, if ſtronger, take them; ſo that he could not conſider them in any light, than what they were, the ſhips of an enemy.' Count de Mercy put in his claim for the emperor, alledging, 'that as thoſe ſhips would be found within the port of a town taken by his maſter's arms, according to the right of nations, they belonged to him.' The admiral replied, 'that it was owing to his keeping two ſquadrons on purpoſe, and at a great hazard, to watch and obſerve theſe ſhips, that they were now confined within the port, which if he was to withdraw, they would ſtill be able to go to ſea, and he ſhould have a chance of meeting with and taking them.' But reflecting afterwards with himſelf, that poſſibly the garriſon might capitulate for the ſafe return of thoſe ſhips into Spain, which he was determined never to ſuffer: that, on the other hand, the right of poſſeſſion might breed an inconvenient diſpute among the princes concerned; and if it ſhould prove, that they did not belong to England, it were better they belonged to nobody, he propoſed to count de Mercy to ſet up a battery, and deſtroy them as they lay in the baſin; who urging, that he had no orders concerning thoſe ſhips, and muſt write to Vienna for inſtructions about it, the admiral replied with ſome warmth, that he could not want a power to deſtroy every thing that belonged to the enemy, and inſiſted on it with ſuch firmneſs, that the general, being concerned in intereſt not to carry matters to a diſagreement, cauſed a battery to be erected, notwithſtanding the proteſtations of Scarampi, which in a little time ſunk and deſtroyed them, and completed the ruin of the naval power of Spain.

In five days after the taking of the city, the imperialiſts obliged the caſtles of Caſtellazzo and Matagriffone to ſurrender; and, being thus become maſters of all the caſtles and eminences about the city, they applied themſelves to the ſiege of the citadel, where from the ſtrength of the place, the numerous and well-provided garriſon, and the great reputation of the governor, they were ſure to meet with a very warm and vigorous reſiſtance, and the more, as the Germans were ill provided with neceſſaries for ſuch an undertaking.

On the the 13th of Auguſt, N. S. the count de Ligneville arrived in the camp from Vienna with the good news of the emperors's having diſpatched orders to the governor of Milan to ſend his troops, which lay in the Milaneſe, and were deſigned for Sardinia, down to Vado, in order to be tranſported into Sicily. He brought a gracious letter from the emperor to the admiral, wherein he ſignified to him 'his approbation of a project, that was the effect of his zeal and activity; the ſatisfaction he had in his wiſe conduct, and for his love and attachment to his imperial perſon and auguſt houſe; and on all occaſions he ſhould give him marks of his affection and eſteem, and of his good remembrance of the ſervices he had done him.'

The tranſportation of the troops from Genoa to Sicily was a ſervice of ſuch moment, and diſpatch in it ſo neceſſary, that the admiral determined to conduct that affair himſelf, well knowing from his experience of the ſlowneſs of the Germans in all their undertakings, how much his weight and credit were neceſſary to give their motions that quicneſs, which their affairs required; and having intimated his reſolution to count de Mercy of paſſing over to Naples, and from thence to Genoa for that purpoſe, he prayed the admiral to repreſent plainly his wants to the government of Naples; which no body knew or underſtood better than himſelf, and, giving him a liſt of what particulars he wanted, added jocoſely, 'that, as the ſiege was a child of his own begetting, he ought to nurſe it, as well for his own ſake, as for the common intereſt.'

The admiral ſailed the 16th of Auguſt, N. S. and anchored the 23d before Naples, where the cardinal de Schrottenbach was newly arrived by ſea from Rome in quality of viceroy. The next day the admiral went to the palace, and entering into conference with the cardinal, repreſented to him, 'how much the army had ſuffered from the diviſions of the government during the interregnum. That the ſiege they were employed in was a deciſive point, on which the fate of the iſland depended;' and ſetting before him the evil conſequences, that would attend a miſcarriage by the want of neceſſary ſupplies from his government, he put into his hands a liſt of particulars he had received from the general. The cardinal was an honeſt good-natured man, and very willing to forward buſineſs but had no great talents for it. His high quality had advanced him to the purple, being lord of a principality in Bohemia, with ſome marks of ſovereignty. He was appointed to manage the emperor's affairs at Rome, after the departure of count Gallas, and, at his death, ſucceeded him in his government. He told the admiral, 'that, by the accounts he had received from the proper officers there was not in the ſtores the quantity of cannon and ammunition, which the general demanded: that he would ſend to Mantua for cannon, which might be tranſported down the Po into the Adriatic, and ſo on by ſea to Meſſina, where poſſibly, if no croſs accidents happened, they might arrive in two months time.' The admiral coming to know that thoſe cannon had no carriages, the cardinal thought he ſatisfied that objection by ſaying, 'he would ſend ſome carpenters into the woods of Abruzzo to cut down timber for carriages.' Thoſe and the like unſoldier-like propoſals gave the admiral a ſenſible regret of the loſs of count Daun, in whoſe room he found himſelf co-operating with a viceroy better qualified for his breviary than for council in operations of war, and whoſe court was crouded with monks, and prieſts, and ſuch like diſagreeable objects, inſtead of men of buſineſs and ſervice. [d]

The admiral perceiving, that the army had no reſource, but what lay in himſelf, generouſly ſent them twenty-four pieces of cannon of eighteen pounders, belonging to the Spaniſh prizes, and a proportionable quantity of powder and ſhot, contenting himſelf with the ſingle credit of the

[d] The viceroy returned the next day the admiral's viſit, and, upon reconſidering the ſeveral points in the general's demands, the ſame difficulties recurred about complying with them, eſpecially as to the cannon and ammunition. The viceroy ſaid, 'he would ſummon all the general officers in town, and conſult with them about finding out expedients to ſatisfy the wants of the army, which was all that was in his power to do.' Upon which the admiral deſired his eminence, 'that, after they had attended him, and taken thoſe matters into conſideration, he might have a conferrence with them.' Accordingly the next day the general officers came to the admiral's houſe, and entering into converſation together, upon the particulars of the general's demands, which lay before them, the articles relating to corn and recruits were ſoon got over; but the main difficulty was the demand of cannon and ammunition. The admiral told them, 'that count de Mercy had not above twenty cannon in battery: that he was within two hundred paces of the counterſcarp of the citadel; and hoped he ſhould not be forced to ſtop in ſo fair a way, for want of neceſſary ſupplies; and that he would be contented, if they could ſend him but ten or twelve cannon from Naples, with a proportionable quantity of powder and ball.' The officer of the ordinance attending gave in a liſt of eight cannon, which he ſaid might be taken from the mole and batteries of the city, and ſent to Meſſina; but, upon enquiry, they appeared to be of fifty or ſixty pounders, ſome without ball, others without carriages, all of them too unwieldy and unfit for battery. He then delivered in to them a ſtate of all the ordinance-ſtores in the kingdom; upon examining of which the general officers unanimouſly confeſſed, that the whole country was not able to furniſh the cannon and ammunition, which count de Mercy wanted. This was ſuch a declaration of weakneſs, as was not to be expected in ſo fine a kingdom.

general for repayment to the captors, and at the ſame time wrote to Genoa and Leghorn, to purchaſe one thouſand barrels more of powder, engaging his own ſecurity to the Britiſh conſuls for their repayment.

During theſe tranſactions, a number of tranſports having been provided at Naples, the admiral ſent them under a convoy to Vado, and, having diſpatched his other affairs with the cardinal, departed after them, and arrived at Genoa the 7th of September, N. S.

He had been made to believe, that, by the time of his arrival there, the army would be ready to embark; but he found every thing in extreme bacwardneſs. The troops had not ſo much as begun their march from the Milaneſe, nor could get to Vado in leſs than a fortnight: very few proviſions or neceſſaries had been brought up, and none ſhipped, nor were the tranſport-veſſels properly fitted for the reception of the troops. Count de Bonneval, who was to command his body, arriving the next day, went on board the admiral, and underſtanding that he intended to tranſport his army to Melazzo, and even to Meſſina, if count Mercy ſhould think it neceſſary, he was mortified to the laſt degree. He had been appointed to command theſe forces on the intended expedition to Sardinia, and the diverting them to a different ſervice ſo diſguſted him, that, inſtead of forwarding the embarkation of the troops, he reſolved to retard it all he could. Accordingly, whilſt the admiral gave himſelf incredible pains at Genoa and Vado, to quicken their departure, he threw in the way all the ſecret obſtructions he could, till he knew the iſſue of the ſollicitations he was carrying on at Vienna, to be continued in a ſeparate command. However, the admiral, after twenty days labour and pains, and at laſt ſuch menances as even Bonneval himſelf began to be afraid of the admiral, ſhipped off the troops to the number of about ſix thouſand, on the 27th of September, N. S. with ſuch proviſions as could be got, and, leaving a man of war to convoy the remainder when ready, ſailed the 28th from Vado. [e] The admiral receiving letters in his paſſage, from count de Mercy, requeſting, that the troops might not land at Melazzo, but go on to Meſſina, he ſtood away for the Faro, and arrived before Meſſina, the 8th of October, N. S. which ſo elevated the ſpirits of the army, that, upon the firſt ſight of the fleet, lieutenant-general Wallis, with five thouſand men, made a vigorous attac upon the half-moon, which was neareſt to their approaches, and carried it with the loſs of only one hundred and three killed, and eight hundred and thirty wounded. The admiral, going a-ſhore to the general's quarters, was embraced by him, and all the general officers, with the moſt tender marks of affection and gratulation, the whole army being overjoyed to to ſee a man, who always brought them relief and ſucceſs, and every good, that attended them. On the 17th at ten in the morning, the imperialiſts aſſaulted the counterſcarp, and mounted to the top of the breach with great gallantry; but, after two hours very warm work, were repulſed with the loſs of one hundred and twenty men killed, and ſix hundred and ſeventeen wounded. The governor having acquitted himſelf with great honour in this repulſe, as well as in the general defence of the place, and finding himſelf unable to hold it longer, beat a parley the next day, and ſurrendered it upon articles. The Spaniſh garriſon marched out through the breach, and were tranſported by ſea to Auguſta. Thus ended a ſiege of twenty-one days, which coſt the Germans above five thouſand men killed or wounded.

Whilſt the ſiege of the citadel was depending, the Spaniſh army decamped from Franca Villa, the 31ſt of Auguſt, and, marching towards Rametta, the marquis de Lede gave out, that he would attac the imperialiſts, and appeared upon the hills in ſight of the camp, attended by a great number of peaſants he had drawn together; but finding it well guarded, and his army being ſicly, he fortified a ſtrong and advantageous poſt at Caſtro Giovane, in the center of the iſland, where he laid in large magazines, in order to retire thither in caſe of neceſſity; and in the mean time cantoned his troops about Aderno, Palermo, and Catanea. [f]

The imperialiſts having ſpent ſome time in levelling the lines, trenches, and batteries before Meſſina, and in putting the place into a poſture of defence, they held ſeveral conſultations, at which the admiral aſſiſted, concerning what meaſures were next to be taken. The reduction of Meſſina had brought Val Demona under the obedience of the emperor; but the whole province, being mountainous and barren, was ſo little able to ſupply the army with proviſions and forage, that the inhabitants of Meſſina and other towns daily petitioned the general for their own ſubſiſtance, ſince they could draw no corn, as they uſed to do, from the plentiful parts of the iſland, which were in poſſeſſion of the Spaniards. To march after the enemy in a wintry ſeaſon, with their horſe already harraſed, and almoſt ſtarved, through an adverſe country, and without any proviſions but what they carried; and, if they ſurmounted all theſe difficulties, to attac them in the ſtrong camp of Caſtro Giovane, was judged too raſh to be attempted, after the experience of Franca Villa. To march to Palermo, and get poſſeſſion of the capital, was more deſirable than eaſy of execution. It was a march of ſeventeen days, along the northern coaſt of the iſland, through an unknown, mountainous, ſterile country, where they ſhould be expoſed to ſudden inſults, great part of the way being ſo narrow, that two men could hardly go a-breſt; and, if they met with no enemy, they had no forage for their horſe, no magazines in the way of their march, nor a ſufficient number of beaſts of burthen to carry proviſions along with them, nor money to buy them, if they could be got. The next project, that occurred was

[e] Bonneval, finding his troops incorporated with the army, and his projects of a ſeparate command vaniſhed, pretended ſickneſs, and, getting leave to go to Reggio for advice, he repaired to Vienna, and returned no more to the army. He was a native of France, and had all the ſprightlineſs and levity of that nation. He was a gallant officer, had received many wounds, and ſtill feels the painful remembrance of a moſt terrible one he got in Hungary. He had no zeal for the ſervice of his prince, any further than it ſuited his own intereſt or ambition, to which he willingly ſacrificed his duty. Corbet.

[f] It was during this ſiege, that the admiral having received information, that veſſels belonging to Malta had gone to ſea with Spaniſh commiſſions, and taken ſome Engliſh merchant-ſhips, ſent a letter to the grand maſter, 'complaining of his partiality and injuſtice, demanding ſatisfaction for the damages the merchants had ſuſtained, and his giving ſtrict orders to prohibit the like unfair proceedings for the future.' He wrote, at the ſame time, to mr. Alexander Young, the Engliſh conſul at Malta, to make a ſtrict enquiry what merchant-ſhips had been taken by privateers fitted out from Malta, or wherein Malteſe ſubjects had been concerned, and to lay a ſtate thereof before that government, with a demand for reparation, and to let him know their anſwer. The grand maſter and his council, being alarmed at this meſſage, ſent the chevalier Balbini to the admiral, to repreſent and excuſe the proceedings of their government in the points complained of, and to lay before him the difficulties they were under, from their dependance on Spain, and to endeavour to remove all cauſes of his diſſatisfaction with them. But the admiral, not having yet received any ſpecific account of the particular loſſes of the merchants, and ſo not able to ſettle the terms of reſtitution with Balbini, ſent his firſt captain, Saunders, with two men of war to Malta, directing him 'to make an exact enquiry into the ſeveral captures that had been made, and to lay the ſame before the grand maſter and his council, and to demand reparation, ſo far as their ſubjects had been concerned therein; and, in caſe he found them willing to give reaſonable aſſurances of doing juſtice for what was paſt, and of a better behaviour for the future, he was to enter into a convention with them for that purpoſe, and for eſtabliſhing a good agreement with them; but, otherwiſe, he was to take all ſhips and veſſels he ſhould meet with belonging to that iſland.' Captain Saunders, arriving at Malta, found a fair diſpoſition in thoſe people to give the admiral and the Engliſh nation all reaſonable ſatisfaction in their proceedings. They ſhewed, 'that they had never conſented to, or approved of their ſubjects entering into the ſervice of Spain, but had iſſued ſtrict proclamations, prohibiting them to be any ways concerned on either ſide in the war. They did not deny, that one of their veſſels had taken a commiſſion from the marquis de Lede, to cruiſe upon the enemies of Spain, but made appear, that they had ſent one of their order to intreat him to revoke that commiſſion, and had made the ſame application to the court of Madrid, but had been anſwered with great roughneſs and menaces. That, to avoid as much as they could all occaſions of complaint, they had called in all their privateers, which had been cruiſing in the Levant againſt the Turks, in order to diſarm them; but they could not always govern the unruline's of their people, when they would enter into the ſervice of any chriſtian prince, whoſe colours protected them from their enquiry or viſitation, which was the misfortune of their condition, as they depended upon the chriſtian princes of Europe for their revenue, and, in particular, drew at that time their daily ſubſiſtence of proviſions from that part of Sicily, which was under the ſubjection of the Spaniſh general; and, finally, that they received no part or benefit from the prizes, which had paſſed entirely through the hands of the Spaniſh agent, and in which they had no manner of intereſt or concern.' The captain was convinced of the ſincerity and truth of their declaration; but, on the other hand, told them, 'that it was not his buſineſs to enquire into the nature or dependance of their government; and it was for them to accommodate their grievances with Spain as they could. That his inſtructions were plain, and founded in juſtice, demanding redreſs for the loſſes his countrymen had ſuſtained, from thoſe, who occaſioned them, who were their ſubjects; and that, if they would not enter into a negotiation for that purpoſe, he ſhould be obliged to put his orders in execution.' Intimidated by theſe threats, they immediately appointed two commiſſaries to treat with him; and it being made out by proof, that five Engliſh merchant-ſhips had been taken by Malteſe ſhips under Spaniſh colours, they ſubmitted to pay the full value of them and their lading, within twelve months after application from the claimants. But thinking themſelves aggrieved by this treaty, and proteſting themſelves to be under a force to ſign any terms, rather than feel the effects of the admiral's diſpleaſure, they reſerved to themſelves a liberty of appealing to the equity of the admiral, and from him to the king, for a mitigation of the ſeverity of the conditions. They diſpatched away, accordingly, the chevalier de la Val to the admiral, who not thinking he had any right to compound for other men's properties, the deputy paſſed on to the Engliſh court at London, to execute his commiſſion. He had likewiſe a private inſtruction, to implore the king's intereſt with the ſeveral princes at the approaching congreſs, that Malta might be freed from its ſubjection to Sicily, and enjoy the rights and privileges of a free and neutral port in time of war, among the chriſtian powers.

to go to Trapani, where the Piedmonteſe had a garriſon. This would be changing the ſcene of the war to great advantage; for, inſtead of being confined and famiſhing in the mountains, they ſhould be able to enlarge themſelves in a plentiful country, and, by acting on equal terms with the enemy, have a reaſonable chance to drive them out of the iſland. But to go thither by land was impracticable; and, as their tranſport-veſſels could not carry above a third part of the army at a time, the diviſon of their troops was hazardous, and might be fatal. For, Trapani being ſituated on an iſthmus, and having no magazines of corn, the marquis de Lede might march, and pen up the firſt detachment within that narrow nec of land, where they would ſtarve for want of proviſions, before the reſt of the army could join them. The only choice remaining was to go to Syracuſa; but that too was impracticable by land, by reaſon of the ſame objections, as are already mentioned; and beſides, there lay in the way ſeveral deep and rapid rivers, where the enemy might defend the paſſages with great advantage. And, though it was not difficult to tranſport the army thither by ſea, yet it was an uncomfortable reflection, that they ſhould be then the whole length of the iſland diſtant from Palermo, and could only propoſe to ſubſiſt themſelves from day to day during the winter, the enemy lying between them and the great Caricatori, or ſubterraneous magazines, where the inhabitants uſually lay up their corn, which were ninety miles diſtant. With theſe diſagreeable proſpects they paſt away ſome days under uncertainty what to do; when, one evening, the generals Mercy and Zumjungen repairing on board the admiral, and renewing the ſubject of their late conferences, they told him, in a very deſponding manner, 'that, having thoroughly weighed the ſituation of their affairs, and finding they could neither ſubſiſt nor undertake any action where they were, they had come to a reſolution to leave a ſtrong garriſon in Meſſina, and tranſport the horſe over by ſea to Calabria, and the foot to Syracuſa, where they might be able to maintain themſelves during the winter, and be ready to make uſe of ſuch advantages as might offer, for acting againſt the enemy in the ſpring; and prayed his aſſiſtance in that ſervice.' The admiral replied, 'that he hoped, their affairs were not ſo deſperate, as they apprehended: that he had been employing his thoughts for their ſervice, and believed he ſhould be able to extricate them out of their preſent circumſtances: that of all the late propoſitions, the tranſporting the army to Trapani pleaſed him beſt, as it would turn the difficulty upon the Spaniſh army, by obliging them to make uneaſy marches, and to keep the field in the winter. That, when the whole army was at Trapani, they ſhould be able to enlarge their quarters; the granaries of corn would fall into their hands, and their neighbourhood to Palermo keep that place in awe, till the ſeaſon ſhould favour their marching towards it, the reduction of which would bring the war to a ſpeedy iſſue. That he had conſidered of the difficulty of ſubſiſting one part of the army at Trapani, till the reſt arrived; and, as England was in peace with the governments of Barbary, he would ſend his ſecretary to Tunis, which was the neareſt African port to Trapani, and employ him, and the Engliſh conſul, to buy up whatever quantity of corn was neceſſary, and tranſport the ſame to Trapani. That he knew very well they had no money, and therefore would employ his own caſh, and credit, to procure this ſupply, depending upon their honour for repayment, and did not doubt to lodge the corn at Trapani, before the firſt detachment of troops arrived there.' Count de Mercy penetrating immediately into the facility, and advantageous conſequences of this ſcheme, roſe up, and, embracing the admiral in a kind of tranſport, acknowledged, 'that he had hit on the only method practicable, not only for the preſervation of the army, but even for puſhing on the war with ſucceſs. That, as it was a proteſtant ſcheme, he ſhould have proteſtant troops, and proteſtant generals to put it in execution.' And accordingly general Zumjungen, with count Seckendorf, the prince of Heſſe, and general Schmettau, embarked the 23d of November, with ſeven thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, and arrived fortunately in three days at Trapani, where finding a plentiful remittance of corn ready arrived from Tunis, they not only poſted themſelves there in ſecurity, but, enlarging their quarters into the country, brought the cities of Marſala and Mazzara to ſubmit to the obedience of the emperor. The tranſports and convoy returning, brought thither more troops. Count de Mercy and the admiral departing with the laſt convoy from Meſſina, on the 19th of January, conſiſting of five thouſand four hundred foot, and eleven hundred horſe, they were overtaken by a violent ſtorm off the iſle of Alicuda, which drove all the tranſports into Melazzo and Meſſina, the admiral, with the general on board his ſhip, getting with difficulty to Trapani, on the 29th, but the whole convoy did not arrive there till the 2d of March, many ſoldiers dying in the paſſage, and amongſt them general Wachdonck, regretted by every body. The whole army, being got together, amounted to fourteen thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, beſides the garriſons left in Meſſina, Melazzo, Syracuſa, and the adjacent parts.

Theſe motions of the imperialiſts made the marquis de Lede quit the poſts of Mola, Taormina, and Catania, and leaving a detachment in his ſtrong camp at Caſtro Giovane, to ſecure the magazines he had erected there, he marched and fixed his camp from Alcamo to Salama, with his head quarters at Caſtel Vetrano, from whence he continually ſent out detachments to deſtroy the country about Marſala and Mazzara, and to carry off all the cattle, grain, and wine, which Zumjungen could not at firſt prevent; but, being ſtrengthened with new ſupplies by ſea, he at laſt obliged their parties to retire, and, on the arrival of count de Mercy, the Spaniſh general was reduced to fortify his camp with ſtrong intrenchments and redoubts, with batteries of cannon.

Count de Mercy making a motion of extending his quarters beyond Mazzara, the marquis de Lede quitted Caſtel Vetrano, and retired with his army to Alcamo, from whence he ſent his mareſchal de camp ſignor d'Aponte, on the 6th of February, 1719-20, N. S. with overtures to count de Mercy and the admiral for evacuating Sicily, on condition of leave to tranſport his army into Spain, and in order thereto deſired a ſuſpenſion of arms. This propoſition contained nothing diſagreeable to the Germans, who would thereby obtain all they wanted, by becoming maſters of the kingdom, without any further trouble; but the admiral proteſting againſt it, and declaring, that not a man of the Spaniſh army ſhould paſs out of that iſland, until a general peace was made, for that it would be to furniſh Spain with a body of their beſt troops to ſtrengthen their army acting againſt France, or elſe they might be employed in diſturbing England, he was diſmiſſed with this counter-propoſition from the count de Mercy, that, if the marquis would ſurrender Palermo, and the ſouth-ſide of the iſland, and retire with his army into the middle of the country towards Caſtro Giovane, or to any other paſs proper for his ſecurity, he would conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms for ſix weeks, till the ſentiments of the ſeveral courts might be known; which being an advantage more than equivalent to the operations of ſix weeks in that early ſeaſon, the admiral conſented thereto, with this reſtriction, that, if the Spaniards attempted to withdraw any of their men in the mean time, the ſuſpenſion ſhould be void, and he would act againſt them with all his force. Count de Mercy diſpatched lieutenant-colonel Bellaire to Vienna, to acquaint that court with theſe overtures, and bring bac their directions; the admiral ſent away thither his eldeſt ſon, mr. Byng, with inſtructions, if the imperial court liſtened to the propoſals of the Spaniſh general, to declare, that his father could never ſuffer any part of the Spaniſh army to depart out of the iſland, till the king of Spain had acceeded to the quadruple alliance, or till he received poſitive inſtructions from England for doing ſo.

The 12th of February, N. S. count de Mercy marched towards Caſtel Vetrano, for the more commodious ſubſiſtance of his cavalry, from whence he detached general Seckendorf, with fifteen hundred men, and ſome cannon, to reduce Sacca, where there was a large caricatore of corn. The town immediately ſurrendered, but the Spaniards, to the number of three hundred, retired into the caſtle.

The marquis de Lede, finding his firſt propoſitions ineffectual, ſent two general officers, the marquis de San Vicenzo and ſignor d'Aponte, to the imperial camp, the 19th of February, N. S. with inſtructions to treat about the ſurrender of Palermo, and a conſiderable part of the adjacent country, in conſideration of a ſuſpenſion of arms for three months. But, whilſt the negotiation was depending, the marquis received an expreſs from Madrid, on the 28th, with advice, that a general peace was made, he ſent immediately to break off the treaty. This ſeemed matter of great ſurprize; but the ſecret reaſon was, that Spain was at that time treating with France to reſtore Fontarabia, St. Sebaſtian, and other places taken in the war, and hoped to get in exchange, for the evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia, the reſtitution of thoſe towns, and of Gibraltar, or, at leaſt, to have one and the other referred to a congreſs. Upon this, count de Mercy gave freſh orders for attacing the caſtle of Sacca, which had been retarded by the great rains. The caſtle being battered with four pieces of cannon, and not very ſtrong, ſurrendered, the 6th of March, the garriſon being

made priſoners of war. The taking of this place gave great relief to the imperial army, who found there twenty thouſand ſolms of wheat.

During theſe tranſactions, a courier diſpatched from Paris by the earl of Stair, the Britiſh ambaſſador there, brought the admiral information, that the marquis de Beretti Landi, the Spaniſh miniſter at the Hague, had ſigned the quadruple alliance the 17th of February, N. S. and he brought likewiſe a packet from that miniſter to the marquis de Lede, and another from the emperor's miniſter to count de Mercy, to acquaint them therewith. A trumpet was ſent with the Spaniſh miniſter's packet to the marquis de Lede, and to know his ſentiments thereupon. He returned anſwer, 'that, his maſter's miniſter having ſigned the quadruple alliance, he looked upon the peace as a thing concluded, and was therefore ready to treat of a ceſſation of hoſtilities by ſea and land, until they ſhould receive farther orders from their reſpective courts.' To this it was replied by the admiral and count de Mercy, 'that, as the evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia was to be performed within two months after the ſaid ſigning, they were ready to conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms, upon his delivering up the city and caſtles of Palermo, at which place tranſports would be beſt provided, and other neceſſary meaſures concerted for the tranſportation of their army into Spain.' The marquis returned anſwer, 'that, as he underſtood, the plenipotentiaries of their maſters at the Hague were in treaty for ſettling the terms of evacuating thoſe iſlands, he did not think himſelf authorized to agree to a ceſſation on any other condition, than that each party ſhould remain on the ground they occupied, and expect further orders from their reſpective principals.'

The diſadvantages ariſing from ſuch an agreement were too obvious to be ſubmitted to; for the men of war and tranſports lay very inconveniently at Trapani, an unſafe road, where they had ſuſtained conſiderable damage, and ſome of the tranſports had been loſt. It was therefore neceſſary to have poſſeſſion of Palermo, as a ſecure retreat for the fleet, and the moſt commodious port for ſhipping off the troops. Beſides, it was a pledge of the ſincerity of the intentions of Spain to evacuate the iſland. In the next place, it put the Germans under a manifeſt inequality, to be confined to the ground they occupied, while the Spaniards were in poſſeſſion of the principal caricatori of corn, and plundered and rifled at pleaſure a country they were ſoon to leave. Nor could they comprehend, how an enemy, who, ſix weeks before, offered to leave the whole iſland, on condition of being ſent bac into Spain, ſhould now ſcruple to ſurrender Palermo; and therefore, as it had the appearance of chicaning, they reſolved to go on with the operations of the war. But, before they proceeded to action, they agreed to ſend a joint letter to the marquis, propoſing an interview between them at the Caſſine de Roſſignola, half way between the two armies, where accordingly they met the 2d of April, N. S. at noon, with an eſcorte of two hundred horſe on each ſide. In the conference the marquis de Lede owned 'that he knew the king his maſter had ſigned the quadruple alliance, and did not doubt of his intention to evacuate Sicily; but declared, he had no orders yet about it: that he expected full powers and inſtructions ſoon, and wiſhed they would, in the mean time, come to a ceſſation of arms.' He was aſked, 'what propoſals he had to make for that purpoſe?' He anſwered, 'none, but that both armies might hold the country, that was in their poſſeſſion, until he received orders to treat about the evacuation.' Count de Mercy thinking it unreaſonable to be tied down to a ſmall tract of the country, where he could not ſubſiſt, aſked him, 'whether, in caſe they ſhould conſent to his keeping poſſeſſion of Palermo, he had power to deliver up Auguſta, and the other poſts they held on that ſide of the iſland, which were now of no uſe to him, but it would be rather a conveniency to him to draw away the garriſons and troops he had in thoſe parts, to join his army, in order to the intended evacuation?' He confeſſed, 'he could not give up, nor quit the poſſeſſion of any part he had of the iſland, until he received further orders from his maſter;' and read part of his inſtructions to them. Count de Mercy, on the other ſide, ſhewed him part of the emperor's orders, which directed him 'to agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms, in order to the evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia, and to concert with the marquis de Lede the neceſſary conditions for facilitating the ſame, and to adjuſt that affair by all reaſonable meaſures: but that, if the marquis de Lede ſhould not own his having orders, or endeavour to evade them, and gain time, by pretending to ſend to Madrid for further inſtructions, and not name a reaſonable time for beginning to embark part of his troops, in that caſe he was to make uſe of his arms to oblige him to execute the treaty, which the Spaniſh miniſter had ſigned at the Hague.' He farther told the marquis, that the 17th of April was underſtood to be the time they ſhould go upon the evacuation; but, if it was not poſſible for him to begin ſo ſoon, he would not differ about a few days, provided they entered now into ſome agreement about the manner of doing it. He offered him the tranſports he had in his ſervice, and aſſured him, that he ſhould be accommodated with proviſions, and every thing he could in reaſon demand. The admiral, on his part, gave him the like aſſurances, and that he ſhould be eſcorted by as many of his maſter's ſhips, as he ſhould deſire. The marquis owned, that all they ſaid was reaſonable; but, complaining of the want of orders, the conference broke off, without coming to any iſſue. At parting, the marquis deſired the admiral to releaſe the biſhop of Mazzara, who was his priſoner, which the admiral readily conſented to.

During theſe debates, one of the Engliſh ſhips, cruiſing off Palermo, took a felucca, ſent by cardinal Aquavia from Rome, with packets of letters from Spain, to the marquis de Lede, which he delivered to the admiral; who, ſeeing the king of Spain's ſeal to the letters, generouſly ſent them unopened to the marquis, and ſet the falucca and crew at liberty.

The conference being broke off, the admiral returned to the the fleet at Trapani, and count de Mercy, reſolving to attac the Spaniards, marched towards Alcamo, where he arrived the 8th of April, N. S. the marquis having retreated the night before with precipitation, leaving ſome ſick men behind, whom he could not carry away. The marquis encamped at Valguernea and Sala di Partenico; but fearing to be followed by the imperialiſts, he retired on to Monreale. The retreat of the Spaniards made count de Mercy reſolve on the ſiege of Palermo: in order to which he ſent colonel baron Neyperg to confer with the admiral about the neceſſary aſſiſtance to be given by the fleet in facilitating the march of the army towards that place, by coaſting along with the proviſions and neceſſaries they ſhould want in their march, as well as in the ſiege, and ſupplying them with cannon and ammunition for that enterprize. The neceſſary diſpoſitions being concerted between the army and fleet, the count decamped from Alcamo the 18th of April, N.S. and followed the marquis de Lede, who retreating towards Monreale, kept poſſeſſion of that and other advantageous poſts, which led into the plains before Palermo, fortifying at the ſame time a ſtrong paſs by the ſea-ſide, called Sferra Cavallo, which was another way between the ſea-ſhore and the mountains into the ſame plan. Count de Mercy being arrived at Sala di Partenico, and not judging it adviſeable to attempt the paſſes, which the enemy poſſeſſed on the road of Monreale, he divided his army into two bodies, ſending general Zumjungen, with all his cavalry (except the Huſſars, and a regiment of dragoons) and ſeven battalions of foot, with the artillery and baggage, to the ſea-ſide, with orders to force the paſs of Sferra Cavallo, and enter that way into the plain of Palermo, whilſt he himſelf with the reſt of the army aſcended the difficult mountains about Carini, in order to get down that way into the ſame plain, judging, that, if the marquis drew his army to defend the paſs of Sferra Cavallo, he ſhould get between him and Palermo, or, at leaſt, have the advantage of falling upon his rear. The count having gained the heights of the mountains, from whence are diſcovered the plain and city of Palermo, perceived the Spaniſh army encamped in the bottom, intending to obſtruct his deſcent, and occupying all the paſſes in the way. Here count de Mercy ſent Zumjungen to rejoin him, which he did by the aſſiſtance of guides, provided by the magiſtrates of Carini, leaving a detachment under the command of colonel baron de Witgenau, to convoy the artillery and baggage by the way of the ſea-ſide, who, arriving at the paſs of Sferra Cavallo, found it abandoned by the Spaniards. On the 21ſt, the Germans began to deſcend from the mountains, and, forcing the ſeveral paſſes with leſs oppoſition than was expected, were almoſt all got down before night to the bottom. The whole was a moſt difficulty and fatiguing march, through ways, that that the inhabitants themſelves had really practiſed, but which the count ſurmounted with great expedition and military judgment.

The admiral coaſting along, in conformity to the motions of the army, came to an anchor with the fleet the 20th, in Mondello-bay, and ſent ſome of his ſoldiers to take poſſeſſion of a tower on the point, and another at the landing-place, as alſo three caſſines, that ſtood between, in order to preſerve their communication. On the 22d, the marquis de Lede ſent colonel Lacy, his aid de camp, with a

letter to the admiral, incloſing a Spaniſh gazette, wherein was publiſhed the treaty of ſuſpenſion of arms at ſea, concluded at the Hague between the miniſters of Great-Britain, France, and Spain, which was to take place on the 10th inſtant; and therefore he propoſed to the admiral, 'to come to an agreement with him, for a ſeparate ceſſation of hoſtilities, as they had both full powers for that purpoſe; and proteſted againſt any violences he ſhould commit, contrary to the plain inſtructions of their ſovereigns.' This ſnare, laid to ſeparate the admiral from the German army, had no effect, the admiral returning anſwer, 'that he could give no regard or credit to a pretended convention, publiſhed in a foreign newſpaper, and even in which there was a clauſe, that nothing in it ſhould derogate from what ſhould be agreed between him and the marquis, for what concerns the Mediterranean ſea. That, as the Spaniſh miniſter had ſigned the quadruple alliance ever ſince the 17th of February laſt, it was ſurpriſing, that in all this time the marquis had received no orders for treating about the evacuation of the iſland, which was the neceſſary conſequence of it that he ſtill maintained every point and poſt with the ſame zeal and ardour, as before his maſter's acceſſion to the alliance. That the time for beginning the evacuation was elapſed; and therefore, without ſome reaſonable ſecurity, that he really intended it, he could come into no agreement for ſuſpenſion of arms; but whenever he ſhould be impowered to treat for both, he would moſt gladly go more than half-way to meet him, and not only agree on ſuch meaſures, as might put an end to the preſent differences, but which might reſtore and cultivate a good underſtanding, which no body more ardently wiſhed for, than he did. This was an adventurous proceeding in the admiral; for his inſtructions from England directed him to come to a ſuſpenſion of arms with Spain, without ſtaying for ſettling the terms of evacuation, which might take up time. But his penetration ſhewed him, that if a ſuſpenſion took place at ſea, the Spaniards might introduce what ſuccours and troops they pleaſed into the iſland, which would unravel all they had been doing; and if any inrerruption happened in the negotiations on foot, put the Spaniards in a better ſtate of proſecuting the war, and perhaps protract it another year. Their late conduct had made him jealous of their artifices, ſeeing them to lay hold of every advantage to evade the evacuation of the iſland, which the ſeparation would encourage and render the way to peace more diſtant and difficult. He determined therefore, as the convention for a ceſſation of arms at ſea, ſigned at the Hague the 29th of February, N.S. left him at liberty of treating as he thought proper, to remain united to the Germans, which he prudently ſaw, was the quickeſt way to bring the Spaniards to a compliance, and to come into real meaſures for the evacuation of the iſland. The event juſtified his precaution, and his conduct received at home the approbation it deſerved.

The march of the imperialiſts had made the Spaniards change the ſituation of their camp, which they pitched acroſs the plain before Palermo, extending their left to Monte Caputo, and their right to the ſea near the mole of Palermo, the whole army being under the cannon of that city, and having ſtrong entrenchments before them, lined with forty pieces of cannon. They were provided with plenty of all things, and ſeemed determined to ſtand the fate of a battle. The Germans encamped on the ſame plain, in the front of the enemy, and within a mile and a half diſtance, with their right at the foot of the mountains, from whence they had deſcended, and their left reaching to Monte Pelegrino, near the ſea-ſide, the artillery and baggage being arrived in their camp by the way of Sferra Cavallo. Count de Mercy ſeeing himſelf ſtraitened in room, and under difficulty of ſubſiſting, whilſt the enemy plundered and enric'ed themſelves with the ſpoils of a country they were quicly to abandon, he determined to bring matters to an engagement as ſoon as poſſible. In order to it, his ſcheme was to endeavour to get poſſeſſion of the mole, by which means he ſhould flank the enemy, and oblige them either to come to a battle with diſadvantage; or elſe to retire to Termini. For this purpoſe he detached baron Neyperg on the 26th, with ſix companies of grenadiers, to diſlodge the enemy from ſome poſts, which they had fortified on the ſea-ſide; and to facilitate the ſame, ſent baron de Witgenau, with ſix other companies of grenadiers, to ſeize on Monte Pelegrino. At the ſame time the admiral detached three ſhips, to cannonade the poſts on the ſea-ſide, their fire made the Spaniards abandon them, and the imperialiſts took poſſeſſion of them without any loſs. Theſe advantages confirmed count de Mercy in his reſolution to puſh his point that way; and having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions, the next day he cauſed to be attaced a caſſine, that ſtood a little diſtance from the enemy's trenches, but ſtrongly fortified with lines and ſome cannon, drawing out his whole army at the ſame time in order of battle, in caſe the enemy ſhould come out of their camp to ſupport it. The lines were ſoon taken, but the caſſine was not carried till after a very vigorous defence of above an hour, wherein the Germans had about one hundred and forty men killed or wounded; among the former a prince of Anhalt, and lieutenant-general Seckendorf wounded in the ſhoulders. On the 2d of May, about two in the afternoon, the weather being very hot, and the Spaniſh guard taking a Sieſto, according to the cuſtom of that nation, the Germans ſurprized a redoubt near the enemy's lines, entering the ſame without firing a ſhot, and puſhing the Spaniards out with their bayonets in their pieces. The Marquis de Lede, being informed of it, roſe from table, and ordered the army to be immediately drawn out, in order to retake that fortification, which commanded the whole line of the camp. On the other hand, count de Mercy being determined to maintain his hold, both armies were in motion, and juſt on the point of engaging, when fortunately a courier arriving in the very inſtant from Spain, in a falucca, delivered to the marquis a packet, containing full powers from the king of Spain to treat and agree about the evacuation of the iſlands of Sicily and Sardinia, and the tranſportation of the army into Spain. The marquis upon this drew off his army, and ſent letters by a trumpet to the general and admiral, to inform them of his orders. The next morning early, the admiral repairing to the German camp, officers were appointed on each ſide to treat of the ſuſpenſion of arms, and to regulate the manner of evacuating both iſlands; and conventions were drawn up for that purpoſe, and ſigned; that for Sicily on the 6th of May, and that for Sardinia two days after.

In purſuance of theſe conventions, the Germans were put in poſſeſſion of Palermo and the citadel of Caſtelamare the 10th, and the Spaniſh army marched to Termini, a ſea-port about twenty-five miles diſtant, from whence the firſt embarkation, conſiſting of about twelve thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe, ſailed the 20th of June, for Barcelona, and the remainder arrived at the ſame place the 25th of Auguſt following.

Nothing now remained to be done, but to put the duke of Savoy in poſſeſſion of the iſland of Sardinia: in order to which four battalions of Piedmonteſe troops embarked at Palermo, under the command of baron St. Remi, and ſailed under the convoy of ſome Engliſh men of war to Cagliari, where the admiral arriving as ſoon as he had ſettled all affairs in Sicily, he aſſiſted at the conferences with the miniſters and generals of the ſeveral powers concerned, wherein was regulated the manner of ſurrendering the iſland by the Spaniſh viceroy to the emperor, and the ceſſion of the ſame from the emperor to the duke of Savoy; and, at the inſtance of this prince, the admiral did not depart, till he had ſeen the whole fully executed, the Spaniſh troops returned into Spain, and the duke of Savoy put into quiet poſſeſſion of his new kingdom.

Thus ended the war of Sicily, wherein the fleet of Great-Britain bore ſo illuſtrious a part, that the fate of the iſland was wholly governed by its operations, both competitors agreeing that the one could not have conquered, nor the other have been ſubdued, without it. Never was any ſervice conducted in all its parts with greater zeal, activity, and judgment; nor was ever the Britiſh flag in ſo high reputation and reſpect in thoſe diſtant parts of Europe.[g]

During theſe tranſactions in the Mediterranean, the

[g] As this hiſtory will not go down ſo low as the admiral's death, it may not be improper to inſert here what mr. Corbett ſays of him: king George, who had named him for the expedition to Sicily, and knew his abilities, uſed to ſay to his miniſters, when they applied for inſtructions to be ſent to him for his guidance, on certain important occaſions, that he would ſend him none, for he knew how to act without any; and indeed all the meaſures he took abroad were ſo exact and juſt, as to ſquare with the councils and plan of policy at home. The cauſe of the emperor being become the cauſe of his maſter, he ſerved the intereſts of that prince with a zeal and fidelity, that ſtood a pattern to his own ſubjects. He lived in ſuch harmony with the imperial viceroys and generals, as has been ſeldom ſeen among fellow-ſubjects united in command, the want of which has proved the ruin of many important expeditions. He was incapable of performing his duty in a cold or negligent manner; and, when any ſervice was committed to his management, he devoted his whole time and application to it; nor could any fatigue or indiſpoſition of body ever divert or interrupt his attention from any point that required preſent diſpatch. To this it might be in great meaſure owing, that he was never unfortunate in any undertaking, nor miſcarried in any ſervice that was entruſted to his direction. For whoever will trace upwards, to the ſprings and cauſes of public or private events, ſhall find (except where the immediate finger of providence is viſible) that what is uſually called ill-luc, is generally the effect of negligence, or imprudence. He always

French army, under the command of the duke of Berwick, advancing to the frontiers of Spain, took Fort-Paſſage, where they deſtroyed ſix men of war on the ſtocs. Then the duke formed the ſiege of Fonterabia, which was taken the 5th of June. The king of Spain made an unſucceſsful attempt to relieve the place, and approached with an army of nine thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe: but it was in the hands of the French before he could draw near enough to it; ſo he marched bac to Pampeluna, doubly diſappointed, both of raiſing the ſiege, and of the French forces deſertion: for he depended as much on the inſurrection in France, as on a rebellion in England; upon both which cardinal Alberoni's projects were founded. The cardinal ſtill refuſing to accede to the quadruple alliance, the duke of Berwick took St. Sebaſtian; and a party of French, joined by two hundred Engliſh ſeamen, made themſelves maſters of Port Antonio, in the bottom of the bay of Biſcay, where two ſixty-gun ſhips were deſtroyed on the ſtocs, and all the naval ſtores were burnt by the Engliſh.

About this time the cardinal received the news of the action at Franca Villa, in a letter from the marquis de Lede, who aſſumed to himſelf the victory. The cardinal choſe that occaſion to yield to the preſſing inſtances of the Dutch ambaſſador to conſent to a peace: he declared to him, that his catholic majeſty's intention was, that the ſtates-general ſhould be mediators.

A few days after, he ſent the marquis de Scotti to Paris, from whence he was to paſs into Holland, to carry inſtructions to the marquis de Beretti Landi, how to proceed with the States. The duke of Orleans, to whom he had orders to declare his intentions, refuſed him a paſſport, ſaying, he could not do it without the knowledge of the emperor and king George, who were ſtill more concerned than himſelf in this affair, and that the paſſport would be a tacit approbation of the conduct of the ſtates-general, and a ſort of acceptance of their mediations; deciſions, ſaid the regent, that become me not to make. And indeed, the emperor and king George, being conſulted on that head, abſolutely rejected it.

Beſides that, they were unwilling the States (with whom they were diſpleaſed for their ſlowneſs in acceding to the quadruple alliance) ſhould have the honour of this mediation, and reap, as it were, the fruit of their conduct, they had each their particular hopes and views, which a ſudden peace would have diſappointed. The emperor wanted to repair the glory of his arms by the conqueſt of Sicily; and king George had a mind to be revenged for the uneaſineſs given him, on account of the intended invaſion of Scotland. He was reſolved to make ſome conqueſt, that ſhould indemnify his ſubjects for the charge they had been at. He formed two projects, to take the Corunna, the beſt port of Biſcay, and to make himſelf maſter of Peru in America. Great preparations were made, fifty tranſports were provided, with three bomb-veſſels, and four thouſand men were ordered to be in readineſs to embark in the iſle of Wight.[h] The lord Cobham was appointed to command in chief, with the title of captain-general.[i] Theſe forces being embarked ſailed from St. Helens the 21ſt of September, under the convoy of five or ſix men of war, commanded by admiral Mighels, who was to be joined by captain Johnſon, then cruiſing off Fonterabia. But this junction was never made, and the important and ſecret (as it was called) expedition upon the Corunna ended only in the taking of Vigo, which ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons; the citadel made ſome reſiſtance, but ſurrendered likewiſe in a few days. On the 10th of October, the garriſon marched out, conſiſting of about three hundred men, beſides one hundred and fifty peaſants, there having been above three hundred killed or wounded by the bombs. The Engliſh loſt but two officers, and three or four men. There were in the town about ſixty pieces of large cannon, which, when the enemy abandoned, they nailed and damaged them, as much as the time would give them leave. In the citadel were forty-three pieces, of which fifteen were braſs guns, and two large mortars; beſides above two thouſand barrels of powder, and ſeveral cheſt of arms, amounting to about eight thouſand muſkes. All theſe ſtores and the braſs ordinance had been lodged there from on board the ſhips, which were to have viſited Great-Britain, and the very troops, which gave up Vigo, were likewiſe of that expedition. The lord Cobham had ſummoned the adjacent country to furniſh proviſions, and pay contribution, on pain of military execution; and had ſent a party to Redondella, where they found the old fort abandoned, and run to ruin, and the inhabitants fled. That part of the province was under ſuch conſternation, that it was thought half the people had run away into Portugal. There were but few regular troops in the province; but the marquis de Riſburg had drawn together as many as he could get near Tuy, which is within three or four leagues of Vigo.

Two days after the ſurrender of the citadel of Vigo, one thouſand men were ordered on board four tranſports under the command of major-general Wade, to ſail to the upper end of the bay of Vigo, and to march from thence to Pont a Vedra, ten leagues off. The magiſtrates of the town met them with the keys; and there were found in the place two forty-eight pounders, four twenty-four pounders, ſix eight pounders, and four mortars, all braſs; beſides ſeventy pieces of iron cannon, two thouſand ſmall arms, and ſome bombs. The Biddeford man of war, and two tranſports, were ſent thither, to bring away the braſs cannon, arms, and ſtores; after which the detachment under major-general Wade was ordered on board their ſhips, and the major-general returned to Vigo the 23d of October. Four days after, the troops being embarked, the fleet ſailed for England.[k]

Vice-admiral Hoſier was to ſail to the Weſt-Indies with a ſquadron of men of war, where he was to be joined by all that were in thoſe parts; but this expedition was fruſtrated by the winds, and Peru was not ſo much as attaced.

Spain, oppreſſed on all ſides, and drained by the great efforts ſhe had made, began to think ſeriouſly of peace. A plan was ſent to the marquis de Beretti Landi, which he delivered to the States the 22d of December. By this plan, England was to reſtore Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, and France all the conqueſts ſhe had lately made: the ſucceſſi-

proceeded upon ſolid principles, and left nothing to fortune, that could be accompliſhed by foreſight and application. His firmneſs and plain dealing were ſo apparent to the foreigners, who treated with him upon buſineſs, that it contributed much to the diſpatch and ſucceſs of his tranſactions with them; for they could depend upon what he ſaid, and as they ſaw he uſed no arts or chicanes himſelf, and had too diſcerning a ſpirit to ſuffer them to paſs unobſerved in others, they often found it their beſt policy to leave their intereſts in his hands and management, being very ſure of a moſt impartial and punctual performance of whatever he engaged in. His reputation was ſo thoroughly eſtabliſhed in this particular, that in the frequent diſputes and altercations which aroſe between the Savoyards and Germans in the courſe of the wars, and between the latter and the Spaniards at the concluſion of it, wherein little faith or confidence was given to the promiſes or aſſeverations of each other, he was the common umpire between them, always ſtemming and oppoſing any extravagant or unjuſt demands (which the over-bearing temper of the German general was very apt to ſuggeſt, where he had the ſuperior hand) and reconciling, as much as poſſible, the violences of war, with the rules of honour and juſtice. When he departed from Italy to attend his late majeſty at Hanover, the king, among many gracious expreſſions, told him, that he had found out the ſecret of obliging his enemies as well as friends, and that the court of Spain had mentioned, with great acknowledgment, his fair and friendly behaviour in the proviſion of tranſports and other neceſſaries for the embarkation of their troops, and in protecting them from many vexations and oppreſſions that had been attempted. No wonder, that a man, endowed with ſuch talents and ſuch a diſpoſition, left behind him in Italy and other foreign parts, the character of a great ſoldier, an able ſtateſman, and an honeſt man.

To give ſome deſcription of his perſon, he was of a ſlender conſtitution, but well ſupplied with ſpirits, which did not diſplay themſelves ſo much in gaiety of converſation (for he was modeſt in his nature) as in activity in all the duties and functions of life or buſineſs in which he was indefatigable, and, by a continued habit of induſtry, had hardened and inured a body, not naturally ſtrong, to patience of any fatigue. He had made no great proficiency in ſchool-learning (which the early age of going to ſea ſeldom admits of) but his great diligence, joined with excellent natural parts, and a juſt ſenſe of honour, made him capable of conducting difficult negotiations and commiſſions with proper dignity and addreſs. In his younger days he was both in the ſea and land-ſervice, being an officer of foot in the garriſon of Tangier, but preferring the ſea, he was ſoon diſtinguiſhed and favoured by that great ſeaman admiral Ruſſel (afterwards earl of Orford) who made him his firſt captain at the age of twenty-nine, a poſt equal in rank to a rear-admiral, and, by degrees, he arrived to be a commiſſioner of the admiralty, and firſt admiral of the fleet, in which quality he commanded in the war of Sicily. On his repairing to Hanover, his late majeſty was pleaſed to expreſs his regard to his eminent ſervices, by making him treaſurer of the navy, and rear-admiral of Great-Britain, and ſoon after a privy-counſellor, and peer of Great-Britain, with the title of viſcount Torrington; and afterwards knight of the Bath, upon the revival of that order. When his preſent majeſty came to the crown, he was pleaſed to place him at the head of his naval affairs, as firſt lord-commiſſioner of the admiralty, in which high ſtation he died, in the year 1733, in the 70th year of his age.

[h] Seven companies out of each of the three regiments of guards; colonel Chudleigh's regiment, lieutenant-general Wells's regiment, lord Hichinbrook's regiment; and the regiments of Howard, Grove, Hurley, and Barrel, and fifty dragoons.

[i] He had under him major-general Wade, the lords Mark Ker and Dunmore, colonel Honeywood, brigadier-general; colonel Armſtrong, quarter-maſter general; and colonel Leigonier, adjutant-general.

[k] While the Engliſh were at Vigo, captain Johnſon, commander of the Weymouth, the Wincheſter, and another Engliſh man of war, came up with a Portugueze carval from Ribadeo, and being informed that there were two Spaniſh men of war in that port, about ſixteen leagues to the eaſt of cape Ortegas, he made thither; ſent the boats in a-head to ſound, and followed with the ſhips. He anchored within muſket-ſhot of the enemy's ſhips, and a battery of eight guns fired on both, and ſoon beat the Spaniards out of the battery, which he took poſſeſſion of, and entirely demoliſhed. In the interim, the two Spaniſh men of war blew up; and after ſome ſmall firing on the town, he ſailed out of the harbour, taking with him a Spaniſh merchant-ſhip, which he found there.

ons of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia were to be ſettled on the queen of Spain's ſon, without being held either of the emperor or empire: all the ſhips taken this war were to be reſtored to Spain; Sicily, in the hands of the emperor, was to be ſubject to the ſame right of reverſion, as when granted to the duke of Savoy: the pope was to be obliged to reſtore to the duke of Parma the duchy of Caſtro, and the country of Roneiglione, uſurped by Innocent X. from the houſe of Farneſe: laſtly, the dominion and commerce of the Weſt-Indies ſhould be regulated, according to the treaty of Utrecht.

Theſe propoſals had been preceded by a ſtep very grateful to the allies. The ambition of cadinal Alberoni had rendered him perſonally odious to the emperor, to king George, and to the duke of Orleans. All three had declared, at leaſt intimated, that they would hearken to no peace as long as he was in place: the king of Spain thought it proper to make him a ſacrifice, and purchaſe the tranquility of his people, at the expence of a miniſter ever unfortunate. The king writ to him with his own hand, forbidding him to meddle with the affairs of ſtate, to appear any where in his preſence, to remain in Madrid above eight days, and in Spain above three weeks.

The plan of the court of Madrid was rejected as ſubverſive of the treaty of London, and nothing leſs would be accepted, but a full acceſſion to the quadruple alliance; which, after immenſe charges, and many mortifications, was ſubmitted to by the king of Spain. The war with Spain has been thus related, without regard to the order of time, that an idea of the whole might be formed, without having recourſe to different parts of the hiſtory.

Whilſt the king was at Hanover, memorials full of grievances were preſented to him by the proteſtants from Hungary, Poland, Spire, Mentz, and particularly from the Palatinate. In Poland, contrary to the fundamental conſtitutions of the kingdom, and the expreſs tenor of the treaties, the popiſh clergy had engaged the diet of Grodno to make ſome of the reformed towns their right of ſuffrage. In Hungary, by the credit and practices of the jeſuits, many books of divinity, brought from England and Holland, were confiſcated. At Spire and Mentz, ſeveral churches were taken from them, and given to the catholics.

The greateſt complaints came from the Palatinate. The catechiſm of Heidelberg was ſuppreſſed, after having been received above a hundred and ſixty years as a formula of union among the reformed. The church of the Holy Ghoſt at Meidelberg was alſo taken from the proteſtants, on pretence of its belonging to the court, and likewiſe the church of Creutzpach, with the revenues of ſeveral others; and, what ſeemed ſtill more intolerable, the diſpoſal of the alms of the reformed were given to the catholics, who forced them moreover, to contribute to the popiſh ceremonies, and forbid them to open their ſhops, or to work on the holidays.

Almoſt all the proteſtant ſtates and princes interpoſed in behalf of the oppreſſed. King George diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal on this occaſion, and writ very preſſing letters, which were ſupported by memorials from his miniſters. But this affair ſucceeded not to his wiſh; his repreſentations were well received, as they could not fail to be, conſidering his great weight; the elector of Palatine gave favourable anſwers, and made fair promiſes; but the grievances were not redreſſed.[l]

During the king's abſence all was quiet at home, and the regency had little to do. There was, however, a kind of diſpute with the czar's miniſter about his ſecretary, who had been committed to priſon by a juſtice of peace. But, upon the firſt complaint of his maſter, the ſecretary was releaſed, and the juſtice put out of his office, and obliged to beg pardon for his imprudence. There was alſo a great riot in June, raiſed by the journeymen weavers about Biſhopſgate and Aldgate. They inſulted the women for wearing calicoes, and tore their gowns off their backs. The militia was ordered out to ſuppreſs the rioters, of whom ſome of the ringleaders were taken and condemned to ſtand in the pillory.[m]

The parliament of Ireland met the 1ſt of July. The duke of Bolton, lord-lieutenant, pointed out in his ſpeech the ſubjects of their deliberation. He ſaid, they were called together to conſult of proper meaſures, and make neceſſary proviſions to repeal or ſuppreſs any attempt to involve the kingdom in the calamities of a rebellion, or a foreign invaſion. He repreſented it as a deluſion to imagine, that the deſigns of their enemies did not extend to Ireland, as well as to England and Scotland: and though theſe deſigns had been hitherto prevented by the king's counſels and indefatigable endeavours, yet it would be prudent to provide ſuch effectual remedies as might render it impracticable to proceed further with any proſpect of ſucceſs.

'It is obvious and viſible to every conſidering man, that a good agreement and union among all proteſtants will greatly contribute to this end: and the numbers, as well as ſtrict union, of the papiſts, among themſelves, together with their apparent inclinations and attachment to the intereſt of the pretender, ſeem to make it more immediately neceſſary at this time. In what manner a thing ſo deſirable may be obtained, his majeſty leaves to your conſideration, and has commanded me to acquaint you, that as he has the welfare of the church, by law eſtabliſhed, under his peculiar care, and reſolves always to ſupport and maintain

[l] The king, in his letter to the king of Poland, in behalf of the proteſtants, expreſſed himſelf thus: 'that they may enjoy, for the future, their former liberty of conſcience, which cannot be forced by any human power, and over which God had reſerved to himſelf the ſole command.'

At his return to England, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, accompanied with ten other biſhops, in a congratulatory ſpeech ſaid, among other things, 'I am alſo directed by my lords the biſhops, to return our moſt humble acknowledgement to your majeſty, for the protection your majeſty hath been pleaſed to give to our brethren, the proteſtants of the Palatinate, and of Poland, and Lithuania, perſecuted for the faith of Chriſt. We are perſuaded, that his royal charity will draw down innumerable bleſſings from heaven, upon the perſon of your ſacred majeſty, and your affairs.'

In the addreſs from the univerſity of Cambridge, preſented by dr. Gooch, the vice-chancellor, were the following words: 'it is with particular pleaſure we behold your majeſty, in conjunction with other powers, aſſerting the cauſe of liberty, and ſupporting the intereſt of our proteſtant brethren abroad, whoſe deplorable condition every day convinces us, that the proteſtant profeſſions muſt ſtand or fall with the proteſtant ſucceſſion.

[m] During the king's abſence died mr. Joſeph Addiſon, June 17. He was ſon of dr. Lancelot Addiſon, dean of Litchfield; and being educated at the Charter-houſe ſchool, was ſent from thence to the univerſity of Oxford, where he finiſhed his ſtudies in Magdalen college: he became firſt known to the world by the excellency of his Latin poems, which he publiſhed in the Muſæ Anglicanæ, and dedicated to Charles Montague, earl of Halifax, who, together with the lord Sommers, then lord-keeper (to whom he inſcribed the firſt piece he publiſhed in Engliſh, viz. A poem to his majeſty king William III. on the taking of Namure, in the year 1695) recommended him to that prince, who gave him a penſion of 300l. per ann. and ſent him to travel. At his return from his travels, he was made commiſſioner of appeals in the exciſe; afterwards he was under ſecretary to two ſecretaries of ſtate, and ſecretary of ſtate himſelf in Ireland, under two lord-lieutenants. Upon the death of queen Anne, he was made ſecretary to the regency, after that one of the lords-commiſſioners for trade and plantations, and then advanced to be one of the principal Secretaries of ſtate to king George; which office by reaſon of his ill ſtate of health, he was obliged to reſign ſome time before his death. He married Charlotte, daughter of ſir Thomas Middleton, of Chirk-caſtle, in the county of Denby, bart. and relict of Edward Rich, earl of Warwick, by whom he left iſſue only one daughter.

July 6, died Meinhardt Schomberg, duke of Schomberg and Leinſter, marquis of Harwich, &c. knight companion of the moſt noble order of the garter, and count of the ſacred roman empire: he married Charlotte, eldeſt daughter of Charles Lewis, elector-palatine, by whom he left iſſue only two daughters; Frederica, married to Robert d'Arcy, earl of Holderneſs (the preſent counteſs Fitzwalter) and Mary, married to count Dagenfeldt of the empire.

July 24, died Heneage Finch, earl of Aylesford, ſecond ſon of Daniel Finch, earl of Nottingham. He was ſucceeded by his ſon of the ſame name.

While the king was abroad, a great diſpute and difference aroſe between the diſſenting miniſters in London, about ſubſcribing and non-ſubſcribing articles of advice for the conduct of their congregations.

The diſſenters at ſeveral places, but more eſpecially at Exeter, being jealous that their miniſters were not as orthodox as themſelves, in the article of the trinity, had demanded of them a confeſſion of faith; and upon advice of the differences between their paſtors and them, on this occaſion, the diſſenting miniſters, in and about London, held a Synod, to conſult of articles of advice for peace. They met at Salters-hall. The main debate was inſerting in the advice the firſt article of the church of England, and the anſwer to the fifth and ſixth queſtions in the aſſembly's catechiſm. But upon the queſtion it was carried by a majority of fifty-ſeven againſt fifty-three, 'that no human compoſitions or interpretations of the doctrine of the trinity ſhould be made a part of theſe articles of advice,' which they were met to draw up. How far the heats carried them on both ſides, may be ſeen by what happened at the diviſion. One of thoſe, who were againſt human compoſitions, ſaying, as he went out, 'you that are againſt perſecution come up ſtairs:' and another, who was for them, 'you that are for the doctrine of the trinity ſtay below.'

The ſubſcribers withdrew from the aſſembly, notwithſtanding the queſtion had been carried againſt them, and ſet their names to a paper containing the firſt article, and the two anſwers before-mentioned.

At the ſame time the non-ſubſcribers made the following declaration:

'We freely declare that we utterly diſown the Arian doctrines, and ſincerely believe the doctrine of the trinity, and the proper divinity of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which we apprehend to be clearly revealed in the holy ſcriptures; but are far from condemning any who appear to be with us in the main, though they chuſe not to declare themſelves in other than ſcripture terms, or not in ours.'

Which they farther explain thus:

'The human words, trinity and proper divinity, in this declaration of our faith, are uſed only to notify the things we ſpeak of; and we do not preſume in way of teſt to go into any particular explanations of thoſe things either in our own, or other men's words: but for that we refer to the holy ſcriptures, whence it may appear, that we take the ſcripture account of thoſe things, to be the beſt and fitteſt we can uſe on ſuch occaſions.'

Whilſt theſe matters were tranſacting at London, three congregations at Exeter proceeded to the actual excluſion of their paſtors, mr. Pierce, mr. Withers, and mr. Hallet, for refuſing to ſubſcribe certain articles of faith, which had been prepared for them.

It is not unlikely, ſays a certain author, (old Mixon) that a leading man or two among the ſubſcribers had private encouragement from a great prelate to proceed as they did.

it; ſo it would be very pleaſing to him, if any method could be found (not inconſiſtent with the ſecurity of it) to render the proteſtant diſſenters more uſeful and capable of ſerving his majeſty, and ſupporting the proteſtant intereſt, than they now are; they having, upon all occaſions, given ſufficient proofs of their being well affected to his majeſty's perſon and government, and to the ſucceſſion of the crown in his royal houſe: and this I am ordered to lay before you as a thing greatly importing his majeſty's ſervice and your own ſecurity.'

The method here mentioned was already found. The act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion in England was an ample direction to proceed by. Both houſes aſſured, that they thought it their duty and intereſt to promote a good underſtanding and union among all proteſtants, to enable them to withſtand the deſigns of ſuch numerous and malicious enemies, and therefore they would readily enter into the conſideration of ſuch methods, as might render the proteſtant diſſenters more eaſy and capable of ſupporting the proteſtant intereſt. Accordingly, an act paſſed for that purpoſe, under the title of, 'a bill for exempting the proteſtant diſſenters of the kingdom of Ireland from certain penalties, to which they are now ſubject.'

The parliament made other uſeful regulations, for preventing the marriage of infants againſt the will of the parents or guardians; for encouraging the cultivation of lands; for preventing tumults and ſeditious aſſemblies; for ſuppreſſing tories, robbers, and rapparees; and for the better maintenance of ſchools and teaching the Engliſh tongue throughout the kingdom.

In Scotland there appeared no remains of rebellion. The cheifs being retired, the Highlanders ſurrendered their arms, and the regency ſeemed to fear no diſturbance from that quarter, nor had they any orders to give. However, the evil was not quite cured, of which were ſeen now and then ſome ſtrange proofs. At Edindurgh alone, five miniſters, cited before the magiſtrates, refuſed to acknowledge king George, and their churches were forced to be ſhut up.

After ſix months abſence, the king returned to London, the 14th of November, more reſpected than ever, on account of the great things he had done for the welfare and intreſt of his dominions. He was received with demonſtrations of the livelieſt joy, and thoſe who were not forward to ſhew it were puniſhed by the populace, and the windows broke that were not illuminated. Whilſt in Germany, he had ſent orders for the meeting of the parliament on the 23d of November, and for the members to be all there, by reaſon of the importance of the affairs he had to communicate to them.

On that day the ſeſſion was opened with the following ſpeech, read by the chancellor to both houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'The ſatisfaction, with which I always met you, is very much increaſed at this time, when it has pleaſed Almighty God ſo to ſtrengthen the arms of Great-Britain and our confederates, and ſo to proſper our ſeveral negotiations, that, by his bleſſing on our endeavours, we may promiſe ourſelves to reap very ſoon the fruits of our ſucceſſes. I am perſuaded, it will be accounted by all my good ſubjects a ſufficient reward for ſome extraordinary expence, that all Europe, as well as theſe kingdoms, is upon the point of being delivered from the calamities of war, by the influence of Britiſh arms and counſels. One proteſtant kingdom (Sweden) has already been relieved by our ſeaſonable interpoſition; and ſuch a foundation is laid, by our late treaties, for an union amongſt other great proteſtant powers, as will very much tend to the ſecurity of our holy religion.

I believe you cannot but be ſurprized at the continuance of the war, where our enemies have nothing to hope, and ſo much to fear. It is indeed difficult to frame any judgment of thoſe councils, which have broke out of late in ſo many raſh and ill-concerted meaſures. If they depend upon our diviſions at home, I doubt not but, in a very ſhort time, their hopes, founded upon this expectation, will prove as vain and ill-grounded, as any of their former projects.

In congratulating with you on this happy poſture of affairs I muſt tell you, that, as I have been very juſt and faithful to my engagements, ſo I have met ſuch frank and powerful returns of aſſiſtance from my allies, as will, I doubt not, eſtabliſh a laſting friendſhip among us.

Gentlemen of the houſe of Commons,

You will ſee, by the accounts I have ordered to be delivered to you, how moderate a uſe I have made of the power intruſted with me, to augment my forces by ſea and land. I depend upon the eminent duty and affection you have always ſhewn to my perſon and government, that you will be vigorous in diſpatching the neceſſary ſupplies for the year; to which purpoſe I have ordered the eſtimates to be laid before you. And, at the ſame time, I muſt deſire you to turn your thoughts to all proper means for leſſening the debts of the nation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You all muſt be ſenſible of the many undeſerved and unnatural troubles I have met with, during the courſe of my reign. Our diviſions at home have been magnified abroad; and, by inſpiring into ſome foreign powers a falſe opinion of our force, have encouraged them to treat us in a manner, which the crown of Great-Britain ſhall never endure while I wear it. The trouble and expence, which this has brought upon us, have been the moſt loudly complained of by thoſe, who were the occaſion of them. But with your aſſiſtance I have hitherto got through all theſe difficulties, and, by the continuance of your help, I hope very ſoon to overcome them, ſince the hand of God hath ſo viſibly been with us in all our undertakings.

If the neceſſities of my government have ſometimes engaged your duty and affection to truſt me with powers, of which you have always, with good reaſon, been jealous, the whole world muſt acknowledge they have been ſo uſed, as to juſtify the confidence you have repoſed in me. And, as I can truly affirm, that no prince was ever more zealous to increaſe his own authority, than I am to perpetuate the liberty of my people, I hope you will think of all proper methods to eſtabliſh and tranſmit to your poſterity, the freedom of our happy conſtitution, and particularly to ſecure that part, which is moſt liable to abuſe. I value myſelf upon being the firſt, who hath given you an opportunity of doing it; and I muſt recommend it to you, to compleat thoſe meaſures, which remained imperfect the laſt ſeſſion.

So far as human prudence can foretel, the unanimity of this ſeſſion of parliament muſt eſtabliſh, with the peace of all Europe, the glory and trade of theſe kingdoms on a laſting foundation. I think every man may ſee the end of our labours. All I have to aſk of you is, that you would agree to be a great and flouriſhing people, ſince it is the only means by which I deſire to become a happy king.'

The addreſſes were agreeable to the ſpeech, the king was thanked and congratulated for the great ſucceſs of his meaſures to eſtabliſh the peace of Europe. 'It is with the utmoſt pleaſure and ſatisfaction (ſay the lords) that we ſee the preſent happy union between your majeſty and the other great proteſtant powers, which does ſo viſibly tend to the ſecurity of our holy religion; and we deſire to expreſs the deep ſenſe which we have of your majeſty's ſeaſonable interpoſition for the poor perſecuted proteſtants abroad; and we humble beſeech your majeſty, that you would be pleaſed to continue your powerful protection and offices in favour of them.' They concluded with ſaying, 'we promiſe ourſelves, that the whole world will ſoon be convinced with how little foundation the enemies of your majeſty and your kingdoms have flattered themſelves to reap any benefit from our inteſtine diviſions.

We ſhould be wanting in our duty to your majeſty and our country, if we did not return your majeſty our moſt hearty thanks for that tender and unprecedented care and concern, your majeſty has been pleaſed to expreſs in your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne, for the liberties of your people, and the freedom of our happy conſtitution.'

The commons, after thanks and congratulation, very ſtrongly expreſſed their aſſurances in theſe words:

'We crave leave to aſſure your majeſty, that we will, on our parts, by the vigour of our reſolutions, for the ſupport of your government, and by the diſpatch which we will give to the neceſſary ſupplies, convince the world, that, if our enemies have conceived any hopes from our diviſions at home, this hath been the vaineſt of all their projects. And we will enable your majeſty, in concert with your allies, effectually to ſupport and perfect thoſe juſt and equitable meaſures which have been taken to eſtabliſh a general peace.

And we farther aſſure your majeſty, that we will apply ourſelves to find out the beſt means for leſſening the debts of the nation, and ſupporting the public credit, and concur in all proper methods to eſtabliſh and preſerve the freedom of our happy conſtitution, for which your ſacred majeſty has given ſo many tender proofs of your care and affection.'

As the king had recommended in his ſpeech the thinking of proper methods to eſtabliſh the freedom of the conſtitution (by which was meant the peerage-bill) the duke of Buckingham, two days after the beginning of the ſeſſion, revived the bill for limiting the peers, which had been dropped by the prorogation. In oppoſition to this bill, earl Cowper ſaid, 'beſides the reaſons, that induced him laſt ſeſſion to be againſt this bill, he had now another, that weighed no leſs with him than all the reſt, the earneſtneſs, with which it was recommended, and the eagerneſs, with which it was brought before them at the beginning of a ſeſſion. He had obſerved both from hiſtory, and his own experience, that, in affairs of moment, precipitation was ever dangerous, and, in many caſes, to be ſuſpected; and, for his own part, he could not help being of opinion, that, if there were no ſecret meaning in this bill, ſome men would not be ſo preſſing for it.' To this the earl of Sunderland anſwered, 'that it could not with any juſtice be ſaid, that any precipitation had been uſed in this affair, ſince the bill in queſtion had been brought in the laſt ſeſſion, and then thoroughly examined; ſo that he doubted not, but every member of that houſe was fully apprized of it, and ready to give his vote for or againſt it. That the reaſon, why it was brought in ſo ſoon at this time, he conceived to be, that it might give no interruption to the other important affairs, which the king had recommended to his parliament. And, as for any ſecret meaning in this bill, he ſolemnly declared, he knew of no other, but what his majeſty had been pleaſed graciouſly to intimate in his ſpeech, the ſecuring the freedom of our conſtitution, by preventing, for the future, the abuſe of one branch of the royal prerogative, of which they had a fatal inſtance in the late reign, and which had given juſt offence, and terrible apprehenſions to all ſober men.' To this it was replied, 'that if it was foreſeen, that bill might interrupt the other important affairs, it had been adviſable to keep it till the middle, or towards the end of the ſeſſion, and to begin with the king's buſineſs.' But the duke of Bucks compromiſed the matter, by ſaying, 'that, for his own part, he apprehended no danger from this bill; and if it was attended with any inconveniencies, as all human affairs are apt to be, time would diſcover it; and then, as in all other caſes, they might apply a remedy to it. As to the time of bringing it in, he thought it no material objection, ſince this houſe had no other buſineſs to go upon; but that he foreſaw, that, whatever diſpatch they made in that bill, it would not get ſo quic a paſſage in the other houſe.' After theſe ſpeeches, the bill paſſed the lords without any farther oppoſition, and was ſent to the commons, where it was oppoſed by a great many members. Mr Craggs urged in favour of the bill, 'that his majeſty, ſince his acceſſion to the throne, had had no other view, than to procure the good and happineſs of his ſubjects, and to ſecure their rights and liberties. That having, in his royal wiſdom, conſidered the abuſe, that was made in the laſt reign of that branch of the prerogative, relating to the creating of peers, which abuſe had brought the liberties of Great-Britain, and of all Europe, into immediate danger, his majeſty, through a condeſcenſion worthy of a prince truly magnanimous, had graciouſly been pleaſed to conſent, that ſuch bounds be ſet to that part of the prerogative, as may prevent any exorbitant and dangerous exerciſes of it for the time to come. That it was only in the reign of good princes, that legiſlators had opportunities to remedy and amend the defects, to which all human inſtitutions are ſubject: and that, if the preſent occaſion of rectifying that apparent flaw in our conſtitution were loſt, it might perhaps never be retrieved.' Mr Walpole ſpoke on the other ſide, and endeavoured to anſwer all that had been offered for the bill. He took notice, 'that among the Romans, the wiſeſt people upon earth, the temple of fame was placed behind the temple of virtue, to denote, that there was no coming to the former, without going through the other. But that, if this bill paſſed into a law, one of the moſt powerful incentives to virtue would be taken away, ſince there would be no coming to honour, but through the winding-ſheet of an old decripit lord, and the grave of an extinct noble family. That it was matter of juſt ſurprize, that a bill of this nature ſhould either have been projected, or at leaſt promoted by a gentleman, who not long ago ſat among them, and who, having got into the houſe of peers, would now ſhut up the door after him. That this bill would not only be a diſcouragement to virtue and merit, but alſo endanger our excellent conſtitution: for, as there was a due balance between the three branches of the legiſlature, if any more weight were thrown into any one of thoſe branches, it would deſtroy that balance, and conſequently ſubvert the conſtitution. That the peers were already poſſeſſed of many valuable privileges; and to give them more power and authority, by limiting their number, would, in time, bring bac the commons into the ſtate of the ſervile dependency, which they were in, when they wore the badges of the lords. That he could not but wonder, that the lords would ſend ſuch a bill to the commons; for how could they expect, that the commons would give their concurrence to ſo injurious a law, by which they and their poſterities are to be excluded from the peerage? And how would the lords receive a bill, by which it would be enacted, that a baron ſhould not be made a viſcount, nor a viſcount be made an earl, and ſo on? That, beſides all this, that part of the bill, which related to the peerage of Scotland, would be a manifeſt violation of the act of union, on the part of England, and a diſhonourable breach of truſt in thoſe, who repreſented the Scots nobility. That ſuch an infringement of the union would endanger the entire diſſolution of it, by diſguſting ſo great a number of the Scots peers, as ſhould be excluded from ſitting in the Britiſh parliament. For as it was well known, that the revolution-ſettlement ſtood upon the principle of a mutual compact, if we ſhould break firſt the articles of union, it would be natural for the Scots to think themſelves thereby freed from all allegiance. And as for what had been ſuggeſted, that the election of the ſixteen Scots peers was no leſs expenſive to the crown, than injurious to the peerage of Scotland, it might be anſwered, that the making twenty-five hereditary ſitting Scots peers would ſtill increaſe the diſcontents of the electing peers, who thereby would be deprived of a valuable conſideration for not being choſen.' After theſe, and ſeveral other ſpeeches, the bill was at laſt rejected by a majority of two hundred and ſixty-nine againſt one hundred and ſeventy-ſeven. Thus the prerogative of increaſing the number of the peers, as the king ſhould think proper, which he ſeemed ſo willing to diveſt himſelf of, was, as it were againſt his conſent, preſerved to him. It was obſerved by an oppoſer of the bill, (ſir J. Packington) that ſome perſons had through indiſcretion occaſioned an unhappy difference [in the royal family] and he was apprehenſive if that bill, ſo prejudicial to the rights of the next heir, ſhould paſs into a law, it might render that difference irreconcilable. This was ſaid chiefly with regard to the earl of Sunderland, who promoted the bill with the greateſt eagerneſs. It was alſo reported that mr. Craggs was to have been one of the ſix Engliſh peers, to be created after the paſſing of the bill.

During this ſeſſion, a bill, for better ſecuring the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great-Britain, paſſed both houſes. This bill took its riſe, from an appeal to the houſe of peers in England, by Maurice Anneſley, againſt a decree of the houſe of peers in Ireland; which the Britiſh houſe of peers received, and ordered the barons of the exchequer in Ireland to cauſe mr. Anneſley to be forthwith put in poſſeſſion of certain lands in the county of Kildare, of which he had been diſpoſſeſſed by virtue of a decree of the houſe of peers in Ireland. Purſuant to this order, the barons of the exchequer in that kingdom iſſued out an injunction to Alexander Burrows, ſheriff of the county of Kildare, and ſet ſeveral fines upon him, for refuſing to put it in execution; which the houſe of peers in Ireland diſcharged, and voted, that Jeffery Gilbert, lord chief-baron of the exchequer, John Pocklington and ſir John St. Leger, the other barons of the exchequer in Ireland, had acted in manifeſt derogation to the king's prerogative, in his high court of parliament in Ireland, as alſo of the rights and privileges of this kingdom, and of the parliament thereof. Theſe barons were alſo ordered to be taken into cuſtody of the uſher of the blac-rod. [n]

1719-20] The houſe of peers in Ireland drew up a long repreſentation to be tranſmitted to the king, ſetting forth their right to the final judicature of cauſes in that kingdom; and the duke of Leeds, in a proteſt againſt a vote paſſed in the houſe of peers in England, gave fifteen reaſons to ſupport the claim of the houſe of peers in Ireland. But the houſe of lords in England reſolved, 'that the barons of the exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage according to law, in ſupport of his majeſty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the crown of Great-Britain;' and ordered an addreſs to the king, 'for conferring on them ſome marks of his royal favour, as may be a recompence for the ill uſage they have received, by being unjuſtly cenſured, and illegally impriſoned, for doing their duty.' Then it was that the bill, for better ſecuring the dependency of Ireland, was brought in, and, having paſſed the houſe of lords, was ſent down to the commons. Mr Pitt was the firſt, who ſpoke againſt the

[n] Several lords diſſented from theſe reſolutious, viz: the lord Middleton, lord high-chancellor, the lords Donerayle and Fitz-Williams, and the biſhops of Meath, Kildare, Killala, Kilmore, and Derry.

bill, becauſe, as he ſaid, it ſeemed calculated for no other purpoſe, than to increaſe the power of the Britiſh houſe of peers, which, in his opinion, was already but too great. He was ſeconded by mr. Plummer, who excepted, in particular, againſt the preamble of the bill, as incoherent with the enacting part; which was partly owned by ſir Joſeph Jekyll, who, in the main, ſpoke for the bill. Mr Hungerford, on the other hand, endeavoured to ſhew, that Ireland was ever independent with reſpect to courts of judicature; and he was ſupported by the lord Moleſworth, the lord Tyrconnel, and ſome other members; but, mr. Yorke having ſupported the maſter of the rolls, the bill was at laſt agreed to, and received the royal aſſent. °

About this time a miſunderſtanding happened between mr. Lechmere, attorney-general, and ſir William Thompſon, ſollicitor-general, which was carried ſo far in a grand committee of the commons, the 16th of March, that ſir William charged mr. Lechmere with breach of his oath, truſt, and duty, as a privy-counſellor; urging, 'that he acted as council, and received ſums of money for his advice, in matters to him referred by the privy-council, as attorney-general.' After this, he proceeded to the reading of ſeveral reports, made either by the attorney-general or himſelf, but was interrupted by mr. Craggs, who ſaid, 'they were not there to examine, who was the beſt lawyer; but that, a heavy accuſation having been raiſed againſt a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed merit, and in very eminent ſtations, it was incumbent upon the accuſer to produce clear evidence to make good his charge.' Upon this, mr. Lechmere ſtood up in his own defence, and ſaid, 'he had the honour to be a privy-counſellor, chancellor of the duchy, attorney-general, a member of that houſe, and a gentleman; and therefore ſuch a heinous accuſation could not but fall the heavier upon him: that he owned himſelf liable to a great many human frailties and imperfections; but, as his conſcience entirely acquitted him of the crimes laid to his charge, ſo he defied all the world, and the worſt of his enemies, to prove him guilty of corruption or any unwarrantable practices: that, though he was thus wrongfully accuſed in ſo ſolemn a manner, yet, as a good chriſtian, he did heartily forgive his accuſer, and was willing to believe, that he was prompted to this raſh action, rather by miſtake, or ignorance, than by malice; concluding, with deſiring that honourable aſſembly to ſift and weigh the whole matter with their uſual candour, impartiality, and equity, and to excuſe any unguarded expreſſions, that might eſcape him, in vindicating his innocence.' After this, ſeveral witneſſes were ſworn, and eight or nine of them examined; but, their depoſitions amounting to no more, than that mr. Lechmere had taken nothing but his uſual fees, as chamber-counſellor, the accuſation laid againſt him appeared groundleſs to the committee, and was declared by the houſe to be malicious, falſe and ſcandalous.

On the 8th of March, ſir Joſeph Jekyll preſented to the houſe a bill, to prevent the impious practice of duelling; which was occaſioned by a duel between mr. William Aldworth of Windſor, and mr. Owen Buckingham, member of parliament for Reading; who, quarrelling after having drank two freely, fought in the dark, and mr. Buckingham was killed. But this bill was dropped in the houſe of lords.

The king had earneſtly recommended, in his ſpeech, the conſideration of all proper means for leſſening the debts of the nation. Accordingly, a ſcheme was laid to reduce all the public funds into one, for diſcharging the national debt. The South-ſea company and the bank of England preſented their ſeveral propoſals to the houſe of commons. The liberty of taking in the national debts, and, in conſequence thereof, of increaſing their capital ſtoc and yearly fund, was looked upon as a very valuable benefit; and therefore the conteſt between the bank and South-ſea company was great. They endeavoured to outbid each other in parliament. The South-ſea company, for the liberty of taking into their ſtoc the irredeemable and redeemable debts, by purchaſe or ſubſcription (amounting to above thirty millions) offered at firſt 3,500,000l. to be paid into the Exchequer by four equal quarterly payments, beginning at Lady-day, 1721. And agreed that their whole capital ſhould be reduced to 4 per cent. after Midſummer, 1727, and be thenceforth redeemable by parliament.

The bank, for the like liberty, offered, upon the long and ſhort annuities, three years purchaſe, which (if the whole purchaſe was compleated) would amount to about 2,367,600l. and 20 per cent. upon the redeemable debts, amounting to about 3,180,000l. So their whole offer was above five millions and a half.

But the South-ſea company being reſolved, at any rate, to obtain the liberty of taking in the public debts, offered, in a ſecond ſcheme, not only 500,000l. more, but alſo four years and a half's purchaſe upon all the annuities they ſhould take into their capital ſtoc, which (if all the annuities were taken in) would amount to about 3,567504l. So that their whole offer was about 7,567,500l. They likewiſe offered to circulate 1,000,000l. in exchequer bills gratis, and pay 3 per cent. intereſt for that million; as alſo one year's purchaſe upon ſuch annuities, as ſhould happen not to come into the company's capital, before the 1ſt day of March 1721.

Though the bank made ſome farther advances, this ſcheme of the South-ſea company was approved by the commons, and a bill was ordered to be brought in.

1720] While this affair was debating in the houſe of commons, the ſtocs of the South-ſea company gradually roſe from 130 to above 300, and advanced to near 400; but, after ſome fluctuation, ſettled at about 330, in which ſtate, with little variation, they continued till the end of March. This great riſe was chiefly owing to the rejection of a motion for a clauſe in the South-ſea bill, to fix what ſhare in the capital ſtoc of the company the proprietors of the annuities ſhould have, who ſhould voluntarily ſubſcribe, or how many years purchaſe in money they ſhould receive upon ſubſcribing, at the choice of the proprietors. It was pretended, that the obliging the company to fix a price upon the annuities might endanger the ſucceſs of ſo beneficial an undertaking: that, as it was the intereſt of the company to take in the annuities, ſo it was not to be doubted, they would uſe all the endeavours for that purpoſe, and offer ſuch terms to the annuitants, as would encourage them to come in voluntarily: that therefore the company ought to be allowed a competent time to try what they could do; and if, in a ſubſequent ſeſſion of parliament, it ſhould appear, that the conditions offered to the annuitants were not reaſonable, and conſequently had been ineffectual, the commons, in ſuch a caſe, might give what directions they ſhould think proper about the matter. Upon theſe and other reaſons, the motion was rejected; and, ſoon after, the bill for enabling the South-ſea company to increaſe their capital ſtoc, paſſed the commons, by a majority of a hundred and ſeventy-two againſt fifty-five, and ſent to the lords for their concurrence, where it occaſioned a warm debate.

The lord North and Grey ſpoke firſt againſt the bill, which he repreſented to be 'unjuſt in its nature, and might prove fatal in its conſequences, ſince it ſeemed calculated for the inriching of a few, and the impoveriſhing of a great many, and not only made way for, but countenanced and authorized the fraudulent and pernicious practice of ſtock-jobbing, which produced an irreparable miſchief in diverting the genius of the people from trade and induſtry.' His lordſhip was ſupported by the duke of Warton, who endeavoured to ſhew, 'that the South-ſea project might prove of infinite diſadvantage to the nation: firſt, as it gave foreigners an opportunity to double and treble the vaſt ſums they had in our public funds, which could not but tempt them to withdraw their capital ſtoc, with their immenſe gains, to other countries, which might drain Great-Britain of a conſiderable part of its gold and ſilver. Secondly, that the artificial and prodigious riſe of the South-ſea ſtoc was a dangerous bait, which might decoy many unwary people to their ruin, and allure them, by a falſe proſpect of gain, to part with what they had got by their labour and induſtry,

° The act was as follows:

'Whereas attempts have been lately made to ſhake off the ſubjection of Ireland unto, and dependance upon, the imperial crown of this realm, which will be of dangerous conſequence to Great-Britain and Ireland.

And whereas the houſe of lords in Ireland, in order thereto, have, of late, againſt law, aſſumed to themſelves a power and juriſdiction to examine, correct, and amend the judgments and decrees of the courts of juſtice in the kingdom of Ireland: therefore, for the better ſecuring of the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great-Britain, may it pleaſe your majeſty, that it may be enacted; and it is hereby declared and enacted, by the king's moſt excellent majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that the ſaid kingdom of Ireland hath been, is, and, of right, ought to be, ſubordinate unto, and dependent upon, the imperial crown of Great-Britain, as being inſeparably united and annexed thereunto; and that the king's majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons of Great-Britain in parliament aſſembled, had, hath, and, of right, ought to have, full power and autho ity to make laws and ſtatutes of ſufficient force and validity, to bind the people and the kingdom of Ireland.

And be it farther enacted and declared by the authority aforeſaid, that the houſe of lords of Ireland have not, nor, of right, ought to have, any juriſdiction to judge of, affirm, or reverſe any judgment, ſentence, or decree, given or made in any court within the ſaid kingdom; and that all proceedings before the ſaid houſe of lords, upon any ſuch judgment, ſentence, or decree, are, and are hereby declared to be, utterly null and void, to all intents and purpoſes whatſoever.'

to purchaſe imaginary riches. And, in the third place, that the addition of above thirty millions capital would give ſuch a vaſt power to the South-ſea company, as might endanger the liberties of the nation, and in time ſubvert our excellent conſtitution, ſince by their extenſive intereſt they might influence moſt, if not all the elections of the members, and conſequently over-rule the reſolutions of the houſe of commons.' Earl Cowper ſpoke alſo againſt the bill, which he obſerved to be uſhered in and received with great pomp and acclamations of joy, but which was contrived for treachery and deſtruction. His lordſhip urged in particular, 'that in all public bargains, it is a duty incumbent on them, who are intruſted with the adminiſtration, to take care, that the ſame be more advantageous to the ſtate, than to private perſons; but that a quite contrary method ſeemed to have been followed in the contract made with the South-ſea company. For if the ſtocs were kept up to the advanced price, to which they had been raiſed by the oblique arts of ſtock-jobbing, either that company, or its principal members, would gain above thirty millions ſterling, of which they gave but one-fourth part towards the diſcharge of the national debts. That, though this ſcheme carried the face of public good, yet nothing could be ſo, that was founded on injuſtice; as his lordſhip took this bill to be. That he apprehended, in particular, that the main public intention of it, viz. The re-purchaſe of annuities, would meet with inſuperable difficulties; and that, in ſuch a caſe, none but a few perſons, who were in the ſecret, and had early bought ſtocs at a low rate, and afterwards ſold them at a high price, would, in the end, be gainers by this project.' The duke of Bucks and ſome other peers ſpoke on the ſame ſide; but the earl of Sunderland anſwered moſt of their objections; and among other things, ſaid, 'that, they who encouraged and countenanced the ſcheme of the South-ſea company, had nothing in their view, but the eaſing of the nation of part of that heavy load of debts it labours under. That, on the other hand, the managers for that company had undoubtedly a proſpect of private gain, either to themſelves, or to their corporation; but that, when that ſcheme was accepted, neither the one nor the other could foreſee, that the ſtocs would have riſed to the price they were now advanced. That, if they had continued as they were at that time, the public would have had the far greater ſhare of the advantage accruing from that ſcheme; and if the ſtocs were kept up to the price they had been raiſed to, which was not unlikely, it was but reaſonable, that the South-ſea company ſhould enjoy the profits procured to it, by the wiſe management and induſtry of its directors, which would enable it both to make large dividends among its members, and thereby compaſs the ends intended by this ſcheme. After theſe debates, the bill paſſed without any amendment or diviſion; and on the 7th of April, the king came on purpoſe to the houſe of lords, to give the royal aſſent to it. What were the effects of this famous act, will hereafter be largely ſhewn.

This act recites the ſeveral public debts and funds, the acts by which they were eſtabliſhed, the terms and conditions of their continuance, the amounts of the reſpective ſums of principal and intereſt due and payable, and dividing them into ſeveral claſſes and ſpecies of debt, namely, long and ſhort annuities, redeemable and irredeemable debts, and ſtating what rate of intereſt they bore, computes the principals and annuities at certain ſums, in order to ſettle the different rates and values at which they were to be eſtimated, to be redeemed, purchaſed, or taken in by the South-ſea company.

The redeemable debts are ſtated at 16,546,482l. 7s. 1¼d.[p] the irredeemable annuities, being for the remainder of ſeveral long terms of 89, 96, and 99 years, are computed to amount to 666,821l. 8s. 3½d. a year, beſides ſome unſubſcribed lottery annuities and ſhort annuites for 23 and 22½ years then ſtanding out.

The company is declared willingly, and is accordingly authorized to take in by purchaſe, or ſubſcription, the irredeemable debts, at ſuch time or times as they ſhall find convenent, before the 1ſt of March, 1721, and without any compulſion, on any of the proprietors, at ſuch rates and prices as ſhall be agreed between the company and the reſpective proprietors.

The company is likewiſe declared willing, and is authorized at ſuch time and times, as they ſhall ſee convenient (but ſubject to ſuch notices of redemption as are therein mentioned) to take in all and every the redeemable debts, amounting to 16,546,482l. 7s. 1¼d. either by purchaſe, taking ſubſcriptions or by paying them off.

Provided that the company for every annuity, part of the long annuities computed at 666,821l. 8s. 3d. ſo to be taken by them, may in lieu thereof, have an addition made to their capital ſtoc, after the rate of twenty years purchaſe; and ſuch reſpective additions to their preſent yearly fund or annuity, as is after limited.

And for all ſuch ſhort annuities, as ſhall be taken in, to have an addition to their capital ſtoc, after the rate of fourteen years purchaſe, with a proportionable addition to their preſent annuity or yearly fund.

And for all and every of the redeemable debts that ſhall be taken in by purchaſe, ſubſcriptions, or paying off, to have an addition of 100l. to their capital ſtoc, for every 100l. of the principal monies ſo taken in, with a proportionable addition to their preſent yearly fund.

Thus far it appears, that the proprietors of theſe public debts amounting to above twenty-ſix millions, that ſubſcriped into the South-ſea ſtoc, by virtue of this act of parliament, acted by their own choice and option without any compulſion. The irredeemables were left at full liberty to have remained in the condition they were, and an expreſs proviſion was made for the ſecurity of ſuch as did not ſubſcribe.

The redeemables had their option to have waited for the terms of redemption, to which they were before liable, and to have taken their money, when the public had been in in a condition to pay them.

So that ſubſcribing and accepting South-ſea ſtoc, in lieu and diſcharge of their former debts and annuities, was the voluntary act of them all, induced, no doubt, by the general infatuation that every where reigned, and the imaginary proſpect of great advantages.

For the liberty of thus taking in the national debts, and increaſing their capital ſtoc, the company, in the firſt place, have deſired and conſented that their preſent and to be increaſed annuity may be continued at 5l. per cent. till Midſummer, 1727, and from thence be reduced to 4l. per cent. and be redeemable by parliament. In conſideration of this and other advantages expreſſed in the act, the company are willing to make ſuch payments into the receipt of the Exchequer, as are herein ſpecified, for the uſe of the public, to be applied for paying off the public debts incurred before Chriſtmas, 1716.

The ſums, which they were obliged to pay, were 4,156,306l. 4s. 1d. for the liberty of taking in the redeemable debts, and four years and a half's purchaſe for all the long and ſhort annuities that ſhould be ſubſcribed, and one year's purchaſe for ſuch long annuities as ſhould not be ſubſcribed. Theſe ſums, upon the execution of the act, were found to amount to about 7,000,000l.

For enabling the company to raiſe this ſum, they are impowered to make calls for money from their members, or open books of ſubſcriptions, or grant annuities redeemable by the company, or by any other method they ſhall think fit in a general court. They might alſo borrow money upon any contract, bill, &c. under their common ſeal, or on the credit of their capital ſtoc. The money, called for from their members, ſhall (if thought proper) be an additional ſtoc, but there ſhall be no addition thereby to the company's annuities, to be paid out of the public duties.

Out of the firſt monies ariſing from the ſeveral ſums to be paid by the company into the exchequer, ſuch public debts carrying intreſt at 5l. per cent. incurred before the 25th of December, 1716, founded upon any former act of parliament, as are now redeemable, or may be redeemed before the 25th of December, 1722, ſhall be paid off in the firſt place: then all the remainder ſhall be applied towards paying off ſo much of the capital ſtoc of the company as ſhall then carry an intereſt of 5l. per cent. Proviſion is alſo made, that, after Midſummer, 1727, the company is not to be paid off in any ſums, being leſs than one million at a time.

Several projects were now ſet on foot, particularly for eſtabliſhing the two companies of the Royal Aſſurance, headed by the lord Onſlow, and of the London Aſſurance

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			l.	s.	d.
5l. per cent. annuities Principal ſum	——	——	11,779,660	11	3¾
4l. per cent. annuities Principal ſum	——	——	4,766,821	15	9½
			16,546,482	7	1¼

The 5l. per cent. annuities conſiſted of ſeveral lotteries, bankers annuities, blanks in lottery, 1714, navy deficiency, and bank annuities.

The 4l. per cent. annuities were, the cival liſt lottery, prizes in lottery, 1714, deficiences on low wines, &c. on funds, Canada bills, army debts and debentures, firſt and ſecond lottery, 1719.

by the lord Chetwynd. The projectors had been very induſtrious to beſpeak the countenance of the houſe of commons, for which they had cauſed two letters to be printed and given to the members. But, theſe and all other ſollicitations having proved ineffectual, the managers for the two companies had recourſe to other methods, and being informed that the civil liſt was conſiderably in arrears (for which no proviſion had been, or could conveniently be made by the parliament, becauſe the grand committee of ſupply had been inadvertently diſmiſſed) they offered to the miniſtry 600,cool. towards the diſcharge of that debt, in caſe they might obtain the king's charter, with the parliamentary ſanction for eſtabliſhment of their reſpective companies. The miniſtry, being at a loſs for means to pay the civil liſt debt, readily embraced the offer, and, mr. Craggs having the day before prepared the leading members of the houſe of commons, mr. Aiſlabie preſented, May the 4th, to the houſe the following meſſage:

'His majeſty having received ſeveral petitions from great numbers of the moſt eminent merchants of the city of London, humbly praying, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to grant them his letters patents for erecting corporations to aſſure ſhips and merchandize; and the ſaid merchants having offered to advance and pay a conſiderable ſum of money for his majeſty's uſe, in caſe they may obtain letters patents accordingly: his majeſty being of opinion, that erecting two ſuch corporations, excluſive only of all other corporations and ſocieties for aſſuring of ſhips and merchandize, under proper reſtrictions and regulations, may be of great advantage and ſecurity to the trade and commerce of the kingdom, is willing and deſirous to be ſtrengthened by the advice and aſſiſtance of this houſe, in matters of this nature and importance: he therefore hopes for their ready concurrence to ſecure and confirm the privileges his majeſty ſhall grant to ſuch corporations, and to enable him to diſcharge the debts of his civil government, without burthening his people with any new aid or ſupply.'

Purſuant to the meſſage, a bill was brought in to enable his majeſty to grant letters of incorporation to the two companies, which paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent.

The buſineſs of the parliament being now finiſhed, the king came to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I am now come to put an end to this ſeſſion, which, though it hath advanced ſo far into the ſummer, cannot be thought a tedious one, when we conſider how much buſineſs hath been done, and the great advantages that may be expected from it.

Your ſeaſonable vigour and perſeverance to ſupport me in the meaſures I have taken with my allies, for reſtoring the tranquility of Europe, have produced moſt of the effects I could deſire. Much the greateſt part of Chriſtendom is already freed from the calamities of war; and by what hath happened both abroad and at home my people muſt be convinced, that their welfare is inſeparable from the ſtrength and ſecurity of my government.'

Gentlemen of the houſe of Commons,

'I return you my thanks for the ſupplies you have raiſed for the ſervice of the current year; and it is a particular ſatisfaction to me, that a method has been found out for making good the deficiencies of my civil liſt, without laying any new burthen upon my ſubjects. The good foundation you have prepared this ſeſſion for the payment of the national debts, and the diſcharge of a great part of them, without the leaſt violation of the public faith, will, I hope, ſtrengthen more and more the union I deſire to ſee among all my ſubjects, and make our friendſhip yet more valuable to all foreign powers.'

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'You will ſee the good effects, which our ſteadineſs hath produced. There remains but little on our part, to ſatisfy the world, that more credit, ſecurity, and greatneſs, is to be acquired by following the views of peace, and adhering ſtrictly to juſt engagements, than by depending on the advantages of war, or by purſuing the meaſures of ambition. To compleat what remains unfiniſhed, I propoſe very ſpeedily to viſit my dominions in Germany, hoping to put an end to thoſe troubles in the north, which are now reduced to a very narrow compaſs. I flatter myſelf, that my preſence this ſummer in thoſe parts will prove uſeful to our poor proteſtant brethren, for whom you have expreſſed ſuch ſeaſonable and charitable ſentiments.

I doubt not but to meet you again next winter, diſpoſed to put a finiſhing hand to all thoſe good works, which, by your aſſiſtance, I have brought ſo near to perfection. I could wiſh, that all my ſubjects, convinced by time and experience, would lay aſide thoſe partialities and animoſities which prevent them from living quietly, and enjoying the happineſs of a mild and legal government. It is what I choſe to recommend at this time, when I am ſenſible, that all oppoſition to it is become vain and uſeleſs, and can only end unfortunate for thoſe, who ſhall perſiſt in ſtruggling againſt it. I am perſuaded, that, during my abſence, every one of you will take particular care to preſerve the peace in your ſeveral counties; and that I ſhall find you at my return in ſuch a ſtate of tranquillity, as will ſhew mankind how firmly my government is eſtabliſhed, which I chiefly deſire, becauſe I think the ſecurity and preſervation of my people, and of this happy conſtitution, depends entirely upon it.'

After this ſpeech the parliament was prorogued to the 28th of July.

Before the proceedings of the South-ſea company are related, it will be proper to give ſome account of the foreign affairs during this ſeſſion.

The negotiations with Sweden, Pruſſia, and Denmark were far advanced, when the king left Germany to return to England. Soon after his arrival, he received an account of the concluſion of his treaty of alliance offenſive and defenſive with Sweden. The lord Carteret, aſſiſted by the French miniſter, had laboured with ſuch application, that the treaty was finiſhed and ſigned at Stockholm on the 20th of January. It contained one and twenty articles, ſeveral of which were expreſly againſt the czar.

The peace and alliance were to be perpetual and univerſal. The contracting powers were not only not to injure, but to procure to each other all kinds of advantages.

They were obliged to inform each other of every thing they ſhould diſcover, that might injure or diſturb them, and to aſſiſt each other with advice and forces againſt all enemies; and not to give protection, much leſs advice or ſupport to rebellious ſubjects, nor to permit them to continue in their dominions; and thoſe were to be eſteemed rebels, whom one of the contracting powers ſhould declare to the other to be ſo.

In caſe Sweden ſhould be attaced in any part of its dominions, in its rights and privileges, in its navigation or commerce, Great-Britain was to furniſh that kingdom with an aid of ſix thouſand foot, who were to be ſent four months after the demand ſhould be made, and to that place which ſhould be appointed. The diſpoſition of the enemy to peace, the good offices, that ſhould be employed to produce that diſpoſition, were not to prevent the ſending of that aid. The power, who was to ſend the troops, was obliged to pay and maintain them; but the other was to take care, that in his dominions they ſhould be furniſhed with every thing neceſſary, at the ſame price with his own troops.

The contracting powers were allowed to demand the aid, in whole or in part; to demand ſhips, proviſions, and ammunition for the ſurplus of the money; and it was ſettled, that a thouſand men a month ſhould be valued at four thouſand rix-dollars. Theſe troops and their commanders were to be ſubject, with reſpect to all the operations of the war, to the power, to whoſe aſſiſtance they came; and the ſhips were to bear his colours.

If this number of troops was not ſufficient for the preſſing occaſions, a more conſiderable aid was to be ſent. 'And as Sweden (ſays the treaty) is now in theſe unhappy circumſtances, with regard to the czar of Muſcovy, whom many fruitleſs attempts have been made to induce to a peace, Great-Britain, conformably to its engagements in the treaty of 1700, which is renewed by the preſent, obliges herſelf to ſend a ſtrong ſquadron in the ſpring, to the aſſiſtance of his Swediſh majeſty, to act in concert againſt the czar, in order to oblige him to deſiſt from his invaſions, and to conſent to the juſt and reaſonable conditions of peace, which have been offered him.'

This was the main article of the treaty; in order to obtain aſſiſtance againſt that formidable enemy, Sweden had reſigned to the elector of Hanover the duchies of Bremen and Verden; and, in order to be revenged for the czar's intrigues, the king of Great-Britain renewed the antient treaties, and entered into new engagements with the crown of Sweden.

The other articles related to commerce, the particulars of which were to be regulated afterwards, for the contracting parties were deſirous to put an immediate ſtop to the con-

queſts of the Muſcovites, and oppoſe the execution of their deſigns. The ſuccours, that were to be ſent, did not amount to a declaration of war, nor hinder a communication with the prince, againſt whom they were ſent, provided however it was not prejudicial to the party aſſiſted. And therefore it was not permitted to furniſh the czar with any thing, that ſerved directly for attac or defence, as powder, artillery, or ammunition; and their ſubjects were likewiſe forbid to ſerve him as ſoldiers or ſailors.

If the ſuccours cauſed an open war, it was to be carried on in concert, no propoſition of peace or truce, or any accommodation and convention whatever, was to be hearkened to but by mutual conſent. If one of the contracting powers was engaged in war, he was diſpenſed with ſending the ſtipulated ſuccours, and had even a right to recal his troops three months after having given notice of the neceſſity he was under for ſo doing. 'But the king of Great-Britain (adds the treaty) as a ſtrong mark of his friendſhip, promiſes, that the war, which he is now engaged in with Spain, ſhall not prevent his ſending the next ſpring a ſquadron ſufficient to ſtop the progreſs of the czar, and induce him to peace, nor from furniſhing the ſupplies of money, as long as the war with Denmark ſhall laſt.'

Theſe obligations were reciprocal between the two crowns. Sweden, in particular, was obliged not to enter into any engagement with Spain, which might be contrary to the views of ſupporting the emperor againſt that kingdom. She undertook likewiſe to guarantee and maintain the ſucceſſion of Great-Britain in the houſe of Hanover, and not to give any protection, refuge, aid, or counſel, in any manner whatever, to the perſon, who, in the life-time of James II. ſtyled himſelf prince of Wales, and who, ſince that king's deceaſe had aſſumed the name of James III. king of Great-Britain.

Both crowns had it ſo much at heart to limit the pretenſions and undertakings of the czar, and to diveſt him by a peace, or by arms, of part of his conqueſts, that the following words were inſerted in the XVIIth article. 'As it is of the utmoſt concern to the proteſtant religion, to the commerce of the kingdoms of Great-Britain and Sweden, and even to the repoſe of Chriſtendom, that the czar ſhould not gain the aſcendant in the Baltic; if therefore that prince ſhall refuſe to make peace with Sweden, and to reſtore to that crown the cities and provinces neceſſary to eſtabliſh her ſecurity and the liberty of commerce, as they were before the preſent war; his Britannic majeſty engages, not only to furniſh Sweden with the ſuccours, which he is obliged to by the preſent treaty, but likewiſe to uſe all his endeavours and intereſt with his other allies, that, by their aſſiſtance, they may enable Sweden to repel the czar, and force him to agree to a peace upon ſuch conditions, as may ſecure that kingdom from inſults, and eſtabliſh the liberty of commerce in the Baltic.'

The ſame day, by the mediation of France and England, the peace was likewiſe ſigned between Sweden and Pruſſia. This treaty was the work of king George, who had laid the foundations of it in the preliminary treaty of the 25th of Auguſt, the laſt year. Sweden, by the advice and inſtances of the mediators, gave up to the king of Pruſſia the city of Stetin, the diſtrict between the rivers of Oder and Pehnne, with the iſles of Wollin and Uſedom, to poſſeſs and enjoy them for ever, with all their rights, and in the ſame manner, as the whole had been ceded and transferred by the emperor and empire to the crown of Sweden, by the tenth article of the peace of Weſtphalia, in the year 1648, except the right of ſitting and voting in the diet of the empire, and in thoſe of the circle.

The king of Pruſſia obliges himſelf, on his part, to preſerve to the inhabitants their liberties, rights, and privileges, as they now enjoy them, as likewiſe the free exerciſe of their religion, according to the confeſſion of Augſburg. He likewiſe undertook to pay the debts, and to diſcharge the obligations due from the crown of Sweden, to the inhabitants and communities of theſe countries. He alſo promiſed not to aſſiſt or ſuccour, in any manner, nor under any pretence, the czar, in his war againſt Sweden, to join with the king of Great-Britain, to engage the king of Denmark to make peace, and to reſtore that part of Pomerania he had ſeized.

Laſtly, the king of Pruſſia engaged to pay two millions of rix-dollars of Leipſic money of 1690. This was almoſt purchaſing what was ceded to him; but that prince abounded in ready money, and he could not better employ it, than in aggrandizing himſelf. Beſides, Sweden, exhauſted by a war, which had laſted twenty years, and was not yet ended, was very glad Pruſſia would purchaſe what ſhe was not in a condition to retake.

Numb. 75.

Thus king George, in concert with the regent of France, diſpoſed of the affairs of Europe at pleaſure, and obliged the foreign princes to ſubmit to his determinations. Spain, after having made ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to oppoſe him, was obliged to ſubmit to the ſtrict execution of the treaty of London of 1718: the emperor was put in poſſeſſion of Sicily; the duke of Savoy had Sardinia; Gibraltar and Port-Mahon remained in the hands of Great-Britain; the inveſtiture of the ſtates of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia was not given: the emperor continued to take the title of king of Spain, and to act as ſuch; the only favour, allowed that crown, was the reſtoration of two or three places, taken by France; but the emperor ſtill delayed the execution of his treaty with Spain, of which the mediators took little notice.

The czar was the only prince, who would not comply: inſtead of ſubmitting he continued the war a year or two longer, and made peace without any mediator. Whatever reproaches might be caſt upon him, he loudly complained of the elector of Hanover and king of Great-Britain, alledging, that king George in both qualities had failed in his engagements. His reſident at London preſented a long memorial, in which he repreſented, that the particular engagements, which the king had entered into the laſt ſummer with the queen of Sweden, and his negotiations with the kings of Poland, Pruſſia, and Denmark, in order to detach them from their alliance with his Czariſh majeſty, were inconſiſtent with the obligations, he had entered into as elector of Brunſwick, never to treat with Sweden without the participation of the czar, to uſe all poſſible means to procure him the ceſſion of Ingria, Carelia, Eſthonia, and Revel, and not to oppoſe in any manner the other pretenſions, he might form; obligations (added the memorial) contracted likewiſe as king of Great-Britain. Afterwards, by way of reproach, it was remarked, that the acquiſition of the duchies of Bremen and Verden was owing to the earneſt ſolicitations of the czar with the king of Denmark; that his Czariſh majeſty had moreover offered a treaty of defenſive alliance (like that of 1716) to maintain the ſucceſſion of the crown of Great-Britain in the proteſtant line: that the reſt of the czar's conduct had been anſwerable to theſe his proceedings: that notwithſtanding theſe advances ſo often repeated, and ever neglected, not to ſay deſpiſed, no endeavours had been omitted to ſtir up enemies againſt the czar, and to render him odious to the Engliſh, by making them believe, he intended to place the pretender upon the throne: that every thing had been done to embroil him with the court of Vienna: that no explanation or accommodation was ever liſtened to; and all his propoſals for a reconciliation remained without any anſwer: that a ſtrong ſquadron had been ſent to the Baltic: that, warned by what had happened on other occaſions, he had deſired to be informed of the deſign of that ſquadron. That his deſire had been haughtily received: that the ſquadron, at the end of the campaign, had joined the Swediſh fleet: and to compleat all theſe grievances, letters had been wrote to him in very imperious terms, and ſuch as ought not to be uſed to a ſovereign.

'Your majeſty, (ſaid the memorial,) who knows ſo well what is due to ſovereigns, when they are to be treated with, may judge by all that has paſſed on this occaſion, whether the manner, in which your miniſters proceeded in offering the czar your mediation, was agreeable to the friendſhip, which has ſubſiſted at all times between the crowns of Ruſſia and Great-Britain; and whether a mediation offered with circumſtances ſo little equitable can be conſidered as impartial. To tell a ſovereign, in an imperious and threatning manner (as your miniſters did) that he muſt put an end to the war, in order to obtain a reaſonable peace; and to propoſe to him the mediation of a power, at the ſame that he is told, that power is in league with his enemy, this is not endeavouring to induce him to peace, but rather ſeeking pretences for a rupture.'

The memorial concluded with demanding a poſitive anſwer, in order to know what was to be expected on the part of his Britiſh majeſty.

This memorial, though ſeemingly expreſſed in a plain manner, was very artfully worded. Accordingly it was anſwered very carefully by the miniſtry of Hanover, and of Great-Britain.

The Hanoverian miniſtry ſaid, it was the czar, who had violated the treaty of 1715, by coming with an army to ſettle in the empire, and by the ſeizing the provinces contiguous to Hanover. That the leaſt that could be done in thoſe circumſtances, was to ſhew, theſe proceedings were not approved of: that the inſtances which had been made for the withdrawing this army, were indiſpenſable, con-

ſidering the rank the elector of Hanover bore in the empire: that, however, this was the ground of the czar's reſentments, of which he had given many proofs by his correſpondence with the enemies of king George, and by his endeavours to deprive him of his friends. The particulars were then given of the czar's intrigues with baron Gortz, with the pretender's emiſſaries, and with the court of Madrid, and eſpecially of the projects formed with the king of Sweden to carry the war into the empire, and to aſſiſt that crown to recover the dominions in Germany, which had been taken from him. That, beſides theſe deſigns, an invaſion of Scotland had alſo been concerted, and the czar was upbraided with having continually endeavoured to deceive and amuſe his allies.

It is therefore evident (concludes the anſwer) if the czar has been prevented by a treaty with Sweden, he gave juſt cauſe for it, by his proceedings, as he had long been treating for a ſeparate peace, and was upon the point of reducing Sweden, and carrying the war into the bowels of the empire.'

Earl Stanhope anſwered the complaints, which related to the king of Great-Britain. He repreſented the extravagant conditions, upon which the czar had offered to enter into a ſtrict alliance with Great-Britain. 'He required (ſaid the earl) that his conqueſts upon Sweden ſhould be guaranteed to him; that he ſhould be aſſiſted with an Engliſh fleet, and that the fleet ſhould be under his command, which would have made all accommodation with Sweden wholly impoſſible, and incenſed thoſe powers, who were concerned in the preſervation of that crown, and whoſe friendſhip was ſo neceſſary to accompliſh the projects formed for the tranquility of Europe.'

The earl then obſerved, that the czar's complaints were intended only to cauſe his own deſigns to be overlooked: 'for if it true (ſays the earl) that the czar, intimate ally of the king of Denmark, had meditated no leſs than to make himſelf maſter of the Sound, and of Copenhagen (inſtead of making the deſcent on Schonen, with which the public had been amuſed for ſome months) it is natural to endeavour to put the change upon the public in that particular, and to wipe off the impreſſions of ſuch notions, by recriminations deſtitute of all manner of ground: and, if the czar had really ſuch deſigns in view, it is probable, that nothing kept him from putting them in execution, but the juſt apprehenſion that the ſame ſhould be oppoſed by his majeſty's fleet; which would infallibly have happened in ſuch a caſe. And may not the czar's reſentment of the miſcarriage of ſo great a project, through the apprehenſion of the Britiſh fleet, be the cauſe of his great eſtrangement from his majeſty ſince that time; from whence one may date the beginning of the animoſity he has ſhewn againſt his majeſty on ſo many occaſions.

This was plainly perceived ſome time after, when, by the letters of baron Gortz and count Gyllenburg, it was diſcovered, that the czar was ſo offended with his majeſty, that he entertained ſerious thoughts of making a ſeparate peace with the king of Sweden, and aſſiſting the pretender. And indeed, whatever aſſurances have been given to the contrary, the czar's conduct ſeems to have been entirely agreeable to that plan. The negotiations of the Ruſſian miniſtry with the pretender's agents are well known.[q] All the world has ſeen the great number of Engliſh rebels, to whom the czar has given all manner of protection and encouragement. It is known, that the conferences at Aland, which were begun without his majeſty's participation, were the reſult of an interview at Loo with baron Gortz, in Auguſt 1717. That miniſter's papers have ſhewn, that the invaſion of Scotland was to have immediately followed the conqueſt of Norway; it is therefore no wonder, that the czar was not ſollicitous either to prevent that conqueſt, or to aſſiſt the king of Denmark on ſo preſſing an occaſion. In fine, information has been had of the propoſitions the czar has made, more than once, to the court of Spain, to engage them in an offenſive alliance againſt England, in favour of the pretender.

It was ſhewn likewiſe, that the czar had perſiſted in his deſigns ſince the death of the king of Sweden: that he had endeavoured to engage queen Ulrica in the ſchemes of her predeceſſor: and, not ſucceeding by his inſinuations, he had attempted to conſtrain her by force, and by almoſt unparalleled inſults. 'But, notwithſtanding all this, his majeſty (continues the earl) perſiſts in the ſame ſentiments of moderation towards the czar, and renews the offer of his mediation. Nothing is more conformable to the intereſt of that prince, ſince it is intended to procure him a peace, which will ſecure him a conſiderable part of his conqueſts. It is hoped that ſo wiſe a prince as the czar will not only be inclined, for the general good of peace, to moderate his pretenſions, but likewiſe acknowledge, that it is more conſiſtent with prudence to obtain by good treaties, and the conſent of other great powers, ſuch conſiderable territories as may be yielded to him by the crown of Sweden, than to expoſe the fruits of his ſucceſſes to the events of a war, which he will be obliged to ſupport alone. Sweden neither ought nor can give up to him Revel. If the czar, after ſuch offers, perſiſts in his unwillingneſs to reſtore Revel, he will only alarm all the other powers, and unite the moſt of them againſt him.

The ſincere deſire the king has to reſtore a general peace, and his zeal to be reconciled with the czar for that purpoſe, incline his majeſty to give him, on this occaſion, the advice of a friend, and to exhort him ſeriouſly to conſider it.

But if, contrary to all expectation, the king's good intentions ſhould prove fruitleſs by the czar's refuſal; and if his majeſty, by virtue of his engagements with Sweden (which he is fully reſolved to maintain) ſhould be obliged to take meaſures diſagreeable to Ruſſia, he will, however, have the conſolation of having neglected nothing to prevent the fatal conſequences, which may reſult from it.

Theſe memorials and anſwers produced no reconciliation between the two princes. The anſwers, however, made an impreſſion upon the nation in favour of the king. And, indeed, it muſt be confeſſed, that it was found policy to join with Sweden againſt the czar, and by that means make amends for uniting with that prince to ſtrip a crown, which religion and commerce ought always to endear to Great-Britain.

During the ceſſion of parliament, the reconciliation of the royal family was effected chiefly by the endeavours of the duke of Devonſhire and mr. Walpole. They had ſeveral conferences, for that purpoſe, with the miniſters, with ſuch ſucceſs, that on the 23d of April, the lord Lumley, gentleman of the prince of Wales's bed-chamber, waited on the king, to know his pleaſure, when the prince ſhould attend him. He was anſwered immediately; and mr. ſecretary Craggs having accompanied the lord Lumley to Leiceſter-fields, to acquaint the prince with it, he immediately went to St. James's houſe, and was half an hour in private conference with the king. Having made his ſubmiſſion in the manner agreed on, he went to ſee his eldeſt daughter, the princeſs Anne, who, five days before, was taken ill of the ſmall-pox. The prince, at his return to Leiceſter-houſe, was, by the king's command, attended by a party of the yeomen of the guard, and of the horſe-guards, and the foot-guards began alſo to mount the guard at his houſe. In the evening, the princeſs of Wales had an interview with the king; and, the next morning, the duke of Devonſhire, earl Cowper, the lord Townſhend, mr. Walpole, mr. Methuen, and mr. Pulteney, were admitted to kiſs the king's hand; and the duke of Devonſhire carried the ſword of ſtate before the king to the royal chapel, the prince of Wales accompanying them thither; and, at their return, the officers and retainers to the two courts congratulated each other upon this reconciliation. The next day, the great officers and miniſters of ſtate, and of the houſehold, and other perſons of diſtinction, waited on the prince of Wales, who, in the evening, went with his whole court to the apartments at St. James's, and had a long conference with the king. Moſt of the foreign miniſters had alſo, on this occaſion, a private audience of the prince of Wales.

Upon the riſing of the parliament, the king held a great council, in which he declared his deſign of viſiting his dominions in Germany, and named the lords-juſtices during his abſence. They were the ſame with thoſe of the laſt year: to whom were added the lord Townſhend (who was declared likewiſe lord-preſident of the council) and the duke of Devonſhire. The king, in the ſame council, conferred alſo ſeveral honours and preferments: the earl of Dorſet was created duke of Dorſet; the earl of Bridgewater, duke of Bridgwater; the lord viſcount Caſtleton, earl Caſtleton in the county of York; Hugh Boſcawen, Baron Boſcawen, and viſcount Falmouth in the county of Cornwall; John Wallop, baron Wallop of Wallop, and viſcount Lymington in the county of Southampton.[r]

On the 15th of June, the king embarked at Greenwich on

[q] People (ſays the memorial) are not ignorant of the negotiations of one Jerneghan, and ſir Hugh Paterſon, brother-in-law to the late lord Marr, with the Ruſſian miniſter, during the czar's ſtay in Holland. Intelligence has been had of the ſame miniſter's intrigues, both with the late duke of Ormond, during the ſtay he made incognito at Mittau, and with ſir Henry Sterling and the ſaid Jerneghan at Peterſburgh, as well as of the correſpondence eſtabliſhed, by means of this laſt perſon, between the czar and the court of Spain.

[r] The reſt of the honours and preferments were: Matthew Ducie Morton, baron Ducie de Morton, in the county of Stafford; John Barrington of

board the Carolina yatcht, and landed, the next morning, at Helvoet-Sluice, from whence he proceeded to Hanover. At his arrival in Germany, he found the peace concluded between Sweden and Denmark. This piece was of great importance; for the czar was left alone, and had reaſon to fear (as he had been threatened) that all his allies, who had been drawn off from him one after another, would unite againſt him, to reduce him within his antient bounds.

The treaty was ſigned at Frederickſtadt, on the 22d of June. The preamble did great honour to king George; ſetting forth, that it was reſolved to put an end to the cruel war, which had laſted ten years, by the preſſing inſtances of the king of Great-Britain, who has taken all imaginable pains to reconcile the parties, and has engaged them to conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms, the more eaſily to come at a peace, for which his majeſty has offered them his mediation, which they have accepted. By this treaty, every thing, that had paſſed during the war, was to be buried in eternal oblivium; liberty of commerce was entirely reſtored; both ſides renounced in the ſtrongeſt manner, all treaties, agreements, and alliances made with other powers, as far as they ſhould be contrary to the preſent treaty of peace, and, for the future, neither party ſhould enter into any treaty or alliance, which might be prejudicial or inconvenient to the other.

As the czar and his pretenſions were chiefly aimed at in theſe negotiations, it was required of the king of Denmark, that he ſhould, in the moſt expreſs terms, oblige himſelf not to aſſiſt the czar, during the war, under any pretence whatever, either with advice or forces: 'and becauſe (added the treaty) it is the intereſt, not only of the king and crown of Denmark, but alſo of other nations, that this war ſhould end in ſuch a manner, that the liberty of commerce ſhould be reſtored in the Baltic, his Daniſh majeſty promiſes not to ſuffer any Muſcovite ſhips in any of his ports in the ſea of Denmark or Norway; nor will permit them to bring in thither prizes of any nation whatever; and if it ſhall happen, that theſe prizes ſhould enter into his ports, he will reſtore them to the owners.'

The king of Denmark was put in poſſeſſion of Sleſwick, and reſolved to keep it. It was neceſſary likewiſe, in order to engage him to peace, that the king of Great-Britain ſhould guaranty to him the peaceable poſſeſſion of it, which had been done the 30th of October the laſt year. On the other hand, Sweden, indiſpenſably engaged as ſhe was with the duke Holſtein, could not with any decency, give up that duchy to the king of Denmark. But the following expedient was made uſe of to ſurmount theſe difficulties: 'foraſmuch (ſays the treaty) as the duke of Sleſwick-Holſtein has been concerned in the war of the north; and as the ſtrict alliance, between that prince and the crown of Sweden, might be an obſtacle to peace with regard to the duchy of Sleſwick; his Swediſh majeſty declares for himſelf and the crown of Sweden, and promiſes not to oppoſe, either directly, or indirectly, what may have been ſtipulated concerning that duchy, in favour of the king of Denmark, by the mediating powers, which have co-operated in the preſent treaty; and Sweden will not give any aſſiſtance to the duke of Holſtein againſt Denmark, which may be prejudicial to this ſtipulation.'

The king of Pruſſia, in making peace with Sweden, had been enjoined by the mediators to purchaſe the countries, he had taken from that crown. The king of Denmark, on the contrary, was obliged to ſell his conqueſts to Sweden, or, what amounted to the ſame, to give them up for an equivalent.

Thus the king of Denmark conſented to reſtore upper Pomerania, the iſle of Rugen, the towns and fortreſſes of Marſtrand and Stralſundt, and all the other iſlands and dependences without any exception, which had been taken from Sweden, in the ſtate they were in at the publication of the ſuſpenſion of arms, with the artillery and magazines, which were there, when Denmark ſeized them. He likewiſe gave up the city of Wiſmar, with its territory and dependences.

In return for theſe reſtitutions, Sweden conſented, that, for the future, and from the day of the ratification of the treaty, there ſhould be no longer any difference of nation in the Sound and the two Belts; ſo that the kingdom of Sweden renounced the exemption from toll in thoſe parts, and conſented, that her ſubjects ſhould pay them to Denmark for their ſhips and cargoes, upon the ſame foot, as the ſubjects of Great-Britain and the United-Provinces paid them.

Moreover, Sweden, to give a ſtill more ſenſible proof of her deſire for peace, bound herſelf to pay to the king of Denmark ſix hundred thouſand rix-dollars at one payment. This ſum was to be put into the hands of the mediators, not to be delivered till after the ſtipulated ceſſions were executed by the court of Denmark. It was added, in expreſs terms, that all the pretenſions of Denmark upon Sweden ſhould be extinct, by the obligation to the payment of toll in the Sound and Belts, and by the payment of the ſix hundred thouſand rix-dollars. The other articles contained various regulations, all proper to ſtrengthen the peace, and prevent, as far as poſſible, all occaſions of complaint.

The mediators took great pains to prevail with the king of Denmark to grant Sweden ſuch moderate terms. Beſides the antient and natural antipathy between the two nations, which was to be ſurmounted, the conqueſts, which had coſt him ſo much, and were ſo very convenient for him, were to be renounced. Undoubtedly, the apprehenſion of ſeeing the forces of all the allies of king George united againſt him made a greater impreſſion upon him, than the hopes of aſſiſtance from czar, who would not hear either of peace or any mediation from the king of Great-Britain.

Admiral Norris had ſailed in April with a ſquadron ſtrong enough to give weight to the king's mediation. When he arrived at Copenhagen, he wrote to prince Dolgorouki, the czar's ambaſſador at the court of Denmark, to notify to him, 'that the king, his maſter, had ordered him to come into thoſe ſeas with a ſquadron of his ſhips, to procure a juſt and reaſonable peace between the crowns of Sweden and Ruſſia; and that his majeſty having at heart the welfare of his ſubjects, as alſo the concerns of ſuch nations, as live in amity with him, ardently wiſhes, that this affair may be accompliſhed in a chriſtian, effectual, and ſpeedy manner: that, for this end, he was commanded to notify to the miniſters, generals, and admirals of czar, the repeated offers of his Britannic majeſty's mediation of peace between the two crowns; and that his Czarian majeſty, duly conſidering the preſent ſtate of affairs, would liſten to reaſonable conditions for an accommodation; and leſt, for want of full powers, this affair ſhould be obſtructed, the ſame were ſent to his envoy at Stockholm, and likewiſe to himſelf as his admiral, to the end, jointly or ſeparately, they may act in the quality of his majeſty's plenipotentiaries, in order to effect a peace between the two crowns, by way of mediation.' Prince Dolgorouki returned for anſwer, 'that the czar had nothing more at heart than peace and tranquility, of which he had given clear proofs during the war; but, becauſe Sweden had never expreſſed the like ſentiments, the continuation of the war could be imputed only to that crown. That, as for the expreſſions in the admiral's letter about the means of a peace, he could return no anſwer to that; and, in caſe his Britannic majeſty had any propoſals to make to the czar, he hoped the admiral would excuſe him from doing it, ſince it could be done a more compendious way.'

Upon this anſwer, the Engliſh fleet joined that of Sweden, but however as auxiliaries only. The Ruſſian fleet had prevented them, and landed near Uma five thouſand men, who met with no reſiſtance; they ſet fire to that town, and to all the villages in the neighbourhood. As the inhabitants did not expect ſuch an attac, all their effects were ſeized by the Muſcovites, who, without any loſs, returned to their ſhips. The combined fleets did not arrive till the enemy had reached the port of Revel, where it was not judged proper to attac them, but rather to make a diverſion in Finland. Nothing material was done, and ſome Swediſh ſhips, having imprudently engaged a ſuperior force without being timely ſupported, were very near being deſtroyed.

Becket, in the county of Berks, baron Barrington of Newcaſtle, and viſcount Barrington of Ardglaſs, in the kingdom of Ireland; Thomas Gage, baron Caſtelbar, and viſcount Gage of Caſtle-Iſland, in the kingdom of Ireland; William Vane, baron Vane of Dungannon in the county of Tyrone, and viſcount Vane; ſir Marcus Beresford, baron Beresford of Beresford in the county of Cavan, and viſcount Tyrone in the kingdom of Ireland; John Blunt of the city of London, ſir William Chapman, and Thomas Coleby of Kenſington were created baronets. The duke of Kingſton was appointed lord privy-ſeal; the duke of Grafton, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; mr. Robert Walpole, pavmaſter-general of the king's forces; mr. Methuen, comptroller of the houſhould; the duke of Queenſberry and the earl of Harold, gentlemen of the bed-chamber; the earl of Sunderland, John Aiſlabie, George Baillie, ſir Charles Turner, and Richard Edgecombe, commiſſioners of the treaſury; the earl of Weſtmorland, John Chetwynd, ſir Charles Cook, Paul Docminique, Martin Bladen, and John Aſhe, commiſſioners of trade and plantations; ſir Wilfred Lawſon, groom of his majeſty's bedchamber; ſir David Dalrymple, auditor of the exchequer in Scotland; Edward Elliot, commiſſioner of the exciſe; Henry Cartwright, commiſſioner of the victualling-office, Chr. Withers, ſurveyor-general of his majeſty's woods; colonel Charles Churchill, governor of Chelſea-Hoſpital; the lord Glenorchy, ambaſſador to the king of Denmark; and mr. Moleſworth, envoy to the court of Turin.

The czar was not ſo eaſy to be reduced as Spain had been. Poland, the only country contiguous to his dominions, did not think fit to attac him: and it was a great point gained, that king Auguſtus, notwithſtanding his obligations to the czar, had conſented to a ſeparate peace with Sweden.

Though king George could not at this time ſucceed in making peace between Ruſſia and Sweden, he had however at the end of the campaigne ſome hopes of it. Ulrica, who had been placed on the throne of Sweden in the room of her brother Charles XII. and had married the head of the family of Heſſe, was exteremely deſirous he ſhould be joined with her in the adminiſtration of the regal power. To this end ſhe writ with her own hand a letter to each of the four orders of the ſtates, repreſenting how neceſſary in the preſent difficult juncture, and how conducive to the public welfare, would be the aſſiſtance of his royal highneſs in the adminiſtration of the government, and therefore hoped the States would gratify her in conferring on him the regal dignity.

As the propoſal of placing the prince of Heſſe on the throne, jointly with the queen, met with great oppoſition from the nobles, ſhe writ a ſecond letter to the States, offering to reſign her ſhare of the regal power, and to be content that it ſhould be executed by her royal conſort alone. Upon this the States unanimouſly elected him king.[s]

The advancement of Frederick to the throne of Sweden gave him occaſion to ſend one of his principal officers to notify it to the czar, who, in return, ſent one of his generals to congratulate the new king. Upon this were grounded the hopes of a reconciliation. But the Ruſſian envoy was commiſſioned only to demand ſome paſſports, and propoſe an exchange of priſoners, and a ſuſpenſion of arms during the winter. He added however, and doubtleſs with a view to king George, that the czar was not ſo averſe to peace as might be thought, and only wanted reaſonable terms to be made him, for which there was no need of a mediator.

Theſe things, relating to the affairs of Sweden and Ruſſia, had for the moſt part paſſed before the king's arrival in his German dominions. All the foreign miniſters followed him to Hanover, where he did not want buſineſs or matter to exerciſe his talents for negotiation, which after all are the true talents of a ſovereign. Miniſters indeed generally ſupply what may be wanting in a prince; but the caſe was otherwiſe with king George. He looked into every thing himſelf: his miniſters did nothing without him, whilſt he did many things without them.

The treaties of peace to which ſeveral ſtates had been led, and in ſome meaſure compelled, were for the moſt part tranſacted in haſte. It was impoſſible to ſettle the particular intereſt of the contracting powers and their allies. Theſe treaties, properly ſpeaking, were only a ceſſation from hoſtilities, and an engagement to more exact and regular negotiations. To fix and aſcertain ſo many complicated intereſts, and prevent the flames of war from kindling afreſh, king George and the regent of France joined their endeavours to eſtabliſh two congreſſes; one at Brunſwick for the affairs of the north, and the other at Cambray for the reſt of Europe.

Whilſt the king was employed abroad in hearing and ſettling the grievances and intereſts of the nations and their ſovereigns, particularly thoſe of the proteſtants of Germany, the regency were no leſs employed at home in curbing the exceſſive deſire of gain, which the progreſs of the South-ſea company had raiſed, and in curing the deſpair which attended its fall. As theſe are the moſt conſiderable events of this reign, and ſuch as will never be forgot by Great-Britain, they deſerve to be related at large.

The South-ſea ſcheme ſeems to be taken from that of the Miſſiſſippi company in France, formed by mr. Law the laſt year. Mr Law was born at Edinburgh, and had propoſed to the parliament of Scotland, in 1705, a ſcheme for ſupplying the nation with money, which, though favoured by the duke of Argyle, then high-commiſſioner, and ſeveral members of parliament, was however rejected. Upon this he applied himſelf to the lord-treaſurer Harley, and tranſmitted to him another propoſal for the increaſe of trade and credit, but meeting with no encouragement, and not being able to get his pardon, for having killed Beau Wilſon in a duel, he was compelled to live abroad, where, after undergoing great variety of perſecutions from his enemies, he ſettled in France. During his ſtay in England he had informed himſelf fully of the management of the bank and Eaſt-India company, and in order to ſettle the fluctuating manner of things in France, he propoſed to the regent to lay the foundation of credit by erecting a bank. The regent approved of the ſcheme, the bank was eſtabliſhed: the king began the ſubſcription, the regent followed, with innumerable others. This project met with ſuch ſucceſs, that, in three ſubſcriptions, more than all the money in France was ſaid to be ſubſcribed to it: for, by the end of the year 1719, bills were given out for 640 millions of livres, which exceeds the value of the bills circulated by all the banks in Europe. There was added a circulation of 360 millions, and the whole amounted to 1000 millions of livres, making above 38 millions of pounds ſterling at the exchange then current.[t]

A bank being thus erected, and credit eſtabliſhed, mr. Law formed the project of the Miſſiſſippi or India company, who were to have the ſole privilege of the trade to Louiſiana, or the country of Miſſiſſippi, ſo called from a river of that name, which runs through it from north to ſouth. Purſuant to this ſcheme, a ſubſcription of ſtoc was opened, and all were admitted to ſubſcribe. The ſum firſt propoſed to be raiſed was only 60 millions of livres, to be ſubſcribed in ſtate-bills. Theſe ſtate-bills or public ſecurities were then very low, being from 57 to 63 per cent. diſcount; but, as they were received at par without any loſs in the company's ſtoc, the firſt ſubſcription of 60 millions was ſoon filled. The capital ſtoc was then enlarged to 100 millions, and the actions or ſhares roſe to 120. After this a new creation of actions was made for 25 millions more, which were delivered out at 110, and ſoon roſe to 200. As people appeared very eager to lay out their money this way, an arrêt of the council of ſtate was publiſhed for circulating bank-bills to the value of 25 millions, in the Miſſiſſippi company, upon which the actions, about Midſummer, 1719, run up 560. The company, finding their credit ſo well eſtabliſhed, propoſed to lend the king 50 millions, for which there was a new creation of actions for 25 millions, upon the foot of 200 per action. About the end of Auguſt, the company propoſed to the king another loan of 1200 millions, at three per cent. As the actions were now advanced to 1200, the company, in order to riſe the loan, opened their books for 500 millions, by the ſale of 50 millions of actions, at the rate of 1000 per action. The ſubſcriptions were filled in a few hours; and, in leſs than three weeks, two ſubſcriptions more, for the like ſum of 500 millions each, were opened with the ſame ſucceſs. The firſt payment of theſe three ſubſcriptions roſe ſo conſiderably, as to be ſold at 300 per cent. profit. From that time the actions roſe to 2050.[u]

The Miſſiſſippi ſtoc was in its greateſt proſperity during the months of November and December, 1719, and, in the January following, mr. Law, who was become the greateſt ſubject in Europe, was made comptroller-general of the finances of France. From that time the ſtoc began to decline, and by the end of May, all things fell into confuſion at Paris, occaſioned by an arrêt to reduce bank notes and actions of the company, mr. Law reſigned his place, and had two Swiſs officers given him for his guard. By this project the ſtate indeed gained immenſely, 1500 millions of the king's debts being tranſpoſed from him to the people, who were content to diſcharge the public, and owe

[s] The act of election, which was read to the king, was to this effect: that the king is elected according to the laws and conſtitutions of the kingdom, not out of any duty, but by the free-will of all the ſenators and the ſtates, who do declare the kingdom hereditary in the male-iſſue his majeſty ſhall have by the queen, and who, upon the deceaſe of their father, ſhall take upon themſelves the adminiſtration, without any farther election; but, in caſe both their majeſties ſhall die without male-iſſue, that all the ſtates ſhall proceed to a new election, without any previous ſummons, thirty days after the deceaſe of the ſurvivor. That they think themſelves well aſſured his majeſty will never ſuffer the ſovereignty (or abſolute power) which always proved ſo pernicious to the kingdom, to be introduced again; but that he, as well as the heirs of his body, will govern the kingdom according to the laws and conſtitutions, maintain it in the chriſtian evangelical religion, and let the ſubjects have the unprejudiced enjoyment of all their privileges, according to the aſſurances given in writing by his majeſty; in which caſe they will always behave themſelves as faithful and true liege ſubjects to his majeſty. Hiſt. Reg.

[t] The French crown, of five livres and two-fifths was worth 4s. and 1½d. Engliſh money.

[u] Thus the capital ſtoc conſiſted of theſe ſeven ſubſcriptions:

60	millions of the firſt ſubſcription.
40	of the ſecond.
25	of the third.
25	of the fourth.
50	of the fifth.
50	of the ſixth.
50	of the ſeventh.
300	millions.

The total of the actions, which, when they ſold at 2050, the total amounted to above 6000 millions of livres, or 228 millions ſterling.

the money to one another. Conſequently, when the fall came (except a few great fortunes that were made) there was almoſt a general ruin through all France.

This revolution of the Miſſiſſippi ſtoc at Paris was not regarded in England, where the like infatuation univerſally prevailed, and was followed by the like conſequences.

When the bill paſſed in favour of the South-ſea company, it was expected the ſtoc would have greatly advanced, but the contrary happened; for, the day after, it fell from 310 to 290. In order to raiſe it, a rumour was ſpread, that earl Stanhope had received overtures in France to exchange Gibraltar and Port-Mahon for ſome places in Peru, for the ſecurity and enlargement of the Engliſh trade in the South-ſea; which had its effect in Exchange-alley. For, on the 12th of April, five days after the royal aſſent was given to the bill, the directors opened their books for a ſubſcription of a million, at the rate of 300l. for every 100l. capital. Such was the concourſe of perſons of all ranks, that this firſt ſubſcription was found to amount to above two millions of original ſtoc. It was to be paid at five payments of 60l. each, for one ſhare of 100l. In a few days the ſtoc advanced to 340, and the ſubſcriptions were ſold for double the price of the firſt payment. To raiſe the ſtoc ſtill higher, on the 21ſt of April it was declared in a general court, that the Midſummer dividend ſhould be ten per cent. and all ſubſcriptions ſhould be intitled to the ſame. Thoſe reſolutions anſwering the end deſigned, the directors, to improve the infatuation of the monied men, opened their books for a ſecond ſubſcription of one million, at 400l. per cent. In a few hours, no leſs than a million and half was ſubſcribed at that rate; and ſo great was the confidence which was placed in the directors, that many depoſited in their hands their annuities, without knowing what price the company would allow for them.

On the 19th of May, the directors thought fit to ſettle the terms and prices for the long and ſhort annuities, which had been ſubſcribed; and, the ſtoc being that day 375l. per cent. it was reſolved to allow, for every 100l. per annum of the long annuities, 700l. in the capital ſtoc (which at 375l. per cent. amounted to 2625l.) and 575l. in bonds and money: ſo the total for each 100l. per annum amounted to 3200l. or thirty-two years purchaſe. For every 90l. per annum of the ſhort annuities, they agreed to allow 350l. in the capital ſtoc, which, at 375l. per cent. amounted to 1312l. 10s. and in bonds and money 217l. 10s. which together made 1530l. or ſeventeen years purchaſe.

Theſe offers occaſioned at firſt great murmurings among the annuitants, who, having expected ten years, found they were to have but eight years and a quarter's purchaſe. Upon which ſome withdrew their orders, and others reſolved not to ſubſcribe. But, the South-ſea managers having found means to raiſe their ſtoc to 500l. per cent. moſt of the annuitants appeared eaſy; ſo it was computed, that, by the 29th of May, almoſt two-thirds of the annuities were ſubſcribed.

The arts of ſtoc-jobbers drew a great concourſe of perſons of all ranks into Exchange-alley, by whoſe unexampled eagerneſs of laying out their money in a fund, that promiſed ſo plentiful a return of gain, that ſtoc, which about the latter end of May, was at about 550, roſe on a ſudden ſo prodigiouſly, that on Thurſday, the 2d of June, it came up to 890. Many cautious perſons being willing to take this opportunity to ſecure their great profits, there appeared the next day ſo many ſellers in the alley, that, by two or three o'clock in the afternoon, the ſtoc fell to 640; at which the chief directors of the South-ſea company being alarmed, ſet their agents to work, by whoſe artful management the ſtoc was the ſame evening advancnd to 750; about which price, with ſome ſmall fluctuation, it continued till the cloſing of the company's books on the 22d of June. In the mean time, the South-ſea ſtoc ſuffered a conſiderable ſhoc. For many perſons, who were to follow the king to Hanover, and others, who found a difficulty of making their ſecond payment to the firſt ſubſcription, were both equally deſirous to turn their ſtoc into money; ſo that, for ſome days, the number of ſellers exceeded that of buyers. Wherefore the managers of the company formed two expedients: the firſt was their lending out money, or notes, to the proprietors of the capital ſtoc, to the ſum of 400l. upon 100l. original ſtoc (which ſhewed it to be worth above that ſum) at the rate of 4l. per cent. per annum. The ſecond was their giving public notice, 'that all perſons poſſeſſed of any of the company's bonds, which fell due on the 25th of June, might then have their money for the ſame of the company's caſhier: and that the bonds would be taken in on the ſecond payment for the 2,250,000l. South-ſea ſtoc, ſold by ſubſcription after the rate of 300l. for each 100l. original ſtoc.' By theſe means money being plenty, and the ſtoc-jobbers in good humour, the South-ſea company opened their books for a third ſubſcription, at the rate of 1000l. for each 100l. capital ſtoc, to be paid in ten equal payments, one in hand, and the other nine half-yearly. But, ſome men in power having taken this opportunity to oblige their friends, their liſts were ſo full, that the directors enlarged it to four millions capital ſtoc, which, at that price, amounted to forty millions ſterling. And, what is more ſtrange, theſe laſt ſubſcriptions were, before the end of June, ſold at above 200l. per cent. advance, and, after the cloſing of the transfer-books, the original ſtoc roſe to above 1000l. per cent. At the ſame time the firſt ſubſcriptions were at 560, and the ſecond at 6 per cent. advance, the bank at 260, and Eaſt-India 440.

The whole nation was become ſtoc-jobbers. The South-ſea was like an infectious diſtemper, which ſpread itſelf in an aſtoniſhing manner. Every evening produced new projects, which were juſtly called bubbles, and new companies appeared every day. Theſe were countenanced by the greateſt of the nobility. The prince of Wales was governor of the Welſh copper; the duke of Chandos, of York-Buildings; the duke of Bridgewater formed a company for building houſes in London and Weſtminſter. There were near a hundred different kinds of projects or bubbles; and it was computed, that above a million and a half was won and loſt by theſe unwarrantable practices, by which many unwary perſons were defrauded and impoveriſhed, and a few craſty men enriched, to the great detriment of domeſtic trade. The king had, the ſame day the parliament roſe, publiſhed a proclamation, declaring all theſe unlawful projects ſhould be deemed as common nuſances, and proſecuted as ſuch; with the penalty of 500l. for any broker to buy or ſell any ſhares in them. Notwithſtanding this proclamation, ſeveral of the illegal projects were ſtill carried on; upon which the lords-juſtices, on the 12th of July, to put a ſtop to all farther proceedings, ordered all the petitions, that had been preſented for patents and charters, to be diſmiſſed.

The ſeveral ſums, intended to be raiſed by theſe projects, amounted to no leſs than three hundred millions ſterling, a ſum ſo immenſe, that it exceeds the value of all the lands in England, at the rate of twenty years purchaſe. However, the eagerneſs of getting riches, by quic and eaſy methods, had, at that time, ſo intoxicated the minds of moſt people of all degrees, that the moſt extravagant bubbles found many ſubſcribers: ſome of whom ſold their firſt ſubſcriptions at a great profit, whereby the laſt buyers were conſiderable loſers.[x]

The transfer-book of the South-ſea company were ſhut up the whole month of July. During that time, there was no great variation, except only that the price of the capital ſtoc decreaſed gradually, from above 1000 to 930, in proportion as the third ſubſcription to 1000 roſe to 330 advance or clear profit. In the mean time, the directors, at a meeting on the 8th of July, reſolved to open their books, for taking in ſubſcriptions of the lottery tickets, and other ſhort annuities, to the amount of ſix millions ſterling; but, though they did not then think fit to declare at what rate they deſigned to take thoſe effects, yet the proprietors entirely truſted to their integrity; and readily ſubſcribed the ſame on the 14th and 15th of that month. After which the books were ſhut up. From that time to the end of July, the ſtoc fell gradually from about 1000 to 900, including the Midſummer dividend. In the mean time, it being confidently reported, that the capital ſtoc was to be enlarged by a fourth ſubſcription in money, ſome perſons in eminent ſtations deſired the principal managers to put off the ſubſcription, till the proprietors of the remaining part of the long annuities had ſubſcribed, ſince the taking in of thoſe public debts, in order to make them redeemable, was the main view, upon which the miniſtry and the parliament thought fit to encourage the South-ſea project. Some pretend, that the men in power made this ſtep, not only to free themſelves from the importunity of many, who ſued to be ſet down in their liſts, for a ſhare in the next

[x] How great the general infatuation or thirſt of gain was, appears from the following inſtance: a propoſal was offered, 'for carrying on an undertaking of great advantage, but nobody to know what it is.' The projector formed a ſcheme for half a million, by which every ſubſcriber, paying down two guineas for ſubſcribing, was to have 100l. a year for every 100l. ſo ſubſcribed. But how this was to be done did not appear in the propoſals, where it was alſo ſaid, that in a month the particulars of the project ſhould be laid open and the money ſubſcribed was then to be laid in. As extravagant as this ſcheme was, the projector in a forenoon received 1000 ſubſcriptions, with which, amounting to 2000 guineas, he went off in the afternoon.

ſubſcription; but alſo, in order to reſerve part of the to-be-increaſed capital ſtoc, till a new ſet of directors were choſen, who ſhould have a ſhare in the profits of future ſubſcriptions, in caſe the humour of buying up the ſame at an advanced price ſhould laſt ſo long. However that be, in a committee of the directors the 27th of July, it being conſidered, that ſeveral perſons, admitted as ſubſcribers to the third ſubſcription in money, had not yet made their firſt payment, it was reſolved, that none but the proprietors of their capital and increaſed ſtoc ſhould be admitted into the the next ſubſcription in money, at the rate of 20 per cent. ſo that a proprietor of 1000l. capital ſtoc ſhould be intitled to ſubſcribe 200l. In this reſolution, they who hitherto had carried on this great project with equal ſkill and ſucceſs, had undoubtedly two things in view; firſt, to allay the murmurings of many of the old proprietors, who complained, that the directors and great men at court had engroſſed for themſelves and their dependants moſt of the profits of the three firſt ſubſcriptions. And, ſecondly, that, in caſe the eagerneſs of buyers ſhould abate, which was to be apprehended from the daily ſinking of the price of South-ſea ſtoc, the company might be aſſured, that the new ſubſcribers would make the ſeveral payments, to which they ſhould ſubmit themſelves, and for for which their capital ſtoc would be a ſufficient ſecurity. On the other hand, many of the old proprietors were ſo far from looking upon this reſolution as a favour, that, on the contrary, they did not ſtic to ſay, 'that the directors, having had the cream for themſelves, would now give the proprietors the four milk.' This complaint ſeemed to be the better grounded, becauſe it was well known, that thoſe who had got moſt by the South-ſea, daily endeavouring to ſell out, and ſecure their vaſt profits; and, in particular, that the principal projector of this ſcheme had bought conſiderable eſtates in Norfolk and other counties.

Purſuant to what had been deſired, it was reſolved on the 3d of Auguſt, at a court of directors, to receive ſubſcriptions of all the remaining long and ſhort annuities, lottery tickets, and other public ſecurities, both redeemable and irredeemable. For which purpoſe the books were opened the next day at the South-ſea houſe, and continued ſo till the 11th of Auguſt. The day after the directors publiſhed the terms they intended to allow to the proprietors. For every 1000l. a year of the long annuities, they offered 400l. in the capital ſtoc, which at 800l. per cent. (the price then of ſtoc, excluſive of the Midſummer dividend) amounted to 3200l. and in bonds or money 400l. making in all 3600l. or 36 years purchaſe. For every 90l. a year of the ſhort annuities they allowed 200l. ſtoc, which at 800l. per cent. amounted to 1600l. or 17 years purchaſe, and ſeven-ninths. The redeemable annuities and debts (as well as thoſe at 4 per cent. as thoſe at 5 per cent.) were to be taken in at 105 per cent. and allowed for the ſame in capital ſtoc at the rate of 800l. per cent. excluſive of the Midſummer dividend.

Many of the annuitants were not ſatisfied with theſe offers, which they ſaid, put ſo great a diſparity (no leſs than near half by half) between them and the former ſubſcribers; for, by the reſolution of the directors of the 19th of May, there was allowed, for every 100l. a year of the long annuities, 700l. in the capital ſtoc, beſides 10l. per cent. for the Midſummer dividend, and, in bonds or money, 575l. all which (computing the ſtoc at 800l. per cent. as it was given to the preſent ſubſcribers of the like annuities) amounted to 6735l. whereas, by theſe laſt reſolutions, there was allowed, for the ſame annuity, only 3600l. For this reaſon ſome of the laſt ſubſcribers went to the South-ſea houſe, in order to withdraw their effects; but they were told by the clerks, that there was no order from the directors for delivering them bac: ſo the affair reſted, for ſome time, undetermined.

The uneaſineſs of the annuitants put a freſh damp upon the South-ſea ſtoc; but what affected it more was the boldneſs of many perſons concerned in the illegal projects, who, in open defiance to the late acts of parliament, to the king's proclamation, and to the orders and prohibitions of the lords-juſtices, carried them on. Some of theſe companies, authoriſed either by charters or acts of parliament, did conſiderable prejudice to the South-ſea, by endeavouring to procure ſubſcriptions. Upon this, the principal directors of the South-ſea applied to thoſe at the helm, and obtained an order againſt them from the lords-juſtices, which was firſt publiſhed in the London Gazette of Auguſt the 20th, and which greatly affected the ſtocs of the York Buildings company, the Luſtring company, the Engliſh copper, and the Welſh copper and lead, and of their illegal projects. This very much alarmed the perſons concerned in theſe companies, ſome of whom ſuſtained conſiderable loſſes, and all of them ſaw their extravagant hopes and expectations entirely vaniſh. Upon the murmurings occaſioned by their diſappointment, the lords-juſtices ordered the directors of theſe companies to attend them at a general council, the 23d of Auguſt, where they condeſcended to tell them the reaſons, that had obliged them to order a proſecution againſt them. The directors, both of the Royal Exchange, and of the London Aſſurance, attended likewiſe, and were cautioned to keep ſtrictly to the limitation of their charters, that no complaint might lie againſt them.

The companies ordered to be proſecuted having recovered their fright, and conſulted able lawyers, ſeemed reſolved to ſtand trial, and aſſert their rights of managing their own affairs as they pleaſed. The Welſh copper miners were yet more bold and refactory, for that very day (Auguſt 23,) they opened their books, and made transfers of their ſtoc.

Before the lords-juſtices had cauſed their order to be publiſhed, they ſent a compliment to the prince of Wales, to acquaint him, that the company of Engliſh copper, of which he had been pleaſed to be choſen governor, being illegal, they were obliged to involve it in the order; upon which the prince ſent a meſſage to the company, deſiring them to chooſe another governor.

All this while the South-ſea ſtoc continued ſinking; ſo that on the 17th of Auguſt, it fell to 830, including the Midſummer dividend; which having given the directors no ſmall uneaſineſs, ſome of their agents were immediately detached into Exchange-alley, to buy a conſiderable quantity of ſtoc, which thereupon roſe to 880. But, the humour of felling out, continuing the two following days, the ſtocs fell again to about 820, at which price the transfer-books were opened on the 22d of Auguſt. That day, and the next morning, there was a great croud at the South-ſea houſe; and the directors obſerving that great quantities of ſtoc had been bought at a thouſand, and even at higher rates, for the opening of the books, and that many perſons would be obliged to ſell out, in order to pay the difference, which could not fail ſinking the ſtoc yet lower; they came to a ſudden and unexpected reſolution to ſhut the transfer-books; and the next day to open other books, for taking in a money ſubſcription of one million, to the capital ſtoc, at the rate of 1000l. for every 100l. capital ſtoc, to be paid in five payments, 20l. per cent. in hand, and the reſt in four equal payments. Accordingly the ſubſcription-books were opened the 24th of Auguſt; and there was ſuch a croud of ſubſcribers, and amongſt them not a few of the prime nobility, that in leſs than three hours, more than the intended ſum was ſubſcribed; and that very afternoon this fourth ſubſcription was ſold in Exchange-alley at 30 or 40 per cent. advance. The next day the principal directors, having conſulted together about their future management, came to ſeveral reſolutions, of which, that very evening they informed the public by the following advertiſement:

South-Sea Houſe, Auguſt 25th, 1720.

'The court of directors of the South-ſea company give notice, that the transfer-books of the company will be ſhut from the 31ſt day of Auguſt to the 21ſt of September, in order to the admitting as well the proprietors of the original capital ſtoc, and of the ſtoc for the laſt Midſummer dividend, as the proprietors of the ſtoc for all the long annuities, 9 per cents. and tickets of lottery 1710, and of the ſeveral redeemable debts, which have been ſubſcribed or depoſited, or authorized to be ſubſcribed into the capital ſtoc, and alſo the proprietors of the firſt, ſecond, third, and fourth money ſubſcriptions of the company into a ſubſcription of 20 per cent. of the capital ſtoc, upon the terms agreed upon by the court of directors. The company will lend the firſt payment for the intended ſubſcription to all the proprietors of the original and dividend ſtoc, and of the ſubſcription in the long annuities, 9 per cents. and tickets of lottery 1710, and in the redeemable debts; and of the firſt and ſecond money ſubſcriptions, without transferring their ſtoc, or depoſiting the ſubſcription receipts; which ſubſcription books will be opened on the 12th of September; and ſuch of the proprietors, as do not ſubſcribe within that time, will be excluded the benefit of the ſubſcription.'

The next day (Auguſt the 26th) the transfer-books were opened again; but, the South-ſea ſtoc, inſtead of advancing, being by this time fallen under 800, the directors, who had now large ſums of money in their hands, thought fit to lend to their proprietors 4000l, upon every 1000l. ſtoc for ſix months, at the rate of 4 per cent. which enabled ſome of thoſe, who had bought ſtoc at a higher price than the pre-

ſent, to ſatisfy their creditors. What ſtill embarraſſed the directors was the caſe of the annuitants, and others, who had lately ſubſcribed their public ſecurities, and who thought it a great hardſhip to have the ſtoc given them at 800l. per cent. when it was now little above 700, excluſive of the Midſummer dividend. In order to ſilence theſe and the like murmurings, after a long conſultation, on the 30th of Auguſt, the directors came to a reſolution, 'that 30 per cent. in money ſhould be the half-year's dividend due at Chriſtmas next; and from thence for twelve years, not leſs than 50 per cent. in money ſhould be the yearly dividend on their ſtoc.' What effect this reſolution had, was ſoon after manifeſt; for though it raiſed the ſtoc to about 800 for the opening of the books, yet it ſoon ſunk again, and in about three weeks fell gradually below 400.

The directors, having reſolved the future dividends, thought it time to procure the ſanction of the whole corporation; for which purpoſe they appointed (Sept. 8.) a general court to be held at Merchant-Taylor's-Hall, declaring, that this aſſembly would be one of the half-yearly general courts appointed by the charter; and to chuſe a committee of ſeven, to inſpect the by-laws.

On the appointed day, the friends of the directors took care to repair betimes to Merchant-Taylor's-Hall, which, by nine o'clock in the morning, was filled; and many proprietors and annuitants, who endeavoured to get in, could not gain admittance. The directors having taken their ſeats between eleven and twelve of the clock, ſir John Fellows, ſub-governor, acquainted the aſſembly with the occaſion of their meeting; read to them the ſeveral reſolutions of the court of directors; and gave them an account of their proceedings; of the taking in both the redeemable and unredeemable funds, and of the ſubſcriptions in money. This done, mr. Craggs ſenior made a ſhort ſpeech, wherein he commended the conduct of the directors; and urged, that nothing could more effectually contribute to the bringing this ſcheme to perfection than union among themſelves; and concluded with a motion, for thanking the court of directors for their prudent and ſkilful management, and for deſiring them to proceed in ſuch methods, as they ſhould think moſt proper for the intereſt and advantage of the corporation.

Mr Craggs was ſeconded by mr. Hungerford, who ſaid, 'that he had ſeen the riſe and fall, the decay and reſurrection of many communities of this nature; but that, in his opinion, none ever performed ſuch wonderful things in ſo ſhort a time, as the South-ſea managers had brought about: that they had done more than the crown, the pulpit, and the magiſtrate could do: for they had reconciled all parties in one common intereſt, and thereby laid aſleep, if not wholly extinguiſhed, our domeſtic jars and animoſities: that by the riſe of their ſtocs the monied-men had vaſtly increaſed their fortunes; the country gentlemen had ſeen the value of their lands doubled and trebled in their hands; and they had, at the ſame time, done good to the church, not a few of the reverend clergy having got great ſums by this project: that, in ſhort, they had enriched the whole nation; and he hoped they had not forgot themſelves.' One or two members of the aſſembly having offered to ſpeak in favour of the annuitants, and to cenſure the conduct of the directors, they were preſently hiſſed to ſilence; and mr. Hungerford, reſuming his ſpeech, continued juſtifying and applauding the directors, and concluded with ſupporting mr. Craggs's motion. The duke of Portland ſpoke on the ſame ſide, and ſaid, 'that he did not know what reaſons any body had to be diſſatisfied;' and gave in a draught of the motion for returning thanks to the directors; which being read by the clerk, it was unanimouſly approved. It was likewiſe agreed, that, according to the reſolution of the directors, 'the next Chriſtmas dividend on the ſtoc and ſubſcriptions in money ſhould be 30 per cent; and that a dividend of not leſs than 50 per cent. per annum be made from Chriſtmas next, in half-yearly payments, for not leſs than twelve years, upon the whole ſtoc and ſubſcriptions.' They likewiſe agreed with the court of directors to omit the 20 per cent. ſubſcription in money, which had been intended for the proprietors of the original ſtoc and former ſubſcriptions. After which a motion was made, 'that the laſt ſubſcribers, both of the redeemable and unredeemable funds, ſhould have the alternative, either to withdraw their orders, or to accept the terms offered them by the court of directors.' But, the queſtion being put, it was carried in the negative, three or four voices excepted. Then, upon the earl of Orkney's motion, the general court was adjourned.

But, though the directors carried their main point in the general court, yet the negative put upon the motion, in the behalf of the laſt ſubſcribers, highly increaſed the public diſcontent, and raiſed ſuch a diſtruſt of the honeſty of the managers, that the ſame day (Sept. 8.) the ſtoc fell to 640, and, on the morrow, to 550. Upon this, the directors reſolved to open the transfer-books the Monday following, which having thrown ſome damp upon the ſtoc-jobbing in the alley, the South-ſea roſe that day (Sept. 9.) to 640. On the other hand, ſeveral of the laſt ſubſcribers of annuities went with a public notary to the South-ſea houſe, to demand their orders; and, upon the refuſal of the officers to deliver them, the proprietors made their proteſts in due form, and reſolved to ſeek their remedy at law. In the mean time, they loudly complained of the unfair manner, in which they were drawn in to ſubſcribe their annuities; for, it ſeems, at the top of every page of the ſubſcription-book, there was a ſhort letter of attorney, whereby the ſubſcribers impowered three perſons, therein named, to accept ſuch terms, as the company ſhould think fit to give them for their effects; which they alledged to be a mere tric, not one in a hundred of the ſubſcribers having read the enſnaring preamble.

On the 10th of September, the directors cauſed the following advertiſement to be publiſhed: 'The court of directors give notice, that the dividends for Chriſtmas next, and afterwards, voted by the general court on the 8th of September, which ſhall become due on the four money-ſubſcriptions already taken for ſale of the ſtoc of the company, will be allowed in part of the payments, which ſhall become due on the ſubſcriptions; and that the 10 per cent. ſtoc for the laſt Midſummer dividend, on the firſt, ſecond, and third of the money ſubſcriptions, will be entitled to the like dividends, and be allowed in further part of the payment on thoſe ſubſcriptions. And whereas the transfer-books of the company were advertiſed to be ſhut from the 31ſt of Auguſt laſt to the 21ſt of September, in order to the making the ſubſcriptions of 20 per cent. intended for the proprietors; and the general court having ſince agreed that this ſubſcription be omitted, the court of directors give notice, that the transfer-books will be opened on the 12th inſtant, and will continue open as uſual.'

Some of the managers vainly expected, that this advertiſement would have contributed to the keeping up the ſtoc; but as it continued ſinking, they were obliged to have recourſe to more effectual methods. They made ſome ſecret advances towards an union with the Eaſt India company; but, a ſecret committee of that company, appointed to conſider of their offers, not having thought proper to accept them, they were forced to court the aſſiſtance of their rival, the bank of England. At the earneſt deſire, and by the zealous interpoſition of mr. ſecretary Craggs, ſeveral conferences were held between a ſelect number of the directors of thoſe two corporations; which raiſed ſo great an expectation, that, on the 12th of September, in the morning, upon a report, that they had come to an agreement for circulating ſix millions of the South-ſea company's bonds, the ſtoc roſe immediately to 670; but in the afternoon, as ſoon as that report was known to be groundleſs, the ſtoc fell again to 580; the next day to 570 and ſo gradually to 400; which increaſed the murmurings and complaints of the laſt ſubſcribers, and expoſed ſeveral of the directors to public inſults.

Mr Walpole (who was pay-maſter of the army, and lived the greateſt part of that ſummer in the country, to avoid giving offence to thoſe that had, with the directors, the management of the South-ſea affairs) being then thought to have great credit and influence with the bank, was ſent for out of the country, and importuned to uſe his intereſt to induce the bank to agree to a propoſal made by the South-ſea company, for circulating a number of their bonds.

It is to be obſerved that nothing of this kind aroſe from the bank, or was at their motion: and, as far as it appears, nothing but an apprehenſion of the people's reſentment, with which they were loudly threatned, could have prevailed with the bank to have treated at all with the South-ſea company, and involve themſelves in their calamities. But the clamour was irreſiſtible, and the bank, out of neceſſity, hearkned to the propoſals of the South-ſea company; for from them every ſtep and motion proceeded.

The firſt expedient was for the bank to circulate bonds of the South-ſea company to a certain value for a time to be agreed upon, and a propoſal to that effect was, on the 16th of September, ſent to the bank by the ſub and deputy governors of the South-ſea company.

This not being reliſhed immediately, it was propoſed, that there ſhould be a meeting of a committee conſiſting of five of each company at the poſt-maſter's houſe, where were

likewiſe preſent, lord preſident, mr. ſecretary Craggs, the chancellor of the exchequer, and mr. Craggs, poſt-maſter-general [y]. The meeting was on the 19th of September, three days after the propoſal.

This conference laſted many hours with great reluctance on the part of the bank, but was preſſed with ſo much eagerneſs and authority on the other ſide, that the bank was prevailed upon to yield.

It was thought proper, before they parted, that ſomething ſhould be reduced into writing, as a minute of the ſubſtance of what had been under conſideration, and to ſerve as a foundation of a future agreement or contract between the two companies.

There was ſome little diſpute who ſhould draw the minute, but it being the general deſire of the company, that mr. Walpole ſhould do it, in the preſence of the whole meeting he put down in writing what has ever ſince been called, 'the bank contract,' and which was in the following words, 'that the bank of England ſhall undertake to circulate three millions of South-ſea bonds for one year, at a premium to be agreed upon by the two companies; a ſubſcription to be taken, for enabling the bank to carry on the circulation ——per cent. to be paid down by every ſubſcriber, and ——per cent. upon every call at a fortnight's notice; the contract with the ſubſcribers to be made in the nature and form with former contracts for circulating exchequer bills, and the charges of circulation to be borne by the South-ſea company. That, in conſideration of this undertaking, the South-ſea company ſhall pay the 3,700,000l. to be paid to the bank by notice of parliament, in South-ſea ſtoc, at a price to be agreed on between the two companies.

This paper (which was all that mr. Walpole ever wrote relating to the affair; for at the other meetings he was never once preſent) had no title or preamble, ſignifying what it imported: the premium for circulating, and what was to be paid down for the circulation, was left blank, and the moſt material part of the whole, at what price the bank was to take the South-ſea ſtoc for 3,700,000l. was referred to a ſubſequent agreement. So it could not with any propriety be called a contract, but rather a rough draught of an agreement void of all form or any manner of obligation.

The next day after this meeting (Sept. 20.) there was a general court of the South-ſea company at Merchants-Taylors-Hall, where ſir John Fellows, the ſub-governor, acquainted them, 'that, ſince their laſt meeting, their ſtoc having taken an unexpected turn to the diſadvantage of the company, the directors had been conſulted what might be moſt for the benefit of the corporation; and conſidering the great credit the bank of England had juſtly gained, both at home and abroad, they had thought it for their intereſt to treat with that company, for the circulating their bonds, and to grant them ſtoc at a moderate price, in lieu of the 3,700,000l. which the South-ſea company was to pay them at Lady-day, and Michaelmas, 1721. And that from the reſult of the meeting they had the night before with ſome gentlemen of the bank, and ſome perſons of the firſt rank, they doubted not but ſuch an agreement might ſoon be perfected.' Hereupon mr. Dawſon moved, 'that the directors be empowered to agree with the bank of England, or any other perſons, to circulate the company's bonds, or make any other agreement with the bank, which they ſhould judge proper:' and he was ſeconded by ſir John Eyles. Hereupon mr. Hungerford moved for amending the latter part of the queſtion, by making expreſs mention of that other agreement. But mr. Pulteney ſpoke for the queſtion, and thought it beſt to uſe a latitude of expreſſion, and ſo leave the directors at liberty to act as they ſhould think proper for the intereſt of the company. He added, 'that it was a matter of ſurprize to ſee what a panic had ſeized upon the minds of the people, at a time when the nation was in profound peace, and had nothing to fear, either at home or from abroad. That, indeed, a rumour had been univerſally ſpread, as if the armament of the Spaniards was deſigned either againſt Port-Mahon or Gibraltar; but that he took that report to be altogether falſe and groundleſs, and only intended to ſcandalize that potentate, and to terrify the people here; for he himſelf had ſeen and peruſed a copy of a letter, written by the expreſs command of the king of Spain by his ſecretary of ſtate, to the Britiſh miniſter at Madrid, abſolutely denying, in the ſtrongeſt terms, any deſigns of the Spaniſh forces againſt any of his Britannic majeſty's dominions. That he was as much concerned in the company as moſt people; but that, notwithſtanding this general and terrible alarm, he had not diſpoſed of any part of his ſtoc; for he would think it a ſcandal to be rich, if the nation were ruined. That, however, he hoped the caſe would be quite otherwiſe; and he doubted not but the company would ſoon be reſtored to its former flouriſhing condition, ſince it was like to be ſupported by the bank of England, a corporation, who by wiſe, though ſlow and cautious, meaſures, had eſtabliſhed its credit, not only at home, but even among foreigners.' Upon this the queſtion was unanimouſly agreed to. Sir John Fellows then farther acquainted the aſſembly, 'that, the proprietors of the ſeveral annuities lately ſubſcribed, as well as thoſe intereſted in the two laſt money-ſubſcriptions, being very much diſſatisfied, fearing thereby to be great loſers, the directors had thought it proper, that the terms ſhould be lowered to make them eaſy.' Whereupon ſir Matthew Decker moved, 'that power be given to the directors, to relieve the annuitants, who came in upon the laſt ſubſcription; as likewiſe the proprietors of the third and fourth money-ſubſcriptions.' He was ſeconded by mr. Craggs ſenior, who, among other things, ſaid, 'that nothing could be more reaſonable and juſt, than to give ſatisfaction to people, who had truſted their fortunes and eſtates with the company, and that it would be a notorious robbery to take any advantage of their confidence in the honour and integrity of the directors.' This gave occaſion to mr. Budgel to reflect, in a ſpeech, on the prodigious leap from a ſubſcription of 400l. to one of 1000l. which left ſuch a gap in the building, as would at laſt bring it to the ground. He then obſerved, that the fall of the ſtoc was owing to the malicious rumour, that two or three of the very directors had baſely betrayed the truſt repoſed in them. When he had done ſpeaking, mr. Cheſter, one of the directors, ſpoke in vindication of his brethren, and ſaid, 'that he knew of no proceedings among them, but what were intended for the good of the whole company: that, for his own part, he had not ſold any of his ſtoc, nor reſerved to himſelf any more of the ſubſcriptions, than what was allowed to each of the directors; and that his fortune would have been as large, if he had not been a director: that, as to the great gap between the ſecond and third ſubſcription in money, which was objected as a wrong ſtep in the management of the company's affairs, he could aſſure them, that it was none of the directors fault, ſince they deſigned to have made the third ſubſcription at five or ſix hundred; but, the humour and eagerneſs of the people having run up the South-ſea ſtoc to ſeven or eight hundred, they could not in prudence open a ſubſcription at leſs than a thouſand.' The aſſembly ſeemed to be very well pleaſed with mr. Cheſter's ſpeech; but many wondered, that none of his brethren took that opportunity to clear themſelves, as he had done. Upon the whole matter, the court unanimouſly agreed to the queſtion for relieving the laſt ſubſcribers, and then adjourned.

Two days after, (Sept. 22,) there was a general court of the bank of England, when the governor acquainted them, that this was one of their quarterly and half-yearly meetings and that their directors had come to a reſolution to declare the laſt half-yearly dividend at four per cent. to which the court having unanimouſly agreed, the governor proceeded, ſaying, 'he preſumed, none could be ignorant there had of late been divers meetings and conferences between the directors of this company, and the directors of the South-ſea, under the influence and interpoſition of ſome perſons of the higheſt figure and ſtation: that they had made no agreement yet with the South-ſea; but that the directors had thought fit to come to a reſolution upon the matter. Then the reſolution was read; and, without any perſon's ſpeaking to it, was immediately formed into a queſtion to this effect: 'that, for the better ſupport of the public credit, the directors of the bank of England be empowered to agree with the directors of the South-ſea, to circulate their bonds to what ſum, and upon what terms, and for what time, they ſhall think proper; and to make what other agreements with the South-ſea, they ſhall judge to be for the intereſt of this corporation.' Which queſtion was inſtantly agreed to with great unanimity. Then the governor acquainted them, that he be-

[y] The five directors of the South-ſea were:
Sir John Fellows, ſub-governor,
Charles Joye, deputy-governor,
Sir Theodore Janſſen,
Mr Gore,
Mr Cheſter.

The five bank directors were:
Mr Hanger, governor,
Sir John Ward,
Sir Gilbert Heathcote,
Sir Peter Delmé,
Sir Nathaniel Gould.

lieved books would be ready for a ſubſcription to be taken in the next day, for the purpoſe aforeſaid, and that it would be on the uſual terms, 15 per cent. depoſit, 3 per cent. premium, and 5 per cent. intereſt; and then the court adjourned.

The directors of the two companies being thus empowered, a committee of both met on the 23d of September, and a propoſal was made by one of the directors of the South-ſea company, 'that the 3,700,000l. (which the South-ſea company was to repay to the bank at Lady-day and Michaelmas, 1721) ſhould be ſubſcribed by the bank into the ſtoc of the South-ſea company, for which the bank was to have ſuch ſhares as the funds would produce, the ſtoc being valued at 400l. per cent.'

This propoſal was the next day reported at a court of directors of the bank; and, being agreed to, was the ſame day communicated, by a director of the bank, to the court of directors of the South-ſea company.

This, in ſhort, is the hiſtory of the famous bank contract which has made ſo much noiſe, the ſubſtance of all which is, that, in the day of diſtreſs, the bank was thought the only reſource to ſupport the ſinking ſtate of the South-ſea company.

Every one that was thought capable of giving any aſſiſtance was called in; at the firſt conference mr. Walpole aſſiſted, and the bank was perſuaded to undertake what was propoſed to them: the firſt part of the propoſition, and, indeed, the original propoſal for circulating the bonds upon which the firſt conference was held, was dropped by the South-ſea company; and the laſt article of taking South-ſea ſtoc at 400l. per cent. was carried on, and accepted by a committee of the bank: and this examble, it was hoped, by the managers of the South-ſea affairs, would fix the price of South-ſea ſtoc at that rate: but they were ſoon convinced, by the daily fall of the ſtoc, that this expedient would not anſwer: and the bank quickly found, they had been prevailed upon to conſent to what they were not able to perform, as will preſently be ſeen.

When the books were opened at the bank for taking in a ſubſcription for the ſupport of public credit, the concourſe of people, who readily brought in their money, was at firſt ſo very great, that it was judged, the whole ſubſcription (which was intended for three millions) would have been filled that very day: but it happened, that the fall of the South-ſea ſtoc, and the diſcredit of that company's bonds, occaſioned a run upon the moſt eminent goldſmiths and bankers, ſome of whom having lent out great ſums upon South-ſea ſtoc, and other public ſecurities were obliged to ſhut up their ſhops, and abſcond. The ſword-blade company (who hitherto had been the chief caſh-keepers of the South-ſea company) being almoſt drained of their ready-money, were forced to ſtop payment, and ſet up at their office written bills, giving notice, 'that they would pay any of their notes in South-ſea ſtoc at four hundred per cent. or pay part in caſh on the Monday following, and give five per cent. intereſt on the reſt till paid; and that they would take their own notes in payments for the monies they had lent.' This, being looked upon as a kind of bankruptcy, increaſed the public calamity, and occaſioned a great run upon the bank, who were obliged to pay out money faſter than they received it upon the ſubſcription. But the feſtival of Michaelmas, on which the bank was ſhut of courſe, gave it ſome breathing-time.

In the mean time, South-ſea ſtoc continued ſinking till Michaelmas day, when it was about 150, at which price it was on the 2d of February, the day after the houſe of commons accepted the propoſals of the South-ſea company; whoſe low credit appeared yet more plainly in that their bonds, payable on Michaelmas, 1721, were now at above 25 per cent. diſcount.

Purſuant to a former reſolution for relieving the laſt ſubſcribers, a general court was held the 30th of September, wherein, after the agreement with the bank was ratified, it was reſolved that the proprietors of the redeemable debts taken in on the laſt ſubſcriptions ſhould be allowed, for their ſeveral intereſts in the funds, the ſame terms, in all reſpects, as the bank; and that the laſt ſubſcription of the long annuities ſhould be valued at 32 years purchaſe; and of the ſhort at 17 years purchaſe; to be paid for in ſtoc at 400 per cent. and be intitled to the laſt Midſummer dividend: and that all the annuitants ſhould be allowed the intereſt of their annuities to the 29th of September. It was alſo agreed, that the third ſubſcriptions, which was taken at 1000 per cent. ſhould be reduced to 400 per cent. and the ſubſcription receipts given out accordingly. That the 100 per cent. already paid ſhould be taken in part of the payment; and that the remaining 300 per cent. ſhould be paid in nine payments, whereof the three next payments to be at 40 per cent. each, and the other ſix payments at 30 per cent. at ſix months diſtance from each other; the firſt payment of 40 per cent. to be the 2d of July, 1721. It was alſo agreed, that the fourth ſubſcription, which was taken at 1000 per cent. whereof 200 per cent. was paid down, ſhould be alſo reduced to 400 per cent. and that the remaining 200 per cent. ſhould be paid in eight equal payments of 25 per cent. each, the firſt of which was to be the 26th of Sept. 1721, and the remaining payments at ſix months diſtance from each other. That intereſt ſhould be allowed to the company from Michaelmas, 1720, after the rate of 5 per cent. per annum, to the reſpective times of payment of the ſaid third and fourth ſubſcriptions: and that the 10 per cent. dividend at Midſummer ſhould be allowed on the third and fourth ſubſcriptions. That the proprietors of the receipts of all the money ſubſcriptions ſhould be allowed, in part of their payments, the ſeveral dividends, that ſhould be made on the ſtoc of the company, till their payments were compleated. That 5 per cent. intereſt be allowed on the company's bonds from the 29th inſtant, till they ſhould become due: and that any of the company's bonds ſhould be taken as money in the fourth payment of the firſt ſubſcriptions, which would become due on the 14th of October.[z]

Theſe reſolutions gave no ſatisfaction to the annuitants, nor put the leaſt ſtop to the fall of the South-ſea ſtoc. The bank finding they were not able to ſtem the tide, without expoſing the properties of their own principals and adventurers to be carried away and loſt in the common deluge, they wiſely kept themſelves out of the general inundation, and did not care to be drowned, with thoſe, they could not ſave. They reſolved to drop an agreement, which they were under no obligation to perform (had it been poſſible) and to which the South-ſea company had no power to compel them. On the 10th of November, the governor of the bank reported from the committee appointed to treat with South-ſea company, that the tranſactions between the bank and that company had been laid before counſel, on behalf of the bank; and that, the South-ſea company preſſing for an anſwer of what had been done therein, the governor of the bank had acquainted the deputy-governor of the South-ſea company, that the committee did not think fit, for the preſent, to proceed further in that affair, and had delivered to him in writing the following anſwer:

'When the propoſition was offered by the lords, at the meeting of the committees of both companies, as a ſuitable expedient for the ſupport of public credit, the court of directors of the bank ſhewed their readineſs to join in any meaſures, that might tend to the ſervice of the public.

'But, ſome difficulties appearing to the committee of the bank, they had conſulted with their counſel, and they are adviſed, that, conſidering the nature of this tranſaction, it will not be ſafe for them to proceed upon the propoſition without conſent of parliament.

'However, they think it reaſonable, that, in the mean time, the committee of the South-ſea ſhould give the committee of the bank ſome account of their eſtate, for the ſatisfaction of their principals.'

About a week after, the following paper was ſent to the bank from the lords of the treaſury:

'My lords deſire, that the difficulties which have ariſen

[z] It may not be improper to inſert here an account of the long and ſhort annuities ſubſcribed or unſubſcribed:

	l.	s.	d.
Long Annuities, per ann.	666,821	8	3
First ſubſcription	427,340	18	9
Second ſubſcription	125,392	17	6
Unſubſcribed	114,087	12	0
Short Annuities, per ann.	81,000		
First ſubſcription	48,132		
Second ſubſcription	18,750		
Unſubſcribed	14,118		
Lottery Annuities, 1710	46,260	6	1
First ſubſcription	15,918	4	0
Second ſubſcription	14,906	6	0
Unſubſcribed	15,365	16	1
Redeemables	16,546,482	7	1
Subſcribed	14,391,781	8	0
Unſubſcribed	2,152,694	7	1

(and upon which they ſay they have conſulted their own counſel) concerning the late agreement between them and the South-ſea company, may be put into writing, and delivered to their lordſhips, as ſoon as poſſible, that their lordſhips may receive the opinion of the king's counſel.'

To this the following anſwer was given:

'The court of directors of the bank have, with the utmoſt deference, conſidered the meſſage in writing, which your lordſhips were pleaſed to ſend them, and they humbly apprehend, they cannot better explain themſelves, than they have already done, in the manner they have given to the South-ſea company, a copy whereof was delivered to your lordſhips, which contains the ſubſtance of what they conſulted with the counſel thereupon.'

Thus ended the tranſactions between the two companies, which (as it has been ſuggeſted) were carried on by the authors and promoters of them, with a deſign to take advantage of the firſt rumour of this ſuppoſed agreement, and draw in unwary perſons, who, deſirous to retrieve their loſſes, were induced to buy ſtoc at the price, the bank had agreed to take it. Thoſe who had countenanced and run into every part of the South-ſea ſcheme, and were conſequently deeply involved, were juſtly ſuſpected of having contrived and taken advantage of the contract; by which means great numbers of deluded people were undone.

Thus, in the ſpace of eight months, were ſeen the riſe, progreſs, and fall of that mighty fabric, which being wound up by myſterious ſprings to a wonderful height, had fixed the eyes and expectations of all Europe, but whoſe foundation being fraud, illuſion, credulity, and infatuation, fell to the ground, as ſoon as the artful management of the projectors was diſcovered. The ebb of this ſwoln fluctuating credit returned with greater violence than it flowed, and carried every thing before it with that precipitation, that the application of the miniſters of ſtate, and the directors of the great companies, jointly and ſeparately to ſtop it, were ineffectual. Expreſs after expreſs was ſent to Hanover, to give the king information of the ſtate of affairs, which was ſo urgent, that the king ſet out for England ſooner than he intended, and arrived at London the 11th of November.

The South-ſea ſtoc, which was 200 at the king's arrival, fell again upon the prorogation of the parliament, from the 25th of November to the 8th of December, to 135; but, on a report that the miniſtry had agreed with the principal directors of the South-ſea, the bank, and Eaſt-India company, upon a project which would very much conduce to the reſtoration of the public credit, it roſe again to 210. But whatever the miniſters concerted, for that end, was fruſtrated by the managers of the South-ſea company, who publiſhed an advertiſement in the London Gazette, 'that the bonds of the South-ſea company would be taken in repayment of the money on all loans made by the company. That the bonds would be likewiſe taken in all future payments on the ſubſcription receipt; and that all perſons, who were willing to make their ſubſcription capital ſtoc, might do the ſame, by making the remaining payments in the bonds of the company. This advertiſement was generally looked upon as very extraordinary, ſince it was unreaſonable to expect, either the borrowers of 400l. on 100l. capital ſtoc abſolutely transferred, or ſubſcribers at 400l. ſhould make repayments and remaining payments at a time, when South-ſea ſtoc was under 200.

The ſquadron, which had been ſent to the Baltic under the command of ſir John Norris, returned to England, and arrived at Orford on the 20th of November, all but the Monk; a fifty-gun ſhip, which ſtruc on the Colſton Sand, near Yarmouth, and was loſt; but moſt of her crew was ſaved by boats from Colſton.

The parliament being being met, purſuant to their laſt prorogation, on the 8th of December, the king went to the houſe of peers, and by the mouth of the lord-chancellor, made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'Since we laſt parted, the face of our affairs abroad is become more favourable. The peace in the ſouth only wants the form of a congreſs; and that of the north is brought much nearer to a concluſion. I ſhall, at a proper time, order the ſeveral treaties I have made, to be laid before you; by which you will perceive the ſucceſs of our endeavours to eſtabliſh a peace throughout Europe, and to ſecure and ſupport the proteſtant religion. At the ſame time I can never ſufficiently expreſs my concern for the unhappy turn of affairs, which has ſo mcch affected the public credit at home.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

'I do moſt earneſtly recommend it to you, that you conſider of the moſt effectual and ſpeedy methods to reſtore the national credit, and fix it upon a laſting foundation. You will, I doubt not, be aſſiſted in ſo commendable and neceſſary a work by every man, that loves his country, and eſpecially by the ſeveral great ſocieties of this kingdom. I hope you will, on this occaſion, remember that all your prudence, your temper, and reſolution are neceſſary to find out and apply the proper remedies to our misfortunes; which will, if you ſucceed, ſerve to increaſe that reputation you have ſo juſtly acquired, particularly if you ſhall be able, notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, to diſcharge a part of the public debt. I have ordered the ſeveral eſtimates to be laid before you of the expence of the enſuing year; and muſt deſire you to diſpatch the ſupplies neceſſary for them.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I am glad to obſerve to you, that our trade does appear to have been more extended this year than in the preceeding one. We have the moſt flouriſhing navy of any nation whatſoever to protect it. And I hope you will turn your thoughts to the beſt methods for the ſecuring and enlarging of our commerce. You may depend on my hearty concurrence to all ſuch proviſions, as ſhall appear to you neceſſary for the good of my people.'

The lords without any debate, unanimouſly agreed to congratulate the king in an addreſs, for the near proſpect of a general peace, and to thank him for his endeavours to ſecure and maintain the proteſtant religion. To this were added aſſurances of their utmoſt aſſiſtance towards attaining thoſe great ends, and of their zealous concurrence in all meaſures for reſtoring public credit, and enlarging the commerce of theſe kingdoms.

The commons, who were more concerned than the peers in the fall of the South-ſea company, and in the ſubſequent calamities, were not ſo peaceable. Mr Pulteney made a motion for an addreſs, 'to thank the king for the near proſpect of peace, and for his tender concern for the misfortunes of his people, occaſioned by the unhappy turn of affairs; and to aſſure him, that the houſe would proceed with all poſſible care, prudence, and temper, to enquire into the cauſes of theſe misfortunes, and apply the proper remedies for reſtoring and fixing public credit upon ſolid and laſting foundations.' This motion being ſeconded by mr. Pelham and ſome others, mr. Shippen propoſed, after the words 'for reſtoring public credit,' to add, 'as far as it is conſiſtent with the honour of parliaments, the intereſt of the nation, and the principles of juſtice.' Mr Shippen gave his reaſons for this addition, urging, 'that, in order effectually to remedy the preſent misfortunes, it was abſolutely neceſſary to maintain the honour and faith of parliamentary engagements, and to ſhew the higheſt reſentment againſt thoſe, who, abuſing the truſt repoſed in them, had given ſo fatal a wound to public credit, and enriched themſelves by the plunder of the nation: that, in his opinion, the managers of the South-ſea project were not the moſt criminal, ſince there were thoſe above them, whoſe duty it was to overlook and direct their proceedings, and who ought to have given a ſeaſonable chec to that extremity of folly, by which the South-ſea ſtoc and the ſubſcriptions were advanced to an extravagant rate: adding, that, had thoſe at the helm interpoſed in the affair of the South-ſea, as they did in the caſe of the two aſſurances and other projects, they would have prevented that diſmal calamity, which has ſince befallen the nation.'

The lord Moleſworth, who ſpoke with great vehemence on the ſame ſide, examined the king's ſpeech, and made remarks upon it: he ſaid, 'he was glad they were told, that the peace in the ſouth only wanted the form of a congreſs, which gave him hopes, that the difficulties ſtarted by Spain, in relation to Gibraltar, were at laſt ſurmounted, and that we were like to preſerve that important conqueſt of the preceeding war, together with Port-Mahon, which would make us ſome amends for the great expence of blood and treaſure we had lately been at, to conquer Sicily for the Houſe of Auſtria' When he came to ſpeak of South-ſea calamity, he ſaid, 'that before they conſidered of proper remedies, they ought to enquire into the cauſe and nature of the diſtemper: that it is with the body politic, as with the body natural; and therefore they ought to imitate the ſkilful ſurgeons, who, in order to cure a wound, begin with probing it; and when they find it neceſſary, make inciſions before they apply healing plaiſters; and that they, who followed a contrary method, are but mere emperies,

who, by uſing palliatives make the ſore feſter, and endanger the life of the patient. He owned it had by ſome been ſuggeſted, that there was no law to puniſh the directors of the South-ſea company, who were juſtly looked upon as the immediate authors of the preſent misfortunes: but that, in his opinion, they ought, on this occaſion, to follow the example of the ancient Romans, who having no law againſt parricide, becauſe their legiſlators ſuppoſed no ſon could be ſo unnatural wicked, as to imbrue his hands in his father's blood, made one to puniſh ſo heinous a crime, as ſoon as it happened to be committed; and adjudged the guilty wretch to be thrown alive (ſewed up in a ſack) into the Tyber. That, as he looked upon the contrivers and executors of the villainous South-ſea ſcheme as the parricides of their country, he ſhould be ſatisfied to ſee them undergo the ſame puniſhment.'

Sir Joſeph Jekyll ſpoke on the ſame ſide; and obſerved, 'that as he doubted not, but among the South-ſea directors ſome might be innocent, and others criminal, ſo he was of opinion, there were thoſe, who were not directors, no leſs, if not more criminal, than the directors themſelves, and who therefore deſerved an equal, if not a ſeverer puniſhment: adding, that upon extraordinary emergencies, where the laws are deficient, the legiſlative authority may, and ought to exert itſelf, and he hoped a Britiſh parliament would never want a vendictive power to puniſh national crimes.'

Mr Grey Nevill, mr. Pitt, and ſome others, ſpoke alſo for the clauſe offered by mr. Shippen. But it was repreſented by mr. ſecretary Craggs, mr. York, the ſollicitor-general, and mr. Walpole. 'That ſuch a reſtriction did but ill ſuit with an addreſs of thanks, which, in their opinion, ought to run in the uſual form, and anſwer in general terms the ſeveral heads of the ſpeech from the throne. That, as to the main drift of the clauſe, they thought it inconſiſtent with the rules of prudence, to begin this ſeſſion with irritating enquiries: that if the city of London were on fire, they did not doubt but all wiſe men would be for extinguiſhing the flames, and preventing the ſpreading of the conflagration, before they enquired into the incendiaris. That, in like manner, public credit having received a moſt dangerous wound, and being ſtill in a bleeding condition, they ought to apply a ſpeedy remedy to it; and that afterwards they might enquire into the cauſe of the preſent calamity.' Mr Walpole, in particular, declared, 'that for his own part, he had never approved the South-ſea ſcheme, and was ſenſible it had done a great deal of miſchief. But, ſince it could not be undone, he thought it the duty of all good men to give their helping hand towards retrieving it: and, that with this view, he had already beſtowed ſome thoughts on a propoſal to reſtore public credit, which, in a proper time, he would ſubmit to the wiſdom of the houſe.' The majority acquieſced in theſe laſt reaſons; ſo that the queſtion being put for inſerting mr. Shippen's clauſe, it paſſed in the negative by two hundred and ſixty-one againſt one hundred and three. However, the next day a motion being made by mr. Milner for inſerting the words, 'and for puniſhing the authors of them (our preſent misfortunes)' the ſame was carried without dividing.

By theſe firſt proceedings, it is eaſy to ſee that this ſeſſion would not be ſo favourable to the miniſtry as the former ones had been, and that the whigs would hardly be diſtinguiſhed from the tories by their votes: theſe partialities were ſuſpended, and as it were, annihilated by various other paſſions, which produced numberleſs intrigues. Many of the commons were ſincerely touched with the public calamities, or moved by their own private loſſes: others, diſſatisfied with the miniſtry and court, were pleaſed to have an opportunity of covering their revenge, with the ſpecious pretence of juſtice and the public good: ſome had in view, by their loud and bitter complaints, to make themſelves conſiderable to the court, or draw the attention of the oppoſite party: others, engaged in the ſecret practices of the South-ſea company, had a mind, by an affected ſeverity, to prevent their being ſuſpected: a few there were, who politickly concealed, under the appearance of zeal and indignation, their devotion to ſome of the principal managers, and fought to be in the committees of enquiry into thoſe odious affairs, in order to ſcreen the authors thereof.

However different theſe views might be, all ſeemed at firſt to agree. On the 12th of September, the commons ordered, that the directors of the South-ſea ſhould forthwith lay before them an account of all their proceedings; of all the orders they had received from the treaſury; of what money and exchequer bills they had received ſince the 25th of December, 1719; of what public debts had been ſubſcribed or diſcharged, and what ſums of money had been borrowed on account of the company, ſince the ſame time. Nor did the commons reſt here. A few days after, ſir Joſeph Jekyll moved, 'that a ſelect committee ſhould be appointed, to enquire into all the proceedings relating to the execution of the South-ſea act; but, upon mr. Walpole's repreſenting, that ſuch a method would take up a great deal of time, and that, the public credit being in a bleeding condition, a remedy ought to be applied to it, the motion was not inſiſted on.

After that, mr Walpole acquainted the houſe, 'that (as he had hinted a few days before) he had ſpent ſome time upon a ſcheme for reſtoring public credit; but that, the execution of it depended upon a poſition, which had been laid as a fundamental, he thought it proper, before he opened the ſcheme, to be informed, whether he might rely on that main foundation, 'whether the ſubſcriptions of public debts and incumbrances, money-ſubſcriptions, and other contracts made with the South-ſea company, ſhould remain in the preſent ſtate?' This queſtion, being ſtated, occaſioned a warm debate, particularly in relation to the validity of the ſecond ſubſcription of the redeemable and irredeemable public debts. Sir Joſeph Jekyll, and ſome others, urged in favour of the ſubſcribers, 'that moſt of them having been drawn in to ſet their names 'to a ſort of letter of attorney, which was never read to them; and not having had afterwards the option of the terms offered, as the former ſubſcribers had, the ſubſcription was ſurreptitious, and therefore not binding.' But they were anſwered by mr. Walpole, mr. ſecretary Craggs, mr. attorney and mr. ſollicitor-general, and ſome others, 'that the letter of attorney, by virtue of which the contract of the ſecond ſubſcription was made, having been placed at the top of every page of the book, all the ſubſcribers might have read it, as many of them did; and ſo might have choſen, whether they would ſet their names to it, or not. But that it ſeems ſome perſons thought the ſubſcription valid while they got, and not binding when they were like to looſe by it. However, if any thing were defective in the ſubſcription, they thought it adviſeable to leave it to the determination either of a general court of the South-ſea, or of the common law.' Theſe reaſons being approved by moſt of the landed gentlemen, after a debate of ſeveral hours, it was at laſt reſolved by two hundred and fifty-nine againſt one hundred and ſeventeen, 'that all the ſubſcriptions of public debts and incumbrances, money-ſubſcriptions and other contracts made with the South-ſea company, by virtue of an act made the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, remain in the preſent ſtate, unleſs altered for the eaſe and relief of the proprietors, by a general court of the South-ſea company, or ſet aſide by due courſe of law.

There are few inſtances which prove ſo ſtrongly as this, that there is no cauſe ſo bad as to want an advocate in aſſemblies, where a man may freely ſpeak his opinion, without any other danger but that of being rejected. This pretended contract, which was deemed valid, had not been read, nor could have been read, without being univerſally diſapproved. Was it probable, that ſuch multitudes ſhould leave their moſt valuable intereſts to the diſcretion of two or three attorneys? they were not, indeed, forbid to ſubſcribe, but they believed they had done it, with a liberty to conſent to, or reject the conditions that ſhould be offered. Was not this ſufficient to declare the ſubſcription void, and to reſtore the proprietors to their former ſtate? However, the commons did not think ſo for the reſolution of the committee was confirmed, the next day, by the houſe. [a]

[a] In the next day's debate, mr. Walpole, who ſpoke for the reſolution, ſet forth the views, with which the South-ſea act was made, viz. 'to conſult the landed and trading intereſt of the nation, by leſſening its incumbrances and public debts, and putting them in a method of being paid off in a few years; which could not have been done, unleſs a way had been found to make the annuities for long terms redeemable; which had been happily effected by the South-ſea ſcheme, without a breach of parliamentary faith: and, if they ſhould now unravel what had been done, they ſhould not only ruin the South-ſea company, but, inſtead of alleviating, aggravate the preſent misfortunes.' In anſwer to this, ſir Joſeph Jekyll urged, 'that, in order to remedy the preſent diſtemper, and reſtore public credit, they ought, in the firſt place, to reſolve and aſſert public faith, equity, and juſtice, which the South-ſea managers had notoriouſly violated, with reſpect to the firſt and ſecond ſubſcribers of annuities and other public debts: for the former had not the ſtoc, to which they were intitled, delivered to them, till ſix months after they had ſubſcribed their effects, and when the ſtoc was fallen above half its price, and the latter had not the option either to accept or reject the terms, that were offered them.' Mr Walpole having, among other things, replied, 'that, if any injuſtice was done to the ſubſcribers, they were, by the reſolution in queſtion, left at liberty to ſeek their relief by law.' Mr Lechmere, chancellor of the duchy, inſiſted, 'that, if the South-ſea company, whom the parliament had appointed truſtees for the public debts, had not duly executed that truſt, in relation to the annuitants, the latter could ſeek for relief no where but in parliament; and that it was a duty incumbant upon the legiſlature to

The day after this reſolution was agreed to, mr. Walpole laid before the commons his ſcheme to reſtore public credit, the ſubſtance of which was, to ingraft nine millions of South-ſea ſtoc into the bank of England, and the like ſum into the Eaſt-India company, upon certain conditions. [b] Mr Hutchinſon and other members made ſome exceptions to the ſcheme; but, none offering a better, it was ordered, 'that propoſals ſhould be received from the bank of England, the South-ſea company, and the Eaſt-India company, towards reſtoring public credit.'

Though the plainneſs of Mr Walpole's ſcheme recommended it above all others, yet it met with ſome oppoſition in the general courts of the three great companies, who met to give powers to their directors to bring the matter to perfection: but at laſt the directors were empowered to make a propoſal to the houſe of commons.

Accordingly propoſals agreeable to the new ſcheme were afterwards preſented to the houſe of commons by the ſeveral companies, and it was reſolved (Jan. 5.) 'that an ingroſſment of nine millions of the capital ſtoc of the South-ſea company into the capitals of the bank and Eaſt-India company, as propoſed by theſe companies, will contribute very much to the reſtoring public credit.' A bill upon this reſolution was, after ſome debate, ordered to be brought in, which paſſed the houſe, and was ſent up to the lords, and afterwards received the royal aſſent.

Purſuant to the order of the houſe, the ſub and deputy-governors of the South-ſea company having preſented to the commons their books and papers, mr. Shippen made a long ſpeech, repreſenting, 'that beſides the papers, which had already been laid before them, it was neceſſary to have others, in order to diſcover the frauds and deceitful management of the South-ſea directors and their accomplices. That, in his opinion, the moſt villainous contrivance, whereby they enſnared unwary people, was their taking in money ſubſcriptions at 1000 per cent. and their declaring a dividend of 30l. per cent. at Chriſtmas, and of not leſs than 50l. per cent. per ann. for twelve years after; which had impoſed upon the underſtanding of all ſuch, as depended upon the wiſdom and integrity of the directors, and occaſioned the ruin of many thouſands of families.' He therefore moved, 'that the directors of the South-ſea company ſhould lay before the houſe the calculations or inducements, on which they took in the third and fourth money ſubſcriptions, and grounded the reſolutions of making ſuch dividends.' This motion, not being oppoſed, was agreed to; as was likewiſe a ſecond motion for laying before the houſe a liſt of the directors of the South-ſea company, with the names of the treaſurer, ſecretary, and accountant, and alſo the original books of the minutes of the committee of treaſury of the company, ſince the 25th of December, 1719, with a copy of the by-laws. After which the commons adjourned to the 4th of January, as the lords did to the 9th of the ſame month.

By theſe proceedings of the parliament it is evident, the commons were divided in their opinions, one party being for applying a remedy to the calamity occaſioned by the miſmanagement of the South-ſea ſcheme: and the other party, for enquiring into the cauſes of the preſent misfortunes, and for puniſhing the authors as the moſt effectual and only means to redreſs them. The firſt party, which was favoured by the court, prevailed for a time; but, when the commons met after the holidays, it appeared that the other party had gained conſiderable ſtrength, and that the artful introduction of other affairs, inſtead of diverting, only ſerved to inflame their reſentment againſt the authors of the late proceedings.

1720-21] On the 4th of January, mr. Trevor, ſecretary of war, ſeconded by the lord Carpenter, moved for a bill to prevent mutiny and deſertion; but ſir Joſeph Jekyll expreſſed his ſurprize, 'that a bill ſhould be moved for ſo early, which ſeldom uſed to be brought in but towards the end of a ſeſſion; that ſuch a hurry ſeemed to be intended to ſtop the proſecution of the authors of the preſent misfortunes. That they very well knew, their days were numbered, and that, as ſoon as they had diſpatched the money bills, and the bill now moved for, they ſhould immediately be diſpatched home. That therefore he was for ſtaying thoſe bills, until they had done juſtice to the nation, who called aloud for it.' Mr ſecretary Craggs ſaid, 'he wondered to ſee any oppoſition made to a bill ſo neceſſary for the ſafety of the government, eſpecially by a perſon, who had received ſignal favours from the crown.' Upon this the lord Moleſworth ſtood up, and ſaid, 'mr. ſpeaker, is it come to this, that every man, who has a place, muſt do all the drudgery, that is enjoined him? This may be true of ſome underlings; but I do not believe it: I am ſure it is falſe of king George; he commands his ſervants nothing, but what is according to laws, and for the good of his ſubjects.' Then ſir Joſeph Jekyll added, 'that he was as zealous as any man for the ſervice of the king and his government; but he was of opinion, that the doing juſtice to the nation, and puniſhing them, who had brought it into the preſent calamitous condition, was the moſt effectual way both to ſerve the king, and at the ſame time, to diſcharge their duty to their injured country: concluding, however, that he did not oppoſe the bringing in of the bill;' which was agreed to. After this, the houſe reſolving itſelf into a grand committee, ſir Joſeph repreſented, that, before they proceeded any farther, they ought to ſecure the perſons and eſtates of thoſe they had reaſon to look upon as the authors of the public misfortunes; and therefore he moved for a bill to reſtrain the ſub-governor, deputy-governor, directors, treaſurer, under-treaſurer, caſhier, ſecretary, and accountants of the South-ſea company, from going out of this kingdom for the ſpace of one year, and till the end of the next ſeſſion of parliament; and, for diſcovering their eſtates and effects, and preventing the tranſporting or alienating the ſame.' This motion met with no oppoſition, and ſir Joſeph, with the attorney and ſollicitor-general, and ſome others, were ordered to prepare and bring in the bill, [c] which having paſſed both houſes received the royal aſſent. [d]

As ſoon as this was over, the houſe debated in what manner they ſhould proceed in the intended enquiry, whether in a grand or ſelect committee. After ſeveral ſpeeches on both ſides, it was reſolved that a committee ſhould be appointed to enquire into all the proceedings relating to the execution of the South-ſea act; and that the numbers ſhould be thirteen, and choſen by ballot. Purſuant to this reſolution, Thomas Broderick, Archibald Hutcheſon, ſir Joſeph Jekyll, Edward Wortley, ſir Thomas Pengelly, William Clayton, Edward Jeffreys, lord Moleſworth, Thomas Strangways, William Sloper, Nicholas Lechmere, general Roſſe, and Dixie Windſor, were choſen, to whom the ſeveral books and papers, which had been laid before the houſe by the South-

relieve them.' Serjeant Pengelly, mr. Hutchinſon, and ſome other gentlemen, ſpoke on the ſame ſide; but were anſwered by mr. ſecretrary Craggs, ſir William Thompſon, and mr. Hungerford, and, after ſome other ſpeeches, it was moved to adjourn the debate; but, the queſtion put thereupon being carried in the negative by two hundred and thirty-two voices againſt eighty-eight, the houſe agreed, without dividing, to the reſolution of the day before.

[b] The ſubſtance of what was opened in the houſe of commons was told to the general court of the South-ſea directors two days after, by ſir John Fellows, to the following effect:

'That the 1ſt money-ſubſcription be continued, allowing longer time for the future payments; and that what has been paid be made ſtoc at 400l. per cent.

'That the money, paid upon the 2d, 3d, and 4th money-ſubſcriptions, be alſo made ſtoc at 400l. per cent. the ſubſcribers to have the Midſummer dividend at 10l. per cent. and their future payments to be diſcharged.

'The ſtoc then undiſpoſed of will be 11,600,000l. which, to be divided among the proprietors, will be 45l. per cent. to be diſpoſed of by ſubſcription or otherwiſe, as a general court ſhall order, which was to this effect:

'That a ſum not exceeding nine millions be ingrafted into the bank, on terms to be agreed on with that company.

'The like as to the Eaſt-India company:

'That, for the ſtoc ſo to be ingrafted, thoſe companies to have an annuity of 5l. per cent. per annum.

'That one-fourth part of the preſent ſtoc of this company be wrote into the bank, and one other fourth part into the Eaſt-India company, the proprietors to be allowed ſtoc in each of thoſe companies, at 120l. per cent.

'That there will be in all ſeven millions and a half of bank ſtoc, and the ſame of India ſtoc, for the proprietors of this company.

'That all the profits of this company, by their ſubſcriptions or otherwiſe, ſhall be for the ſole benefit of this company.'

[c] This done, mr. Shippen expreſſed his great ſatisfaction to ſee a Britiſh houſe of commons reſume their ancient vigour and ſpirit, and act with ſo great unanimity for the public good. He owned 'the neceſſity of ſecuring the perſons and eſtates of the South-ſea directors and their officers; but ſaid, that, in his opinion, there were ſome men in great ſtations, whom, in time, he would not be afraid to name, who were no leſs guilty than the directors.' Mr ſecretary Craggs being ſomewhat exaſperated at this, ſaid, 'that he was ready to give ſatisfaction to any man, who ſhould queſtion him, either in that houſe, or out of it.' This expreſſion gave no ſmall offence; and thereupon the lord Moleſworth ſaid, 'that he had had the honour to be a member of that houſe upwards of thirty years, and never before now knew any man bold enough to challenge the whole houſe of commons, and all England beſides: that, for his part, though paſt ſixty, he would anſwer whatever he had to ſay within the houſe, and hoped there were young members enough, who would not be afraid to look mr. ſecretary in the face out of the houſe.' Upon this, mr. ſecretary, ſeeing the houſe in a great ferment, got up, and ſaid, 'that, by giving ſatisfaction, he meant clearing his conduct.' Upon which the matter went no farther.

[d] By this bill, the directors were each to enter into recognizances, in the penalty of 100,000l. with two ſureties in the penalty each of 25,000l. If they neglected to do ſo before the 8th of February, they were to be impriſoned; and, in caſe they went out of the kingdom, were to be adjudged guilty of felony. They were alſo obliged to deliver in upon oath, before the 5th of March, exact particulars of all the effects they were poſſeſſed of by themſelves, or in truſt, on the 1ſt of June, 1720, or any time after, with an account of what they had diſpoſed of ſince that time. They were likewiſe diſabled from conveying any lands or effects, for a year after the 5th of January, 1720-21.

ſea company, were referred; and they were afterwards voted a committee of ſecrecy.

In the debate the lord Hinchinbroke repreſented, that it was to be feared that, before the bill againſt the directors, &c. was gone through both houſes, the moſt criminal might withdraw out of the kingdom, and therefore he moved, that they might be immediately taken into cuſtody. But, mr. Lechmere, and others, having ſhewed the inconveniences of ſuch a proceeding, the motion was dropped.

In vain did the directors preſent a petition to be heard by their counſel againſt the bill, which was now brought in, and having paſſed the commons was ſent up to the lords.

By this time the houſe of lords were entered upon the South-ſea affair. Some of the lords in the miniſtry were the firſt, who complained of the miſmanagement of the South-ſea directors, which had occaſioned the preſent diſtreſs; and earl Stanhope ſaid, 'that the eſtates of the criminals, whether directors or not directors, ought to be confiſcated, to make good the public loſſes.' The lord Carteret ſpoke to the ſame effect, as did likewiſe the earl of Sunderland, who owned, indeed, that he had been for the South-ſea ſcheme, becauſe he thought it calculated for the advantage of the nation, in order to leſſen the public debt, and, in particular, to take off the heavy incumberance of long annuities; and no man would imagine, that ſo good a deſign could have been ſo preverted in the execution, as to produce quite contrary effects: but that, in his opinion, no act of parliament had ever been ſo much abuſed as the South-ſea act; and therefore he would go as far as any body to puniſh the offenders. Several lords were ſurprized to find themſelves prevented by thoſe, whom they were ready to oppoſe, upon a ſuppoſition, that they entertained more favourable thoughts towards the directors, againſt whom the others had left them but little to ſay. However, the duke of Wharton obſerved, 'that they ought to have no reſpect of perſons: that for his part, he would give up the beſt friend he had: that the nation had been plundered in a moſt flagrant and notorious manner; and therefore they ought to find out the offenders, and then puniſh them with the utmoſt ſeverity.' The lord North and Grey, the earl of Abingdon, and ſome others, urged alſo the ill effects of the South-ſea project, which the biſhop of Rocheſter compared to a peſtilence. Earl Cowper ſpoke likewiſe on the ſame ſide, and in particular 'blamed thoſe, who, by the act of parliament, were appointed to overlook and chec the South-ſea directors, and who, in the diſcharge of their truſt, ought to have prevented their jumping from a ſubſcription at 400 to 1000, which was the main cauſe of the misfortunes that enſued.' The earl of Sunderland, finding himſelf and the other lords of the treaſury thus attaced, ſaid, 'that by the South-ſea act they were directed to appoint ſuch perſons, as they ſhould think fit to be managers and directors, on the part of the treaſury, for the due execution of the act: that, as they had reaſon to look upon thoſe perſons, who had the principal ſhare in framing this ſcheme, as the moſt able and proper to execute it, they had accordingly appointed ſome of the South-ſea directors to be managers and directors for the treaſury: concluding, that in this they had followed former precedents.' Upon this a queſtion was propoſed and ſtated, that the commiſſion iſſued out, by the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury, to three of the directors of the South-ſea company, was, according to former precedents, and legal. This occaſioned a great debate; but, after the reading of ſome papers, the lord Harcourt's opinion for the affirmative prevailed, by a majority of ſixty-three againſt twenty-eight, moſt of whom entered their proteſt againſt that reſolution. Then ſome lords moved for appointing a ſecret committee, to enquire into all the proceedings relating to the execution of the South-ſea act; but this was oppoſed by others, who ſaid, they ought, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to examine the perſons concerned. Which being agreed to, the ſub and deputy-governors, directors, and officers of the South-ſea company were ordered to attend on the 12th of January.

On that day, the ſub and deputy governors, about twenty-four of the directors, mr. Knight treaſurer, mr. Surman his deputy, and ſome other inferior officers, attended the houſe, and at the bar were ſworn to make true anſwers to ſuch queſtions, as ſhould be put to them. After this, the governors and treaſurer were examined ſeparately, and then the directors. The examinations being ended, it was reſolved, 'that the ſub-governor and directors of the South-ſea company had prevaricated with them, in giving falſe repreſentations of ſeveral matters of fact: that, by lending money on ſtoc, and ſubſcriptions, they were guilty of a notorious breach of truſt; and that they ought to make good the loſſes, which the company had ſuſtained by their fraudulent management.' Some lords were unwilling to involve all the directors in this cenſure, and would diſtinguiſh the innocent from the guilty: but they were told, that the whole court of directors were guilty, either in acting or aſſenting; upon which they acquieſced in declaring them all criminal. The directors being called in again, the lord-chancellor gave them a ſevere reprimand for giving the houſe ſuch lame accounts, and for having ordered their clerks to omit ſeveral material things in the copies, that had been laid before the houſe; commanding them, at the ſame time, to produce either the originals themſelves of ſeveral accounts of their treaſury, or authentic copies of them.

Soon after this, a bill paſſed the houſe of lords, to diſable the preſent ſub-governor, deputy-governor, and directors of the South-ſea company, to enjoy any office in that company, or in the Eaſt-India company, or bank of England, and from voting upon elections in the company. Then the lords examined ſeveral brokers, as Stroude, Teſtard, Lacour a Jew, and his ſon. By the three laſt, great diſcoveries were ſaid to be made. This done, the houſe adjourned to the 24th of January.

In the mean time, mr. Knight, treaſurer of the South-ſea company, who was intruſted with the principal ſecrets of the South-ſea affair, either of his own accord, or (as it was ſuſpected) at the ſuggeſtion of others, thought fit to retire out of the kingdom. [e] He abſented himſelf the 22d of January from his houſe, and embarked the next morning in the river, on board a veſſel, which carried him, the ſame day, to Calais. A letter, directed to the South-ſea directors, was brought that morning, by a porter, to mr. Surman, [f] who delivered it to the committee of ſecrecy, then ſitting at the South-ſea houſe. They immediately repaired to the houſe of commons, and acquainted them with what

[e] When mr. Knight attended at the houſe of lords, a peer ſpoke to the earl of Sunderland, that a motion might be made to ſecure him immediately; for it was ſtrongly ſurmized that he would ſoon make off. The earl agreed in that ſurmize, but ſaid, earl Cowper ſhould be conſulted before any ſuch motion was made, for, without his joining in with it, there was no likelihood of its paſſing; and then Knight would be alarmed to no purpoſe. The other lord applied to earl Cowper, who ſeemed very averſe to the taking any ſuch ſtep, till, upon Knight's further examination, the houſe ſhould come to a reſolution, particularly with relation to him: upon which the motion dropped; and it was ſuſpected, that the earl of Sunderland, knowing, earl Cowper's ſentiments, referred that other peer to him, on purpoſe to prevent the motion's being then made.

[f] The letter was as follows:

Gentlemen,

'I write this from a true ſenſe of the obligation I am under to make up my accounts with the company, and to pay them their full demand: and, though ſelf-preſervation has obliged me to withdraw myſelf from the reſentment againſt the directors and myſelf, yet I am conſcious to myſelf of having done any one thing that I can reproach myſelf for, ſo far as relates to an honeſt ſincere intention and zeal for the company; but I can and do charge myſelf with a great many indiſcretions, and am (beſides the concern I muſt be under for leaving my own family, friends, &c.) very ſenſibly touched with what you are like to ſuffer on this account; and it will be the more, I am afraid, from your want of unanimity, which I heartily recommend to you for the future, and, I am ſure, wiſh you all well, as you wiſh yourſelves.

I write this at a diſtance from home, and under a great deal of concern, ſo cannot be ſo particular, as otherwiſe I would have been. I have herewith ſent mr. Surman the key of my deſks, who knows ſo much of the ſtate of the caſh, as to be able to make it up. There are a good many bills of exchange, and other payments, to write off, and the weekly receipts to write on. There is caſh in the bank, in the company's book, which, together with the notes taken on the third and fourth ſubſcriptions, and the company's bonds, will make up the balance, as I do believe: but, if it fall ſhort, I have 3000 equivalent ſtoc, 1600 bank ſtoc, 2000 India and South-ſea ſtoc, over and above what I owe the company on the loan, as will be ſufficient to make it up with money owing on ſecurities on my particular account. The company need not deliver or be anſwerable for the ſubſcription-receipts or ſtoc on the third and fourth ſubſcriptions, unleſs theſe notes are paid ſo the loſs can only be the difference between the ſubſcriptions and money in value and I think, it would be hard for me to bear the loſs, becauſe the clerks took by far the greateſt part of them, as thinking them better than none; and moſt of them would have been non-payments, if they had been refuſed: however, I ſubmit this to the company. I have taken with me but little more than a ſufficiency to maintain myſelf, and the effects left will more than anſwer for all deficiencies. I have bought no land in truſt for me, nor have I ever conveyed or ſettled any part of that I had formerly, or have bought lately; it remains to anſwer any demands on me from the company or the legiſlature. I have withdrawn myſelf only to avoid the weight of the enquiry, which I found too heavy for me; and I am ſenſible that it would have been impoſſible for me to have avoided the appearance and charge of prevarication and perjury, not from my own intention to do ſo, but from the largeneſs and extent of the enquiry, and the nature and largeneſs of the tranſactions. I am ſure I am a great deal concerned to add to your preſent difficulties; though I muſt ſay, that I have deſerved better uſage than I have had from the court the laſt week: but this I ſay without any reſentment, otherwiſe than that it has been an addition to the weight I had before upon me.

I am preſſed for time, ſo can only aſſure you that I am with all reſpect, in inclination though not in power,

Gentleman,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

Sunday evening, ROBERT KNIGHT.'

Jan. 22. 1720.

had happened. Two addreſſes were voted and preſented for a proclamation to apprehend mr. Knight, and for another to ſtop the ports to prevent him, or any of the directors, from eſcaping out of the kingdom. Then general Roſs and other members of the ſecret committee informed the houſe, 'that they had already diſcovered a train of the deepeſt villany and fraud that hell ever contrived, to ruin a nation, which, in due time, they would lay before the houſe; and that, in the mean while, in order to a further diſcovery, they thought it highly neceſſary to ſecure the perſons of ſome of the directors and principal South-ſea officers, and to ſeize their papers.' Upon which the books and papers of mr. Knight, mr. Surman, mr. Turner, ſir George Caſwal, and mr. Grigſby, were ordered to be ſecured, and Surman a Grigſby to be taken into cuſtody; as were alſo ſir John B.nt, ſir John Lambert, two of the directors, and ſir John Fellows, ſub-governor of the South-ſea company. Then, mr. Sawbridge and ſir Theodore Janſſen being come into the houſe, a motion was made and carried, 'that they were guilty of a notorious breach of truſt, as directors of the South-ſea company, and had occaſioned very great loſs to numbers of his majeſty's ſubjects, and highly prejudiced the public credit:' they were both expelled the houſe, and taken into cuſtody, with ſir Robert Chaplain and Francis Eyles, two other directors, and members of parliament.

The ſame evening a council was held, in which mr. Aiſlabie reſigned his places of chancellor of the exchequer, and lord of the treaſury. Orders were alſo given for removing all South-ſea directors from any place they had in the government. [g]

The lords, on the 24th of January, examined mr. Joye, deputy-governor of the South-ſea company, who made a very frank confeſſion of ſeveral important matters, and communicated mr. Knight's letter, which was read. After this, upon earl Stanhope's motion, five directors, ſir William Chapman, mr. Holditch, mr. Hawes, mr. Gibbon, and mr. Cheſter, were ordered to be taken into cuſtody, with their papers, and thoſe of mr. Clark, the company's ſollicitor. Of which notice was ſent to the commons with a meſſage, that theſe perſons and their papers ſhould be produced in ſuch manner as they ſhould direct. This meſſage contributed very much to the preſerving a good underſtanding between the two houſes.

Two days after, the directors mr. Aſtell and ſir Harcourt Maſters were examined by the lords, and, among other diſcoveries, named ſeveral perſons both in the adminiſtration and in the houſe of commons, to whom large ſums in South-ſea ſtoc had been given, for procuring the paſſing the South-ſea act. After this, upon the motion of earl Stanhope, ſeconded by the lord Townſhend and earl Cowper, it was unanimouſly reſolved, 'that the taking in of ſtoc, the transferring of ſtoc belonging to the South-ſea company, or giving credit for the ſame, without a valuable conſideration actually paid, or ſufficiently ſecured; or the purchaſing ſtoc by any director or agent of the South-ſea company, for the uſe or benefit of any perſon in the adminiſtration, or any member of either houſe of parliament, during ſuch time, as the late bill relating to the South-ſea company, was depending laſt year in parliament, was a notorious and moſt dangerous corruption.' This reſolution was ſoon followed by another, after the examination of mr. Waller, (ſon-in-law to mr. Aiſlabie) and mr. Aſtell, relating to a great quantity of South-ſea ſtoc, transferred to, and negotiated by mr. Waller, who pretended not to have kept minutes of what he had done in Exchange-alley. This being looked upon as a prevarication, it was reſolved, 'that the directors of the South-ſea company having ordered great quantities of their ſtoc to be bought for the ſervice of the company, when ſtoc was at a very high price, and on pretence of keeping up the price of the ſtoc; and, at the ſame time, ſeveral of the directors, and other officers belonging to the company, having, in a clandeſtine manner, ſold their own ſtocs to the company; ſuch directors and officers are guilty of a notorious fraud and breach of truſt; and their ſo doing was one great cauſe of the unhappy turn of affairs, that has ſo much affected public credit. [h]

On the 4th of February, the lords deſigned to have examined ſir John Blunt, the chief projector of the South-ſea ſcheme, and it was expected, he would make great diſcoveries: but, inſtead of that, he would not ſo much as be ſworn to anſwer to ſuch interrogatories, as ſhould be put to him, alledging, that he had already been examined before the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons, and to ſuch extent of affairs, that, unleſs he had a copy of his examination, he could not remember every particular; and, as no man is obliged to accuſe himſelf, he would not run the hazard of prevaricating. The lords were ſurprized at this proceeding; but, upon a ſurmiſe, that ſir John Blunt might deſign to break the harmony, which had hitherto been preſerved in this affair between the two houſes, they thought fit not to ſhew immediately their indignation againſt his obſtinacy. In the debate how they ſhould proceed in this unprecedented caſe, ſome reflections were made againſt the miniſtry by a noble duke, who obſerved, that the government of the beſt of princes was ſometimes made intolerable to their ſubjects by ill miniſters; and alledged the example of Sejanus, who had made a diviſion in the imperial family, and rendered the reign of the emperor Claudius odious to the Romans. This reflection was highly reſented by earl Stanhope, who undertook to vindicate the miniſtry. He ſpoke with ſuch vehemence, that, finding himſelf taken ſuddenly with a violent head-ach, he went home, and was cupped, which eaſed him a little. The next morning he was let blood, and continued pretty well till about ſix o'clock in the evening, when he fell into a drowzineſs, and then into a ſuffocation, in which he inſtantly expired. The king was ſo ſenſibly touched with the news of his death, that he retired for ſeveral hours into his cloſet, to lament the loſs of a faithful and able miniſter, whoſe ſervice he ſo much wanted at that time. The lord Townſhend was appointed ſecretary of ſtate in his room.

Two days after, mr. ſecretary Craggs was taken ill of the ſmall-pox, of which he died the ninth day, on the 16th of February. Thus, in the ſpace of eleven days, England loſt two ſecretaries of ſtate.

Mr Knight, after his eſcape into France, went to Bruſſels, from whence (not thinking himſelf ſafe there) he intended to retire to Liege. As the king had ſent orders to his miniſters in foreign courts, to make application for the ſeizing mr. Knight, in caſe he ſhould ſhelter himſelf in the dominions of any ſtate in alliance with him, mr. Gaudot, ſecretary to mr. Leathes, the Britiſh reſident at Bruſſels, having information, that mr. Knight was going towards Louvain, applied to the marquis de Prié, governor of the Auſtrian Netherlands, who ordered a major and ſixteen dragoons to attend him, and follow his directions. With theſe, Gaudot ſets out for Louvain, where he was informed, that two Engliſh gentlemen had that morning, taken the road to Tirlemont. Upon this Gaudot, with the major and four dragoons, haſted to Terlemont, and by means of a poſtilion ſent before to make enquiry, they put up at the ſame inn where the gentlemen had ſtopped. Gaudot, entering the inn, met mr. Knight and his companion, who inſtantly yielded themſelves priſoners. Soon after mr. Knight's ſon, who had followed his father from Bruſſels, arrived at Tirlemont, and was alſo ſeized. They were all carried bac to Bruſſels, and by a warrant from the marquis de Pré, the major conducted mr. Knight to the citadel of Antwerp, where he was kept in ſafe cuſtody by an officer who lay in the room with him, and four centinels without the houſe, and as many within, and was not allowed the uſe of pen ink and paper. His ſon went with him to the citadel.

Great was the joy at the news of mr. Knight's being in cuſtody. Addreſſes were preſented by both houſes to thank the king for giving ſuch effectual directions for ſecuring mr. Knight, and to deſire that orders might be given to his miniſters at Vienna and Bruſſels, to make proper applications that mr. Knight, with his papers and effects, might be delivered to ſuch perſons as ſhould be appointed to receive him. Purſuant to theſe addreſſes, the king ſent col. Charles Churchill to the court of Vienna, to make inſtances for the delivering up mr. Knight; who, on the other hand, made application to the ſtates of Brabant, for the protection

[g] Accordingly, Francis Hawes, receiver-general of the cuſtoms; ſir Harcourt Maſter, receiver-general of the city of London; mr. Reynolds, commiſſioner of the victualling-office; mr. Holditch, treaſurer of the ſtamp-office; and Arthur Ingram, treaſurer of the duty on ſalt, were all removed from their employments.

[h] Three days after, mr. Hawes, a director, having been examined with ſome brokers, the lords came to the following reſolutions:

1. That the directors, &c. buying the Midſummer dividend about the 4th of January, 1719-20, and paying 5s. down, and 3l. after the receipt of the dividend, was a fraud to the perſons, with whom they contracted.

2. That the giving a premium, for the refuſal of ſtoc, at higher prices than they knew the value was, was a fradulent artifice to raiſe the price of ſtoc.

3. That promoting the third ſubſcription at 1000 per cent. was to anſwer a particular end, and cheat the public.

4. That the declaring 30l. per cent. dividend for the half year ending at Chriſtmas, and 50l. per cent. per annum for no leſs than twelve years after, was a villainous artifice to delude and defraud his majeſty's good ſubjects.

5. That the declaring the Midſummer dividend to be paid in ſtoc, when they had money by them to anſwer the ſame, was a notorious fraud, and was one occaſion of the misfortunes that enſued.

of their conſtitution. By an article of the charter, called the Joyful Entry (granted by the emperor Charles V. and ſworn to all by his ſucceſſors) no perſon charged with, or apprehended for, any crime, can be removed to be tried out of Brabant. When therefore mr. Leathes made preſſing inſtances with the marquis de Prié to have mr. Knight delivered up, the ſtates of Brabant inſiſted upon their privilege, and the marquis would proceed no farther in the affair, without particular inſtructions from Vienna; for which purpoſe, colonel Churchill was ſent to that court. In the beginning of March, the colonel ſent word, that he was juſt arrived at Vienna, and would immediately apply to the imperial court, for the delivering up mr. Knight, and did not doubt of ſucceſs, unleſs the privileges of the ſtates of Brabant interfered. This letter being communicated to the houſe of commons, reflections were made (particularly by the lord Moleſworth) upon the frivolous pretence, uſed to fruſtrate the kings's endeavours to bring over mr. Knight. But the houſe came to no reſolution in the affair. About three weeks after, a letter from the emperor to the king was laid before the commons, wherein 'the emperor expreſſes his inclination to comply with his majeſty's deſires, but, the ſtates of Brabant inſiſted on their privileges, it would be neceſſary to make application to them, which he would not fail to ſupport.' In a debate on account of this letter, mr. Hutcheſon repreſented, 'how much, on the one hand, the public was concerned in having the authors of the preſent diſtreſs fully diſcovered, and brought to condign puniſhment; and how impracticable it was, on the other, to proceed in that important enquiry, ſo long as the principal agent of the South-ſea directors, and their accomplices, was kept out of the way; that, in the mean time, the public calamity increaſing every day, the nation called aloud for juſtice; and therefore, if the means already uſed for bringing over mr. Knight proved abortive, it were adviſable to have recourſe to more ſpeedy and effectual methods.' Sir Joſeph Jekyll alſo ſhewed, 'that it was incumbent on ſome perſons in the adminiſtration to have mr. Knight brought over, in order fully to clear their own innocence, otherwiſe, though acquitted, they would ſtill be looked upon as criminal: urging, moreover, that it was matter of wonder that ſo frivolous a pretence, as the privileges of the ſtate of Brabant, ſhould be uſed, to put a ſtop to ſo important an enquiry, eſpecially conſidering how little thoſe privileges had been regarded in more material points, and what obligations the houſe of Auſtria lay under to the Britiſh nation.' On the other hand, mr. Lechmere repreſented, 'that, in all probability, the court of Vienna had not fully conſidered the importance of the inſtances made to them in his majeſty's name, and at the deſire of the commons of Great-Britain: but it was to be preſumed, when ſo wiſe a prince as the emperor ſhould be apprized, that the welfare and ſafety of England depended in ſome meaſure on the delivering up of mr. Knight, he would readily comply with their deſires.' Then mr. Lechmere moved for an addreſs to thank the king for the inſtances he had made, by a letter under his own hand to the emperor about mr. Knight, to expreſs their diſſatisfaction at the obſticles raiſed againſt a compliance with his endeavours, and to deſire his moſt preſſing inſtances for the obtaining what was thought of ſuch importance to the juſtice due to his people. This addreſs was agreed to and preſented to the king, who aſſured them, he would continue to uſe his utmoſt endeavours for obtaining what they deſired, and hoped they would prove effectual. But, notwithſtanding all this, before the emperor had ſent any inſtructions to the marquis de Prié, mr. Knight found means to make his eſcape out of the citadel of Antwerp.

The committee of ſecrecy, appointed to look into all the proceedings relating to the execution of the South-ſea act, made their firſt report to the houſe of commons the 16th of Feb. the day mr. ſecretary Craggs died. At the entrance into their enquiry, they obſerved, the matters referred to them were of great variety and extent. Many perſons were intruſted with different parts in the execution of that act, and, in an unwarrantable manner, diſpoſed of the properties of many thouſands of perſons amounting to many millions. In the progreſs of their enquiry they found it attended with many difficulties.

In ſome of the books, falſe and fictitious entries were made; in others, entries with blanks; in others, entries with razure and alterations; and in others, leaves torn out. They found, ſome books had been deſtroyed, others ſecreted: however, they were enabled to lay ſome matters of importance before the houſe.

The firſt matter that occurred to their conſideration, was a ſcene of iniquity and corruption, the diſcovery of which they conceived to be of the higheſt concern to the honour of Parliaments, and ſecurity of the government.

It appeared, that before the paſſing the South-ſea act, and before any ſubſcription could be made, a fictitious ſtoc of no leſs than 574,000l. had been diſpoſed of by the directors, in order to facilitate the paſſing the bill. This ſtoc was ſet down as ſold at ſeveral days, and at ſeveral prices, from 150l. per cent. to 325l. per cent. amounting in all to 1,259,325l.) and was from thoſe times to be eſteemed as holden of the company, for the benefit of the pretended purchaſers, though no mutual agreement was then made for the delivery or acceptance of the ſtoc at any certain time, and though no money was paid down, nor any ſecurity given for payment by the ſuppoſed purchaſers. So, if the price of ſtoc had fallen, no loſs could have been ſuſtained by them; but, if it ſhould advance, the difference was to be made good to the pretended purchaſers. As this fictitious ſtoc was deſigned for promoting the bill, the ſub and deputy-governors, ſir John Blunt, mr. Gibbon, mr. Cheſter, mr. Holditch, with the caſhier mr. Knight, had the diſpoſal of this ſtoc, of which the following particulars were taken for ſeveral perſons:

	£
For the earl of Sunderland, at the requeſt of mr. Craggs, ſen. — — — — — — —	50,000
For the dutcheſs of Kendal — — — —	10,000
For the counteſs of Platen — — —	10,000
For the counteſs's two nieces — — —	10,000
For mr. Craggs, ſenr. — — — —	30,000
For Charles Stanhope — — — —	10,000
For the ſword-blade — — — —	50,000

The difference of the laſt parcel amounting to 250,000l. was ſuppoſed to be paid to mr. Charles Stanhope by ſir George Caſwal and company: but that ſir George ordered the name Stanhope to be partly eraſed out of the book, and made Stangape. It alſo appeared, that mr. Aiſlabie, chancellor of the exchequer, had great quantities of South-ſea ſtoc given him; but that his affairs were chiefly managed by mr. Edmund Waller, his ſon-in-law, and mr. Weymondſel, a broker: That mr. Aiſlabie's laſt account with Turner, Caſwal and company, was 794,451l. that 68,000l. part thereof, was paid in caſh to mr. Waller, as was alſo 45,600l. more by a bond of Caſwal and company; and 33,000l. by another bond of Caſwal and company, was paid to mr. Weddal: that mr. Aiſlabie, as a commiſſioner of the treaſury, had 4000l. in the firſt money-ſubſcription; but that as ſoon as it came to bear an advance of about 40 per cent. he had 20,000l. more: that no warrant was found for making the ſecond money-ſubſcription more than one million; but that afterwards ſome of the leading directors, by the advice of mr. Aiſlabie, made it 500,000l. more: that the third money-ſubſcription at 1000l. was promoted by mr. Aiſlabie, whoſe liſt amounted to 70,000l. the earl of Sunderland's liſt to 160,000l. mr. ſecrettry Craggs's liſt to 659,000l. and mr. Charles Stanhope's to 47,000l. That mr. Aiſlabie likewiſe adviſed the lending money on ſtoc; and that the directors ſold part of the pawned ſtoc at high prices; but that of 2,800,000l. that ſhould have been transferred by mr. Knight to four of the directors, there appeared to be but 2,400,000l. ſo that there was 400,000l. ſtoc wanting. The committee obſerved, that in the account of ſtoc ſold, they found the names of ſeveral members of parliament, not concerned in the adminiſtration, whoſe caſes they could not particularly examine, without the direction of the houſe in what manner to proceed. The report ended, with an account of the divers practices uſed to raiſe the nominal value of South-ſea ſtoc, to the extravagant rate to which it was afterwards advanced above the real value[i]. This report was followed by ſix others, and at the cloſe of the laſt, the committee ſaid, they were under a neceſſity of ending their enquiry,

[i] As this part of the report gives a brief hiſtory of all the contrivances for ſupporting the ſcheme, it will not be improper to inſert it at large:

Your committee find, that, by computation made by their direction, it appears that the directors of the South-ſea company might have raiſed the whole ſum ſtipulated for the public, with a profit of near one million and a half for the benefit of the proprietors of the old ſtoc, without ſetting their ſtoc to ſale at any higher price than 150l. per cent.

That after the ſaid directors had taken in the firſt money-ſubſcriptions at 300l. per cent. and the ſecond money-ſubſcription at 400l. per cent. and the firſt ſubſcription of the long and ſhort annuities at 375l. per cent. the value of 100l. South-ſea ſtoc was but 120l. or thereabouts, ſuppoſing the whole money of the ſaid firſt and ſecond ſubſcriptions (amounting to 12,750,000l.) had been all paid him in.

That the ſaid court of directors did afterwards proceed to take in a third and a fourth money-ſubſcription at the rate of 1000l. per cent. and a ſecond ſubſcription of the long and ſhort annuities and a ſubſcription of the redeemable

by reaſon of the abſence of mr. Knight, who appeared to have been principally and in many inſtances ſolely inſtruſted in the execution of the blac and deſtructive South-ſea ſcheme.

Soon after the firſt report, the commons having taken it into conſideration, came to theſe reſolutions:

1. That the late ſub-governor, deputy-governor, and directors of the South-ſea company, and their officers, and their aiders and abettors, in lending out the company's money upon ſtoc and ſubſcriptions, without taking ſecurity for repayment thereof, have been guilty of a notorious breach of truſt, and have thereby occaſioned great loſs to the company, for which they ought to make ſatisfaction out of their own eſtates.

2. That the ſelling or diſpoſing of ſtoc or ſubſcriptions, transferred or depoſited as a ſecurity for the repayment of the money ſo lent, was a notorious breach of the truſt repoſed in the ſub-governor, deputy-governor, directors, and their officers, and a fraud on the proprietors, in order to enrich themſelves; for which they ought to make ſatisfaction out of their own eſtates.

3. That the taking in or holding of ſtoc, by the South-ſea company, for the benefit of any member of either houſe of parliament, or perſon concerned in the adminiſtration, during the time that the company's propoſals, or the bill thereto relating, were depending in parliament, without any valuable conſideration paid, or ſufficient ſecurity given for the acceptance of, or payment for, ſuch ſtoc; and the company's paying or allowing ſuch perſon the difference ariſing by the advanced price of the ſtocs, were corrupt, infamous,

debts at the rate of 800l. per cent. after which the value of 100l. South-ſea ſtoc was but 352l. or thereabouts, ſuppoſing the whole money of the ſaid four money-ſubſcriptions (amounting to 68,750,000l.) had been all paid in.

That, if all the remaining public debts had been taken in, and all the remaining ſtoc of the company ſold, on the terms which the ſaid directors pretended to expect, 100l. South-ſea ſtoc would have been worth but 547l. or thereabouts, ſuppoſing the money of the ſaid four ſubſcriptions, and the money for the remaining ſtoc (which together would have amounted to 205,039,401l.) had been all paid in.

That, on the 30th day of Auguſt laſt, the court of directors of the South-ſea company came to a reſolution (which, on the 8th of September laſt, was confirmed by a general court) to declare a dividend of 30l. per cent. to be made at Chriſtmas, 1720, and of not leſs than 50l. per cent. per ann. for not leſs than twelve years to come from that time.

That ſoon after this reſolution (viz. at a general court held the 20th day September laſt) the ſub-governor acquainted the general court, that the affairs of the company, in relation to the price of their ſtoc, and ſubſcriptions, had taken an unexpected turn, and thereupon propoſed their giving a power to the court of directors to relieve the laſt ſubſcribers of the public debts, and the proprietors of the two laſt money-ſubſcriptions, which was accordingly granted; and, at a court of Directors held the 29th day of September laſt, it was reſolved, that the ſaid ſubſcribers ſhould have the ſame terms with the bank, viz. That their ſubſcriptions ſhould be reduced from 1000l. and 800l. per cent. to 400l. and that they ſhould alſo have the benefit of the Middſummar dividend of 10l. per cent. which was accordingly confirmed by a general court held the 30th day of the ſame mouth; upon which your committee obſerves, That it appears to them very extraordinary, that the directors on the 8th day of September (when the ſaid high dividend was declared in a general court) ſhould have had no foreſight of the turn which ſo ſoon after (viz. on the 20th day of the ſame month) happened in their affairs.

That, on the ſaid 8th day of September, the ſub-governor acquainted the general court, that their directors had been unanimous in all their proceedings, which, amongſt other things, includes the before-mentioned ſeveral ſubſcriptions by them taken in, except the firſt; and upon the examination of the directors it doth not appear to your committee, that any one of them proteſted againſt, or declared any public diſſent from any of the ſaid proceedings; and it appears, that all of them took their ſhares and proportions of the ſubſcriptions, which were allotted for the reſpective directors to diſpoſe of.

And your committee have been informed by ſir Theodore Janſſen, that there was a meeting at the houſe of ſir John Fellows, betwixt ſixteen of the court of directors, mr. ſecretary Craggs and mr. Aiſlabie, at which time it was propoſed, that a ſubſcription ſhould be taken in at 300l. per cent. which was approved of by mr. ſecretary Craggs, and mr. Aiſlabie; and that, when the ſaid company broke up, it was agreed, that every perſon ſhould uſe their beſt endeavours to promote it; which is alſo confirmed by the information of ſir Lambert Blackwell.

And, at a court of directors held the 13th day of April laſt, it was reſolved to take in a ſubſcription for two millions, at the rate of 300l. per cent. but the ſame was afterwards increaſed, without any previous reſolution to that purpoſe, to 2,250,000l. and your committee obſerve, that the imaginary value of the ſaid ſubſcriptions roſe very faſt; and that thoſe who had the benefit of the ſaid additional ſubſcription, if they ſold, and diſpoſed of the ſame, made very great gains thereby.

That, at a court of directors held the 28th day of April laſt, it was reſolved to take in a ſecond money-ſubſcription, at the rate of 400l. per cent. for 1,000,000l. but, by the accounts delivered into this houſe, it appears, that the ſaid ſubſcription was for 1,500,000l. yet it does not appear that there was any previous reſolution of the court of directors for the addition of 500,000l. nor was the ſaid addition declared till the 8th of September laſt, at which time the ſub-governor acquainted the general court therewith; upon which your committee cannot but obſerve the great diſtance of time between the taking in of the ſecond ſubſcription at 1,000,000l. and the 8th of September, when the ſame was reported to the general court at 1,500,000l. during which interval the imaginary value of that ſubſcription was exceſſively increaſed, whereby the perſons, who had the ſame, had the advantage of that extraordinary riſe.

That, at a court of directors held the 15th day of June laſt, it was reſolved to take in a third money-ſubſcription at the rate of 1000l. per cent. one-tenth part whereof was to be paid down at the time of ſubſcribing; and, at a court of directors held the 23d day of the ſame month, the ſub-governor acquainted the court, that the ſaid third money-ſubſcription was compleated, without mentioning to what ſum; but at the before-mentioned general court, held the 8th day of September laſt, he declared the ſame to be for five millions; and mr. Knight, late caſhier of the South-ſea company, by an article dated the 20th day of June laſt, in the caſh-book, fol. 125, charges the ſaid ſum of five millions as received; which account was paſſed, and allowed by the company's committee of treaſury, on, or ſome time after the 4th day of Auguſt laſt; and yet, in the account of the third money-ſubſcription delivered in to this houſe, it is ſtated at 4,400,000l. only the remaining ſum of 600,000l. being entered on the credit ſide of the ſaid caſh-book on the 19th of December, 1720, as a ſuppoſed deficiency of the payment on this ſubſcription; although it appears to your committee, upon the evidence of mr. Lockyer, and others, that not only the whole ſum of five millions, but even a conſiderable exceeding thereon was paid in; that a great deal of money was repaid bac to reduce the ſubſcription to five millions; and that they had money enough paid in for near eight millions.

That, at a court of directors held the 12th day of Auguſt laſt, it was reſolved to take in a fourth money-ſubſcription for one million, at the rate of 1000l. per cent. And, at a court of directors held the 25th of the ſame month it, was declared, that, upon caſting up the books, it was found the ſaid fourth money-ſubſcription, inſtead of one million, was increaſed to 1,250,000l. which was occaſioned by taking the ſaid ſubſcription in ſeveral books; and at the before-mentioned general court, held the 8th day of September laſt, the ſub-governor declared the fourth money-ſubſcription was compleated to 1,250,000l. And mr. Knight the caſhier hath, in an article dated the 30th day of Auguſt laſt, and entered in the caſh-book, fol. 128, given the company credit for the firſt payment made on the fourth ſubſcription, viz. for 2,500,000l. which account was paſſed, and allowed by the committee of treaſury on the 4th day of October laſt; and yet, in the account of the ſaid fourth money-ſubſcription delivered into this houſe, it is ſtated at 1,200,000l. only: that upon the examination of mr. Knight, and ſeveral of the directors, in relation to the deficiency of the ſaid third and fourth money-ſubſcriptions, their anſwers were very unſatisfactory; and your committee cannot but obſerve, that as, by the before-mentioned additions to the firſt two money-ſubſcriptions, ſome perſons made great gains, whilſt the price of the ſaid ſubſcriptions continued high; ſo, when the price of the ſubſcriptions fell, many other perſons were favoured, by having their ſubſcriptions withdrawn, which was the cauſe of the deficiency.

That, on the ſecond money-ſubſcription each director was allowed, for himſelf and friends, 26,000l. and that the remainder of the million, at firſt reſolved to be taken in, was at the diſpoſal of the ſub and deputy governors; but, for whoſe benefit the additional ſubſcription of 500,000l. was intended, your committee have not yet been able to diſcover.

That, on the third money-ſubſcription each director was allowed 54,000l. for himſelf and friends; and that ſeveral large liſts of the names of perſons were ſent to the ſub-governor, to be admitted into the ſaid third ſubſcripion; viz. by the earl of Sunderland, firſt lord commiſſioner of the treaſury, a liſt amounting to 167,000l. by John Aiſlabie, eſq. late chancellor of the exchequer, another of the lords of the treaſury, a liſt amounting to 75,300l. by James Craggs, eſq. one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, two liſts, amounting to 695,000l. and by Charles Stanhope, eſq. one of the ſecretaries of the treaſury, a liſt amounting to 49,700l. Which four laſt mentioned liſts amount to 987,000l.

That, upon examination, it appears, that other liſts have been given in, as well on the third as on the ſecond ſubſcription; but, the ſame being loſt or miſlaid, as your committee have been informed, they are thereby diſabled, at preſent, from making any report thereon.

They find 25,000l. of the ſecond ſubſcription hath been given unto John Aiſlabie, eſq. about eight or ten days after the opening of that ſubſcription, at which time the ſubſcriptions were at an advanced price, of about 40l. per cent. and ſoon after roſe vaſtly higher.

That it doth not appear to your committee that any of the perſons, who had the honour to ſerve his majeſty in the treaſury, or in any other part of the adminiſtration, uſed any endeavours to prevent the directors of the South-ſea company from taking in ſubſcriptions at the aforeſaid extravagant prices; but on the contrary it doth appear, that ſome of them, by the liſts they gave in as aforeſaid, did not only encourage and promote the ſaid ſubſcriptions, but did greatly enlarge the ſame.

Your committee obſerving that ſir John Fellows, late ſub-governor of the South-ſea company, did, at a general court of the ſaid company, held the 21ſt of April, 1720, acquaint that court, that the deſign of the government's million of exchequer-bills to be lent to the company, by virtue of the late act of parliament for iſſuing exchequer-bills to be circulated at or near the exchequer, was to enable the company to lend money upon their ſtoc; and finding that by order of the court of directors of the ſaid company the ſame had been ſo lent out, your committee proceeded to enquire into this affair.

And, on the examination of mr. Robert Knight, late caſhier of the ſaid company, he declared, that he did not remember that any application was made by the directors to have thoſe bills iſſued; but that the firſt diſcourſe of this matter was by John Aiſlabie, eſq. then chancellor of the exchequer, a week before the propoſals of the South-ſea company were offered to this houſe; that mr. Aiſlabie ſaid, it would be more acceptable to have thoſe bills circulated at the exchequer, than to ſend them to the bank or elſewhere, and that the company might afford to circulate them for nothing, they being to be lent to the company to enable them to execute their ſcheme. That the examinant believed, the intention of lending the ſaid bills upon ſtoc had been communicated to mr. Aiſlabie, and that he (the examinant) on his attending at the treaſury to ſollicit the iſſuing of theſe bills, did mention that deſign, and never heard that the treaſury diſapproved of it.

That ſir John Blunt declared it would be better to employ thoſe bills in the lending upon ſtoc, than in paying of the redeemables, which would take up more time.

Hereupon your committee examining ſir John Fellows, he ſaid, that he and others of the directors treated with mr. Aiſlabie and others at the treaſury about the iſſuing the ſaid exchequer-bills; but that it was firſt propoſed to mr. Aiſlabie, and the examinant believed, it was at firſt mentioned by ſir John Blunt, in a committee of the directors, and that it was the general opinion of the directors.

Your committee examining ſir John Blunt upon this tranſaction, he declared, that he ſpoke to mr. Aiſlabie to haſten the iſſuing of the ſaid bills; and that himſelf, or ſome other of the directors, acquainted mr. Aiſlabie (as he believes at the treaſury) with the company's deſign to lend them upon ſtoc; that it did not at firſt ariſe from the directors, but that it was intimated to them before, or very ſoon after the company's propoſals were laid before the houſe, by ſome of the treaſury, and on recollection, the examinant ſaid, it was by mr. Aiſlabie, to enable the company to carry on their ſcheme, and thereby to raiſe the price of their ſtoc, the borrowers being enabled to buy ſtoc.

That, by the book of loans delivered in to this houſe, it appears that the

and dangerous practices, highly reflecting on the honour and juſtice of parliaments, and deſtructive of the intereſts of his majeſty's government.

4. That any of the directors of the South-ſea company ſelling their own ſtoc at high prices to the company or others, at the ſame time, that they gave orders for buying ſtoc upon account of the company, under pretence of keeping up the nominal value of the ſtoc, was a ſcandalous practice, tending to enrich themſelves, to the great loſs and detriment of the company, and of others his majeſty's ſubjects, for which they ought to make ſatisfaction out of their own eſtates.

5. That the declaring a dividend of 30 per cent. for Chriſtmas laſt, and not leſs than 50 per cent. per ann. for not leſs than twelve years after, was an infamous contrivance to give his majeſty's ſubjects falſe notions of the value of the ſtoc, that the directors might more eaſily diſpoſe of their own ſtoc at exorbitant prices.

6. That the ſetting the ſtoc of the South-ſea company to ſale by ſubſcriptions, at high prices, above the intrinſic value of the ſame, by the ſub-governor, deputy-governor, and directors of the company, was a groſs and notorious fraud; and has been one great cauſe of the ſinking of the public credit, and bringing upon the nation the diſtreſs it at preſent labours under.

7. That the adviſing the ſub-governor, deputy-governor, and directors of the South-ſea company, to ſet the ſtoc of the company to ſale by ſubſcriptions at high and extravagant prices, or to declare the high and extravagant dividends for Chriſtmas laſt, and twelve years after, by any perſons in the adminiſtration, was a notorious breach of the truſt repoſed in them, to the prejudice of his majeſty's government, and the intereſt of the kingdom.

8. That the entry in the caſh-book of the South-ſea company of 574,500l. ſtoc, pretended to be ſold for 1,213,575l. between the 4th of February, 1719, and the 12th of April following, was contrived with a deſign to conceal the names of perſons, for whoſe benefit ſtoc was taken in by the company.

9. That every perſon, for whom ſtoc was taken in or held, ſuch ſtoc being part of the 574,500l. pretended to be ſold by the South-ſea company, from the 4th of February, 1719, to the 12th of April, without money paid, or ſufficient ſecurity given for the acceptance of, and payment for, ſuch ſtoc, be obliged to pay to the company all ſuch ſums of money, as have been received by way of difference, or otherwiſe, for ſuch ſtoc.

10. That the addition of 250,000l. to the firſt money-ſubſcription, after it had been declared to have been opened for two millions, and the addition of 500,000l. to the ſecond money-ſubſcription, after it had been declared to be opened for one million, were fraudulently contrived to give corrupt advantages to particular perſons, and were injurious to public credit.

Upon theſe reſolutions, a bill was brought in, for the relief of the unhappy ſufferers in the South-ſea company.

ſum of 9,039,936l. 11s. was lent to ſeveral perſons on the ſecurity of 2,563,117l. 17s. 5d. ſtoc: and that the further ſum of 2,219,087l. was lent on the ſecurity of 773,600l. ſubſcription-receipts; the money ſo lent, and ſtill remaining due, amounting in the whole to the ſum of 11,259,025l. 11s.

That by ſeveral reſolutions of the court of directors of the 21ſt of April, the 20th of May, and the 9th of June laſt, for three ſeveral loans, it appears, that the ſum, reſolved by them to be lent on ſtoc from the 21ſt of April to the 21ſt of May, was limited to 500,000l. in the whole, and that not more than 5000l. ſhould be lent to any one perſon, and ſuch loan to be only at the rate of 250l. on 100l. ſtoc; that, from the 20th of May to the 9th of June, the rule of lending was at the rate of 300l. on 100l. ſtoc; and that not more than 3000l. ſhould be lent to any one perſon; and, from the 9th of June, the rule of lending was at 400l. on 100l. ſtoc, and that not more than 4000l. ſhould be lent to any one perſon.

That, on examination of the books of loans, it appears, that on the firſt loan the rules of lending were greatly exceeded, viz. that there was lent in the whole 943,631l. more than the ſum of 500,000l. to which the ſaid loan was confined. That the exceſs above 250l. on 100l. ſtoc, amounts to 316,740l. and the exceſs above 5000l. to one perſon, amounts in the whole to 779,231l. That on the ſecond loan the exceſs above the rate of 300l. on 100l. ſtoc amounts to 30,750l. and the exceſs above 3000l. to one perſon, amounts in the whole to 169,025l. And that on the third loan the exceſs above 400l. on 100l. ſtoc amounts to 59,413l. and the exceſs above the rate of 4000l. to one perſon, amounts in the whole to 1,447,677l. For the particulars of all which your committee refer to the book marked No. IV, in which the ſame are diſtinctly expreſſed, and the reſolutions of the general court, and court of directors, in relation to loans, are tranſcribed.

That your committee do not find any reſolution, either of a general court, or a court of directors, for lending money on ſubſcription-receipts; but, by the examinations which they have taken, it appears, that mr. Knight, the late caſhier of the South-ſea company, and his under-caſhier and clerks, by his directions, did lend money on the ſubſcription-receipts, by verbal orders from the directors of the ſaid company, and under colour of an order of a general court, made the 21ſt of April, 1720, to impower the court of directors from time to time, as they ſhall ſee for the intereſt of the company, to lend any ſum or ſums of the company's money, on the company's preſent and to be increaſed capital ſtoc; and to do all ſuch matters and things, as they ſhould judge moſt for the good of the company.

But your committee find, that by the ſecond by-law of the ſaid company, relating to the keeping the caſh of the company, it was ordained, that the caſh of the corporation ſhould from time to time be kept under three ſeveral locs, with different wards, the keys of which to be kept, one by the caſhier, and the other two by ſuch of the governor, ſub-governor, deputy-governors or directors, as the ſaid court ſhould from time appoint, except ſuch ſum or ſums as the court of directors ſhould think neceſſary to let remain in the cuſtody of the caſhier; and no money relating to the trade or affairs of the ſaid company ſhould be diſpoſed of, without an order of the ſaid court of directors; and that the intereſt of all other advantages, ariſing and growing upon the caſh of the ſaid company, ſhould be brought to the account of the ſaid company. However, it appears that the ſaid loans on ſubſcriptions were generally known, and never objected againſt, by any of the directors in a general court, or in any court of directors.

That on the ſaid loans on ſtoc, the ſtoc was transferred to perſons for that purpoſe nominated in the ſame manner as if the ſame had been abſolutely ſold, without any defeazance on the part of the company, or of the perſons to whom the ſtoc was transferred, for re-transferring the ſame, on re-payment of the money; nor was any covenant or other ſecurity taken, for re-payment from the borrowers, except the ſtoc ſo transferred; nor doth there appear any diſtinction between the ſaid tranfers on loans, and the other transfers, which were made of ſtoc abſolutely purchaſed, on account of the company: upon which your committee obſerve, that it was in the power of the perſons, to whom the ſaid pawned ſtoc was transferred, to diſpoſe thereof at any time, as they thought fit, when the price of ſtoc was high, and to replace the ſame when it fell.

And your committee do find, that, on the 19th day of October laſt, the ſaid mr. Knight, to whom the ſaid pawned ſtoc was transferred, did, purſuant to an order of the court of directors, transfer ſtoc to the amount of 2,141,867l. 17s. 5d. to ſir Harcourt Maſters, colonel Hugh Raymond, Edward Gibbon, and John Gore, truſtees, for that purpoſe nominated by the court of directors, in whoſe names the ſame now remains; but the ſum is 421,250l. ſhort of the aforeſaid ſum of 2,563,117l. 17s. 5d. which is mentioned in the ſaid book of loans to have been pledged for the ſecurity of the repayment of the aforeſaid ſum of 9,039,936l. 11s. from which it is evident, that the ſaid ſum of 421,250l. of the ſtoc mortgaged or pawned, on loans, as aforeſaid, has been ſold, or otherwiſe diſpoſed of, by the Truſtees, or agents of the South-ſea company; and, till re-placed, cannot be re-transferred to thoſe, by whom the ſame was pawned or mortgaged: upon which your committee obſerve how eaſy it was for the truſtees of the company to have ſold the ſaid ſtoc, when it was at high prices, and to have replaced the ſame again when it fell; for on examination it appears, that there was no diſtinct and ſeparate account kept of the ſaid mortgaged and pawned ſtoc, nor was the ſame any ways diſtinguiſhed from the other ſtoc of thoſe perſons, to whom it was at firſt transferred.

That, as to the ſaid ſum of 2,219,087l. lent on 773,600l. ſubſcription-receipts, it appears by the aforeſaid book of loans, that the general rule of lending was at the rate of 300l. on 100l. ſubſcription-receipts; but, excluding from the ſaid loans on ſubſcriptions the two great loans, the one to the million-bank, and the other to Turner and company, the loans to the other borrowers will, at an average, come out above 300l. per cent. It appears that on the firſt ſubſcription-receipts, at the time of the ſaid lending there was paid in only from 90l. to 120l. per cent. and on the ſecond ſubſcription-receipts generally 40l. and on ſome few 80l. per cent. but how much more there hath been paid in ſince, or whether all the ſaid ſubſcription-receipts on which money was lent be now remaining in the cuſtody of any perſon for the ſecurity of the company, your committee cannot at preſent diſcover, the receipts not having been as yet produced to them.

That it appears that Turner and company were employed by the directors, to lend out 500,000l. on ſubſcription-receipts, and that they accordingly lent 150,000l. on ſuch receipts, after the rate of 190l. per cent. on the firſt ſubſcription, and 40l. per cent. on the ſecond. But, ſuch rates being by the ſaid directors thought too low, the ſaid Turner and company were ordered to proceed no farther in diſpoſing of the remaining part of the ſaid 500,000l. and were told at the ſame time, that by lending at ſuch low rates on ſubſcriptions they were ruining the ſtoc. And it alſo appears, that mr. Knight did iſſue a conſiderable ſum to be diſpoſed of by brokers, for the refuſal of South-ſea ſtoc at certain times, at very high prices; and likewiſe, that, on the declenſion of the price of the ſtoc, large ſums were iſſued to purchaſe ſtoc, on account of the company, at very high prices; and part of the ſtoc then bought appears to have belonged to ſome of the directors of the ſaid company. And although your committee are not yet prepared to ſet this matter in a full light, they cannot but obſerve, that the ſaid directors, in all their proceedings in the execution of their ſcheme, appear to have had chiefly in view the raiſing and ſupporting the imaginary value of the ſtoc, at an extravagant and high price, for the benefit of themſelves, and thoſe who were in the ſecret with them.

That, as to the aforeſaid loans on ſubſcription-receipts, it appears, there were no defeazances executed by thoſe with whom the receipts were depoſited for a re-delivery of the ſame, on re-payment of the money, nor any ſecurity given by the borrowers, beſides the receipts by them ſo delivered; nor doth any thing elſe appear to diſtinguiſh the receipts ſo pledged from ſuch receipts as were, or might have been, abſolutely ſold to the company; for all the ſaid receipts were made out in one name, viz. Joſeph Safford, and by his indorcement the bearer became intituled to the property thereof: upon which your committee obſerve, the ſecurity of the company, as to the money lent on the ſaid ſubſcription-receipts, is more precarious than the loans on ſtoc; for by the transfer-book it might appear by whom ſuch ſtoc was transferred; but it hath not yet appeared to your committee that any books have been kept, or entries made, of the names of the perſons to whom ſuch loans have been made on ſubſcription-receipts: and your committee do farther obſerve, that it was in the power of the perſons, with whom ſuch ſubſcription-receipts were depoſited, to ſell the ſame at high prices, and to replace them again when the price fell. And upon the whole it doth appear to your committee, that the ſaid loans on ſtoc, and on ſubſcriptions, have been managed with the utmoſt negligence, with reſpect to the intereſt of the company, and were contrived for the raiſing and keeping up the price of ſtoc at an extravagant height.

Before your committee concludes this report, they think it proper to obſerve, that it has appeared to them throughout their examination, that mr. Knight, caſhier of the South-ſea company, was principally concerned in their moſt ſecret tranſactions. And your committee have been informed by ſir Theodore Janſſen, ſoon after mr. Knight's withdrawing himſelf, that upon his preſſing mr. Knight, two or three days before he went away, to make a diſcovery of whatſoever he knew relating to the whole proceedings; mr. Knight anſwered, that, if he ſhould diſcloſe all he knew, it would open ſuch a ſcene as the world would be ſurprized at.

Mr Stanhope, one of the ſecretaries of the treaſury, having been charged, in the report of the ſecret committee, for having large quantities of ſtoc and ſubſcriptions held for him, preſſed the houſe, that a ſhort day might be appointed to examine the matter, that he might have an opportunity to clear himſelf. A day being appointed, ſeveral of the directors and others were ordered to attend, who were examined concerning the charge againſt him, conſiſting of two articles: 1. That 10,000l. South-ſea ſtoc was taken in for his benefit by mr. Knight, without any valuable conſideration; and that the difference, ariſing by the advanced price thereof, had been paid him out of the caſh of the South-ſea company. 2. That Turner and company had bought 50,000l. ſtoc at a low price of the South-ſea company, in the name, and for the benefit of mr. Stanhope, the difference of the advanced price whereof, amounting to 250,000l. had been paid him by ſir George Caſwal and company. To prove theſe articles, the ſecret committee cauſed the examinations of ſir John Blunt, mr. Holditch, mr. Sawbridge, mr. Henry Blunt, and others, to be read, and thoſe perſons themſelves to be examined; but ſome of them rather weakened than confirmed their former depoſitions. Sir John Blunt, in particular, owned, as to the firſt article, that mr. Knight had ſhewn him a letter, which he told him was ſigned by mr. Stanhope, deſiring him to take 10,000l. ſtoc for him; but that he did not know whether that letter was genuine, nor what was become of it: and, as for the 50,000l. ſtoc transferred to the ſword-blade company in mr. Stanhope's name, mr. Sawbridge and mr. Turner owned they had made uſe of mr. Stanhope's name without his privity or conſent. After the examinations, and the animadverſions of the members of the ſecret committee, mr. Stanhope ſaid, 'that, for ſome years paſt, he had lodged all the money he was maſter of in mr. Knight's hands, and whatever ſtoc mr. Knight had taken in for him, he had paid a valuable conſideration for it. And as for the 50,000l. he could not anſwer for what had been done without his conſent.' When the queſtion was put, whether he was concerned in the manner repreſented by the two articles, he was cleared, though by three voices only, 180 againſt 177.

A few days after, ſir George Caſwal having been heard in his place, it was reſolved by the commons, 'that it appeared to the houſe, that ſir George Caſwal, one of the co-partners of Turner and company, and a member of the houſe, did, on the 14th of December, 1720, after the houſe had begun to enquire into the conduct of the directors of the South-ſea company, order Daniel Watkins, one of the book-keepers of Turner and company, to eraſe, in ſeveral places of the books, the name of Stanhope, and to make the ſame Stangape, which was accordingly done.' After this and ſome other reſolutions concerning him, a bill was ordered to be brought in, to make the eſtates real and perſonal of ſir George Caſwal, Jacob Sawbridge, and Elias Turner, anſwerable for 250,000l. to the South-ſea company, the advanced price of the forementioned 50,000l. South-ſea ſtoc.

The caſe of the earl of Sunderland was alſo taken into conſideration. By the report of the ſecret committee it appeared, that 50,000l. ſtoc had been taken by mr. Knight for the earl's uſe, without any thing paid, or ſecurity given for payment for the ſame. The houſe ſeemed to be intent upon the enquiry: a warm diſpute aroſe, and much was ſaid for and againſt him: but, upon the queſtion, the vote paſſed in his favour, by a majority of 233 againſt 132. Notwithſtanding this, it was generally thought, the ſecret committee would not have accuſed the prime-miniſter, if the charge had not been at leaſt porbable. The earl did not loſe the confidence of his maſter, though he reſigned his poſt of firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, which was given to mr. Walpole, as one of the moſt capable to hold it in ſuch critical circumſtances.

Mr Aiſlabie did not eſcape ſo well as the earl of Sunderland. When that part of the report of the ſecret committee, which related to mr. Aiſlabie, came to be conſidered, mr. Hawes's depoſition againſt him, 'that he had cauſed the book of accounts between them to be burnt, and given him a diſcharge for the balance, amounting to 842,000l.' appeared ſo ſtrong, that the commons came to ſeveral reſolutions againſt him, particularly that he had promoted the deſtructive execution of the South-ſea ſcheme, with a view to his own exorbitant profit, and combined with the directors in their pernicious practices, to the ruin of public credit; and therefore he was expelled the houſe, and ordered to be committed to the Tower.

Mr Craggs would have been called to an account on the 17th of March, but he happened to die the day before of a lethargic fit, leaving behind him an immenſe eſtate to be divided among his three daughters, who were married to three members of parliament, mr. Treſuſis, mr. Newſham, and mr. Elliott. About ſix weeks after his death, the commons having taken mr. Cragg's affair into conſideration, it was reſolved that a large quantity of South-ſea ſtoc had been held by the company for his uſe, and that he was a notorious accomplice with Robert Knight, and ſome of the directors, in carrying on their ſcandalous practices; and therefore that all the eſtate he was poſſeſſed of from the 1ſt of December, 1719, ſhould be applied towards the relief of the unhappy ſufferers in the South-ſea company.

1720] The directors having delivered in the inventories of their eſtates, it was debated what allowance ſhould be given them. Mr Lowndes propoſed an eighth part: but it was objected, ſuch an allowance would be too much for ſome who had the largeſt eſtates, and conſequently had been deepeſt in the guilt; and too little for others who had but ſmall eſtates, and were only paſſively criminal, by not entering their diſſent to the fraudulent management of the reſt. It was at laſt agreed, that the affair of each director ſhould be particularly conſidered, and more or leſs favour ſhewn, according as they ſhould appear more or leſs guilty. The commons began with the ſub and deputy-governors, and proceeded alphabetically to the reſt. The value of their eſtates, as given in upon oath, amounted to about 2,014,000l. of which 334,000l. was left to the proprietors. [i]

Mr Aiſlabie's affair occaſioned debates proportionable to his great riches, and the multitude of his friends. He was allowed all the eſtate he was poſſeſſed of, on the 20th of October, 1718. His country-houſe, gardens, and park, with his wife's jewels, and houſehold goods, were alſo excepted from the forfeiture.

Soon after, an act paſſed for raiſing money upon the eſtates of the ſub and deputy-governors, directors, caſhier, deputy-caſhier, and accountant of the South-ſea company, and of mr. Aiſlabie and mr. Craggs, towards making good

[i] The debates in the grand committee about ſettling the allowances were as follow:

They began with ſir John Fellows, the ſub-governor, in whoſe behalf mr. Sloper moved, 'that, ſince it did not appear, that he had been ſo active in the late vile and pernicious practice, as ſome others, he might be allowed 20,000l. out of his eſtate.' Mr Hungerford reduced it to 15,000l. others to 12,000l. and mr. Walpole having at laſt propoſed 10,000l. it was agreed to without any diviſion. Mr Joye, the deputy-governor, appearing to have been deeply concerned in the guilt, it was agreed to allow him only 5,000l. The ſame ſum was allowed mr. Aſtell: and the queſtion being put to allow ſir Lambert Blackwell 10,000l. ſome propoſing only 5,000l. it was carried for the former by a majority of four voices, one hundred and twelve againſt one hundred and eight. The allowance to ſir John Blunt occaſioned a long debate. Mr Lawrence Carter moved to allow him one ſhilling only; the lord James Cavendiſh, 1,000l. mr. Plummer, 5,000l. ſir Joſeph Jekyll 10,000l. which was ſeconded by general Roſſe, the lord Moleſworth, mr. Jeffreys, and mr. Windſor: but mr. Sloper, mr. John Smith, mr. Horace Walpole, and mr. Milner, were of opinion, that he ought to be moſt ſeverely puniſhed. Mr Sloper ſaid, that he was grown to that height of pride and inſolence, that he could not give a civil anſwer to perſons far above him: inſtancing in his behaviour one day at the treaſury, when, a relation of a great man aſking ſir John, in his (mr. Sloper's) hearing for a ſubſcription, ſir John, with a great deal of contempt, bid him go to his couſin Walpole, and deſire him to ſell his ſtoc in the bank, and by that means he might be ſupplied.' Mr Walpole entered fully into ſir John Blunt's life and character, and ſhewed, that he had been a projector of many years ſtanding, and had been the author of ſeveral fallacious ſchemes, by which unwary people had been drawn in to their utter ruin, particularly in a project for the linen manufactory. To this mr. Horace Walpole added, 'that was not the firſt; for there was a gentleman, who ſat next to him, meaning mr. Jeſſop, whom ſir John Blunt had drawn into a project for bringing water to London from a great diſtance, which was to out-do the new river water; by which the ſubſcribers loſt all their money, though ſir John himſelf got ſome thouſands by it:' This mr. Jeſſop confirmed. However, the lord Hinchinbroke moved for allowing ſir John Blunt 10,000l. but the queſtion being put for allowing him 1,000l. it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of one hundred and thirty-eight againſt ninety-four.

The next allowance in debate was for ſir Robert Chaplin, for whom the lord Moleſworth, ſir John Eyles, and other members ſpoke; and it was agreed, without dividing, to allow him 10,000l. The ſame allowance was given to ſir William Chapman, mr. Cheſter, and mr. Child. A motion being made to give mr. De la Porte the like ſum, the lord Moleſworth was for reducing it to 7000l. but upon the queſtion it was carried for 10,000l. by a majority of one hundred and fifty againſt ſixty-nine. The caſe of mr. Francis Eyles appeared in ſo favourable a light, that he was allowed 20,000l. without dividing. Mr Edmondſon's eſtate amounting to little more than 5,000l. it was moved to allow him the whole, and leave him out of the bill; but, after ſome debate, it was agreed to allow him only 3,000l. The queſtion being put to allow mr. Gibbon 15,000 or 10,000l. it was carried for the latter without dividing. It appearing, that ſir William Hammond and mr. Gore had little or no ſhare in the fraudulent contrivances of the leading directors, mr. Gore was allowed 20,000l. and ſir William Hammond 10,000l. It was propoſed to give mr. Hawes, late receiver-general of the cuſtoms, 1,000l. But ſir Nathaniel Gould and ſome other members having obſerved, that he was very active in the late vile practices, and had occaſioned the ruin of many people, mr. Docminique moved, and it was agreed to allow him only 31l. the odd money of his inventory. Several members ſpoke in favour of mr. Horſey, particularly the lord Hinchinbroke and ſir Robert Rich, who moved for allowing him 10,000l. which was carried without a diviſion. It was then debated, whether to allow mr. Holditch 500l. 1,000l. or 5,000l.

the damages ſuſtained by the company, and for diſabling ſuch of theſe perſons, as were living, to hold any place, or ſit in parliament for the future.

When the motion was made in the houſe of commons, for joining mr. Aiſlabie in the ſame bill with the directors, his friends repreſented the hardſhip of putting a man of his eminence on the ſame level with them, and the danger of ſuch a precedent: but it was to no purpoſe, for the motion was approved. Mr Aiſlabie, when the bill was depending in the houſe of lords, petitioned to be heard by counſel. He was himſelf heard at their bar, and made two long and eloquent ſpeeches in his defence, but they met with more applauſe than ſucceſs, for the bill paſſed as ſent up by the commons.

After theſe proceedings againſt the managers of the South-ſea ſcheme, the commons, with the ſame moderation and wiſdom, applied themſelves to repair the miſchiefs, that ſcheme had produced, and at ſeveral times came to the following reſolutions:

I. That for the re-eſtabliſhing of public credit, relief be given to the South-ſea company, with regard to the payment of the 4,156,306l. and the four years and a half's purchaſe on the annuities and other national debts, the company giving ſuch conſideration to the proprietors, as the houſe ſhall think proper.

II. That in order to put an end to all diſputes between the company and the proprietors of the redeemable funds, and of the ſecond, third, and fourth money-ſubſcriptions, who have ſtoc allowed them at 400l. per cent. with the Midſummer dividend, an addition of 33l. 6s. 8d. be given to the proprietors by the company.

III. That the ſeven millions, payable to the public by the company, be remitted to, as, from the 24th of June, 1722, two millions of the ſtoc be annihilated, and a proportionable part of their annuity or yearly fund from that time, ceaſe.

IV. That the ſecond ſubſcription of the irredeemables be made equal to the firſt, by an addition of ſtoc at 150l. per cent.

V. That all the ſtoc belonging to the company, which, after the propoſed diſtribution, ſhall remain undiſpoſed of, ſhall be divided among the proprietors.

VI. That ſuch perſons as have borrowed money of the company upon South-ſea ſtoc, or upon ſubſcription-receipts, ſhall, upon payment of 10l. per cent. be diſcharged from all future demands.

VII. That all contracts for the ſale or purchaſe of ſubſcriptions or ſtoc of the South-ſea company, or any other, which ſhall be unperformed before the 29th of September next, be entered in books before the 1ſt of November next, or elſe be void.

VIII. That no ſpecial bail be required for any action brought upon any contract, ſince the 1ſt of December, 1719, for the ſale or purchaſe of any ſubſcription or ſtoc.

IX. That no execution be awarded, or any judgment obtained in any ſuch action, till the end of the ſeſſion of parliament, which ſhall be next after the 29th of September enſuing.

X. That all contracts for the ſale or purchaſe of any ſubſcription or ſtoc, unperformed before the 29th of September next, where the ſeller, or the perſon on whoſe behalf ſuch contract was made, was not, at the ſame time of ſuch contract, or within a time to be limited, actually poſſeſſed of intitled to ſuch ſubſcription or ſtoc, ſhall be declared null and void.

With theſe reſolutions, the commons preſented to the king an addreſs, demonſtrating both the neceſſity and wiſdom of their proceedings, and which deſerves to be inſerted at large:

'We your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Great-Britain in parliament aſſembled, being ſenſibly affected with the miſery and calamities, that have befallen great numbers of your majeſty's faithful ſubjects, occaſioned by the heavy loſſes they have ſuſtained, from the fatal execution of the South-ſea ſcheme: and taking into our ſerious conſideration the low ſtate of public and private credit, which it ſeems impoſſible to us ſhould ever revive under the preſent uncertain and unſettled poſture of affairs, have come to ſeveral reſolutions, which we humbly beg leave to lay before your majeſty.

'When we firſt entered upon the conſideration of this extenſive and perplexed affair, we thought it moſt adviſable to leave every man's property to be determined by due courſe of law, and were of opinion, that no relief or abatement could properly be preſcribed or given, but from the South ſea company. But, the diſcontents of the people daily increaſing, and the uncertain and doubtful events, that threatened very great and valuable properties, creating ſuch infinite anxieties and diſſatisfaction, as had a moſt fatal and general influence upon all public and private credit, the interpoſition of parliament became unavoidable, and we found ourſelves under a neceſſity of reſuming the conſideration of this nice and intricate matter, and to endeavour to remove, as far as poſſible, the chief and greateſt inconveniencies.

'The great difficulty in remedying theſe miſchiefs ſeemed to ariſe from the ſeveral contended intereſts engaged in the South-ſea company, which made it impoſſible to give relief to ſome but at the expence of others: and as all the new proprietors, as well thoſe concerned in the public funds, as the other adventurers, were equally impoſed upon by the

The voices were equally divided, eighty-ſix and eighty-ſix; upon which mr. Clayton, the chairman, gave the caſting vote for 5,000l. which met with general approbation. Mr Horace Walpole and ſir Richard Steel ſpoke in favour of ſir Theodore Janſſen, and were anſwered by general Roſſe and the maſter of the rolls. But, after a ſmall debate, mr. Trenchard moved for allowing him 50,000l. which was carried by a majority of one hundred and thirty-four voices againſt one hundred and eighteen. Sir Jacob Jacobſon's caſe coming next under conſideration, mr. Hungerford moved for allowing him 11,000l. which was all his eſtate, except 481l. and it was agreed to without a negative. Mr Ingram's caſe being much the ſame, mr. Pulteney moved for allowing him 12,000l. near three parts in four of his eſtate; and being ſeconded by the lord Hinchinbroke, it was carried without dividing. Sir John Lambart was allowed 5,000l. without a diviſion, as was ſir Harcourt Maſters; and mr. Morley 1800l. near his whole eſtate. Mr Page had an allowance of 10,000l. without dividing. Mr Heyſham moved for allowing colonel Raymond 30,000l. and being ſeconded by mr. Tufnel, the attorney-general, and mr. Hungerford, no oppoſition was made to that motion. Mr Sloper moved for allowing mr. Read 10,000l. He was ſeconded by ſir John Ward and mr. Docminique; and the motion carried without a debate; as was the allowance of 14,000l. to mr. Reynolds. Mr Hungerford moved for allowing mr. Sawbridge 10,000l. and was oppoſed by mr. Lowndes, the lord Moleſworth, ſir Adolphus Oughton, and mr. Horace Walpole. But another member moving for 5,000l. it was agreed to without a diviſion. Mr Tillard had in like manner an allowance of 15,000l. and mr. Turner 800l. which was near his whole eſtate. The caſe of mr. Surman, the deputy caſhier, occaſioned a debate of about an hour and a half. He had not the beſt character amongſt the offenders; but, acting only as a ſervant, and by the command of mr. Knight, or the directors, ſeveral members thought there ſhould be a mitigation in his puniſhment, as there was in his crime. Mr Grey Nevill ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, that he might be left out of the bill. Another member moved to allow him 30,000l. Mr Hungerford would have reduced it to 20,000l. mr. Lechmere to 12,000l. and two other members to 10,000, and 5,000l. All theſe were oppoſed by ſir Joſeph Jekyll, ſerjeant Pengelly, and mr. Horace Walpole, who would not have allowed him above 20 or 30l. but at laſt the queſtion being put for allowing him 5000l. it was agreed to without dividing. Mr Arthur Moore moved for allowing John Griſby, accountant to the South-ſea company, 10,000l. But another member ſaid, 'that, ſince that upſtart was once ſo prodigally vain, as to bid his coachman feed his horſes with gold, no doubt but he could feed on it himſelf: and therefore he moved he might be allowed as much gold, as he could eat; and that the reſt of the eſtate might go towards the relief of the ſufferers.' However a motion being made for allowing him 2,000l. it was carried without dividing.

The particulars of the eſtates and allowances were as follow:

	Inventories. l. s. d. q.	Allowances. l. s. d.
Sir John Fellows, ſub-governor	243,096 00 06	10,000 00 0
Mr Charles Joye, deputy-governor	40,105 02 00	5,000 00 0
Mr Aſtell	27,750 19 08¾	5,000 00 0
Sir John Blunt	183,349 10 08¾	1,000 00 0
Sir Lambert Blackwell	83,529 17 11	10,000 00 0
Sir Robert Chaplin	45,875 14 05	10,000 00 0
Sir William Chapman	39,161 06 08½	10,000 00 0
Mr Cheſter	240,372 15 06	10,000 00 0
Mr Child	52,437 19 01	10,000 00 0
Mr Delaport	17,151 04 06	10,000 00 0
Mr Eyles	34,329 16 07	20,000 00 0
Mr Edmondſon	5,365 00 00	3,000 00 0
Mr Gibbon	106,543 05 06	10,000 00 0
Mr Gore	38,936 15 05	20,000 00 0
Mr Hawes	40,031 00 02¼	31 00 2
Sir William Hammond	22,707 04 02	10,000 00 0
Mr Horſey	19,962 05 03	10,000 00 0
Mr Holditch	39,527 10 04	5,000 00 0
Sir Theodore Janſſen	243,244 03 11	50,000 00 0
Sir Jacob Jacobſon	11,481 04 00	11,000 00 0
Mr Ingram	16,795 00 00	12,000 00 0
Sir John Lambert	72,508 01 05	5,000 00 0
Sir Harcourt Maſters	11,814 12 3½	5,000 00 0
Mr Morley	1,869 10 03	1,800 00 0
Mr Page	34,817 12 03	10,000 00 0
Mr Raymond	64,373 06 03	30,000 00 0
Mr Read	117,297 16 00	10,000 00 0
Mr Reynolds	18,368 13 02	14,000 00 0
Mr Sawbridge	77,254 07 08	5,000 00 0
Mr Tillard	19,175 14 04	15,000 00 0
Mr Turner	881 17 06	800 00 0
Mr Surman, deputy-caſhier	121,321 10 00	5,000 00 0
Mr Grigſby	31,687 06 00	2,000 00 0

Some alterations were afterwards made in theſe allowances. Mr Aſtell had 10,000l. inſtead of 5,000l. ſir John Blunt 5,000l. inſtead of 1,000l. ſir Lambert Blackwell 15000l. inſtead of 10,000l. and mr. Hawes 5,000l. inſtead of 31l. A motion was made to reduce ſir Theodore Janſſen's allowance to 30,000l. but it was rejected.

artifices of the late directors, and equally drawn in by their own too great credulity and desire of gain; to have discharged any particular sett had been not only an injustice to the rest, but, by dissolving the whole system, had involved them in utter ruin, which made a distribution of losses, and some abatement to all, absolutely necessary. It was indeed very much to be wished, that such ease could have been given to the proprietors of the public debts, as would have made their property as valuable to them, as they had enjoyed it for many years: but as they had voluntarily consented to take stoc at some rate or other, even at the time when they saw the stoc raised to the highest pitch, the giving stoc at one and the same price to them and all others, that were most immediately concerned, make the provision as just and equitable, as the nature of the thing will admit; it being impracticable, so far to reconcile the different interests in this general concern, as to make the conditions of those equal, that had engaged themselves at different rates, and unequal terms.

'The great and principal mischiefs arose from several concurring circumstances; from the hard terms of most of the proprietors, occasioned by the high prices, at which they had purchased stoc, or the excessive rates, at which, as well the proprietors of public debts, as the money-subscribers, had obliged themselves to take stoc; from the demand of above seven millions, payable to the public, which could only be raised out of the properties of those, that were already too great sufferers, and which rendered the company incapable of giving them any farther ease or relief; from the disputes and contests at law, which were preparing to be carried on, not only between the company and the subscribers of the redeemable funds, but between infinite numbers of private persons engaged in contracts for the sale and purchase of stoc and subscriptions; from the impossibility of the money-subscribers making any farther payments; from the great loss the company had sustained by the late directors, having lent out above eleven millions of the company's money, without any, or without sufficient security; and from the very little prospect of recovering any considerable part thereof; without which it was impossible for the company to comply with the demand of the public, but at the infinite expence and insupportable loss of all their adventurers, which must have proved destructive to the trade and credit of the kingdom.

'These considerations induced us to come to the foregoing resolutions; being, as we conceive, the most proper means to enable the company to give relief to such of the proprietors, as most wanted and deserved it; to put an end to all disputes at law; and to fix, settle, and ascertain the several properties and interests of all persons concerned with the South-sea company: to deliver infinite numbers of your majesty's good subjects from the apprehension of vexatious law-suits and persecutions, and from the farther demand of such excessive sums of money, as must sink and depress all public and private credit.

'And as the greatest mischiefs, which we now so justly complain of, have arisen from the unwarrantable methods used by the late directors of the South-sea company, in selling and disposing of such part of their increased capital stoc, as belonged to the company; to remove such a foundation of stoc-jobbing, and to prevent the like fatal consequences for the future, we thought it necessary to take care, that all the increased capital stoc belonged to the company, which, after the proposed distribution is made, shall remain undisposed of, be divided among all the proprietors of the company, in proportion to their several and respective interests.

'These resolutions, if passed into a law, and duly put in execution, we humbly hope will tend very much to the re-establishing of the public credit, to the quieting of the minds of your majesty's subjects, and contribute to the ease and relief of great numbers, though not sufficient to give satisfaction to, or repair the losses of all that are unhappily involved in the present calamity.

'But, as the ancient usage and established rules of parliament make it impracticable for us to prepare bills for the royal assent, during the present session of parliament, for some of the purposes contained in our resolutions, we have humbly presumed to lay the same before your majesty for you royal consideration; not doubting but that your majesty will, out of your great wisdom and accustomed grace and goodness to your people, as soon as the public and private bills, now depending in parliament, shall be dispatched, give us an early opportunity of perfecting this great and necessary work.'

The king returned for answer, 'that he had such an entire confidence in the parliament's duty and affection to him, and their zeal for the public service, that he should very readily comply with what they desired, and would soon give them an opportunity of doing what they proposed for settling and establishing the credit of the kingdom.'

The next day, being the 29th of July, the king came to the house of peers, and, passing the bills that were ready, the lord-chancellor prorogued the parliament for two days only to the last of July, when the king came again to the house of lords, and made the following speech:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'The occasion of my calling you together again so suddenly, is to give you an opportunity of resuming the consideration of the state of public credit.'

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

'The progress, that you made in this affair, during the last session, laid such a foundation of this necessary work, that the world is fully apprised of what is reasonably to be hoped for at this present conjuncture.'

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I must recommend to you all possible dispatch, and am persuaded, that at this season of the year your deliberation will be confined to what is absolutely necessary upon this extraordinary occasion.'

Pursuant to this short speech, the commons came again to their former resolution, and ordered a bill to be brought in under the title of, 'a bill for making provisions to restore public credit, which suffered by the frauds and mismanagements of the late South-sea directors and others.'

This bill was formed upon the forementioned resolutions, and it may here be observed, that the whole capital stoc, at the end of the year 1720, amounted to above 37,800,000l. and the stoc, allotted to all the proprietors in their several shapes, did not amount to 24,500,000l. The remaining capital stoc, being about 13,300,000l. belonged to the company in their corporate capacity, and was the profit arising from the execution of the South-sea scheme, and out of which the seven millions was to be paid to the public.

When this scheme was blown up, and the calamities and ruin attending numberless families appeared, the parliament, in favour of the unhappy sufferers, by the present act directed several additions to be made to the stoc of the proprietors out of the stoc possessed by the company, in their own right, and made a particular distribution of stoc, which amounted to above 2,200,000l. and upon remitting five millions of the seven, that was to be paid to the public, annihilated two millions of their capital, which was insisting upon the payment of two millions: then they enacted, that, after these distributions, the remaining capital stoc should be divided among all the proprietors which came to 33l. 6s. 8d. per cent. and took this from the company above 8,900,000l.

There was then due, and owing to the company, above eleven millions for money lent by them on stoc unredeemed, and of this the parliament discharged all the debtors to the company upon paying 10l. per cent. (which some did comply with, and others refused) and the loss to the company was upon this article above 6,900,000l.

This act gave some relief to the sufferers, and the cries and lamentations of undone multitudes were less heard, but the proprietors of the stoc loudly complained of the two millions taken from them: upon which (as will hereafter be related) the parliament, in 1723, revived the two millions that had been annihilated, and directed to be distributed among the proprietors which made an addition of 6l. 5s. to every man's capital.

Whilst the affair of the South-sea was depending in parliament, petitions, from counties, cities, and boroughs were sent up, crying for justice, and pamphlets were daily published, exasperating the minds of the people against the South-sea directors and their abettors. But the loudest cries for justice were contained in letters directed to the author of the London Journal, and supposed to have been mostly penned by mr. Gordon, under the borrowed name of Cato.[k]

[k] A committee was appointed to enquire into the authors, printers, and publishers of seditious libels. They sent for mr. Peele, publisher of the London Journal, and for the reputed author of the letters, but they both kept out of the way. Mist, the printer and publisher of a Weekly Journal, was, for reflections cast on the king for his interpositions on behalf of the protestants in the Palatinate, sentenced to stand in the pillory, to pay a fine of fifty

The affairs of the South-ſea being thus ſettled, the company were ſoon in condition to ſatisfy their engagements with the public. On the 1ſt of September a general court was held, which ſir John Eyles, the ſub-governor, opened with a ſpeech, ſetting forth the regulations of the parliament, without which the directors would have been involved in difficulties inſuperable, and confuſions without end. He enlarged upon his majeſty's care of their intereſts in the late treaties with Spain, upon the advantages that might be gained by the Aſſiento contract, to which end the directors were fitting out the Royal George, whoſe cargo amounting to 280,000l. was provided. He acquainted them with the intention of carrying on a trade hitherto not meddled with by the company, the Greenland trade ſo beneficial to Holland and Hamburgh. He then told them, that the forfeited eſtates of the late directors, and the 10l. per cent. on the borrowed ſtoc, with ſome other particulars, were abundantly ſufficient for diſcharging the debts of the company, and maintaining the credit of their bonds: that therefore the directors had diſcharged part of the bonds due at Chriſtmas, and hoped to give a ſpeedy determination to the reſt, that ſo their credit might be eſtabliſhed upon a ſolid foot: that the court of directors had alſo reſolved to divide (if thought fit) 3l. 6s. 8d. in ſtoc upon the preſent capital. That as all the remaining ſtoc was, by act of parliament, to be divided equally among the proprietors, the directors had, in great meaſure, executed that appointment, amounting, upon a calculation, to 33l. 6s. 8d. upon every 100l. capital. After this, he mentioned the company's being empowered, by the late act, to ingraft part of their ſtoc into the capitals of the bank and Eaſt-India; but, as the act for reſtoring public credit had adjuſted the concerns of the company upon a new foot, he only barely mentioned the ingraftment.

This ſpeech met with applauſe, not only in the court, but from the public; and the matters contained in it were agreed to, except the affair of the ingraftment, which was let reſt. At this court it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the directors ſhould take the moſt effectual meaſures to oblige the bank to ſtand to their contract, for taking ſtoc at 400l. per cent. in lieu of the 3,775,000l. the company was to have paid them; and the contract was ordered to be regiſtered.

During theſe proceedings concerning the affairs of the South-ſea company, the following tranſactions paſſed in the parliament.

There was formed, (at leaſt it was pretended ſo) a ſcandalous ſociety at London, with the ſhocking name of the Hell-fire-club. The members whereof were guilty of the like extravagancies with the Mohocks, formerly mentioned. Several perſons of quality, particularly the duke of Wharton, were marked out as belonging to this club. The king, being informed of their wicked proceedings, publiſhed a proclamation (April 29) againſt blaſphemous and ſcandalous clubs, declaring, he was determined to ſhew all marks of diſpleaſure to any, who even lay under the ſuſpicion of ſuch deſtructive practices. He gave orders alſo to the officers of this houſehold, to make ſtrict enquiry, whether any of his ſervants were guilty of ſuch horrid impieties. The ſame day this order was given, the earl of Nottingham, who had lately anſwered mr. Whiſton's tents about the trinity,[1] took this occaſion to complain, in the houſe of lords, of the growth of atheiſm, profaneneſs, and immorality. Upon this dr. Verney, lord Willoughby of Brooke, dean of Windſor, brought in a bill for ſuppreſſing of blaſphemy and profaneneſs. It contained ſeveral articles, which had little relation to the practices complained of, and was chiefly deſigned to ſecure the belief of the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, and reſtrain the liberty granted by the laws of the former ſeſſion to the non-conformiſts. The ſubſtance of it was:

I. If any ſpoke or writ againſt the being of God, the divinity of Jeſus Chriſt, or the Holy Ghoſt, or the doctrine of the trinity, as ſent forth in the thirty-nine articles, on the truth of the Chriſtian religion, or the divine inſpiration of the ſcriptures, he ſhould, upon conviction, be impriſoned many months, unleſs he ſhould, within ſuch a time, publicly renounce his error, in a form preſcribed.

II. If any preacher in a ſeparate congregation ſhould, deny any of the fundamental articles of the Chriſtian religion, he ſhould be deprieved of the benefit of the act of toleration.

III. The archbiſhops in their provinces, and every biſhop in his dioceſe, ſhould be authorized to ſummon any perſon in holy orders, to appear before, and ſubſcribe the declaration above-mentioned, and upon refuſal, ſuch perſon ſhould be incapable to hold any eccleſiaſtical benefice.

IV. The juſtices at their quarter-ſeſſions are authorized, in like manner, to ſummon any diſſenting preacher, and upon his refuſal to ſubſcribe the declaration of faith, he ſhould be deprived of the benefit of the act of toleration.

At the ſecond reading of this bill (May 2) all the lords about London being ſummoned to attend, the archbiſhop moved to have it committed. Upon which the lord Onſlow ſaid, 'he was as much againſt blaſphemy, and for promoting religion, as it is profeſſed in the church of England, as any body; but he could not be for any law, that was for perſecution, of which nature he took this bill to be; and therefore he moved, that it might be thrown out.' He was ſeconded by the duke of Wharton, who ſaid, 'he was not inſenſible of the common talk and opinion of the town concerning himſelf; and therefore he was glad of this opportunity to juſtify himſelf, by declaring, he was far from being a patron of blaſphemy, or any enemy to religion; but, on the other hand, he could not be for this bill, becauſe he conceived it to be repugnant to the holy ſcripture.' Then, taking an old family bible out of his pocket, he quoted and read ſeveral paſſages of the Epiſtles of St. Peter and St. Paul; concluding, that the bill might be thrown out. He was ſupported by the duke of Argyle, and the earls of Sunderland and Ilay, the lord Townſhend, and earl Cowper. The earl of Peterborough ſaid, 'though he was for a parliamentary king, yet he did not deſire to have a parliamentary God, or a parliamentary religion: and, if the houſe were for ſuch a one, he would go to Rome, and endeavour to be choſen a cardinal; for he had rather ſit in the conclave, than with their lordſhips upon thoſe terms.' Dr Kennet, biſhop of Peterborough, ſpoke likewiſe on the ſame ſide, and ſaid, 'that neither himſelf, nor, he hoped, any of that bench would be executioners of ſuch a law, which ſeemed to tend to the ſetting up of an inquiſition.' On the other hand, the earl of Nottingham, the lord Bathurſt, the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Lichfield and Coventry, and ſome others, ſpoke for the bill; as did likewiſe the lord Trevor. One of theſe having ſaid, 'that he verily believed, the preſent calamity, occaſioned by the South-ſea project, was a judgment of God on the blaſphemy and profaneneſs the nation was guilty of.' The lord Onſlow replied, 'that noble peer muſt then have been a great ſinner; for he heard, he had loſt conſiderably by the South-ſea.' After ſome other ſpeeches, the bill was put off to a long day, by a majority of 60 voices againſt 31.

The ſupplies were, contrary to cuſtom, granted very late, and not with the uſual readineſs. The king, not to increaſe the ill humour, had not mentioned the ſubſidy he was oblidged, by the laſt year's treaty, to give Sweden for her ſupport againſt Ruſſia. However, on the 16th of June, he thought proper to ſend the following meſſage to the houſe of commons:

'His majeſty, having taken the firſt opportunity, upon the death of the late king of Sweden, to renew the ancient alliances between this kindom and Sweden, and having ſtipulated by a treaty to pay a ſubſidy to that crown, hath ordered that treaty to be laid before the houſe of commons; and

pounds, and after three months impriſonment to give ſecurity for his good behaviour ſeven years. His journal was carried on under the title of Fog's, and two months after (May 27) was cenſured again by the commons as a traiterous libel, tending to alienate the affections of his majeſty's ſubjects, and excite rebellion. However, the journal continued many years afterwards.

[1] About the latter end of March, a full convocation of the univerſity of Oxford unanimouſly reſolved, that the ſolemn thanks of the univerſity ſhould be returned to the earl of Nottingham, for his moſt noble defence of the Chriſtian faith, contained in his anſwer to mr. Whiſton's letter to him concerning the eternity of the Son of God, and of the Holy Ghoſt. It was alſo agreed, that dr. Shippen, the vice-chancellor, with their repreſentatives, mr. Bromley and dr. Clarke, ſhould wait upon the earl with their thanks. The example of the univerſity was followed by the clergy, at the viſitations held for the dioceſe of Oxford, at Witney, Chipping-Norton, and Henley. The archdeacon of Hereford, and forty-five of the clergy, ſigned an addreſs of thanks to the earl; wherein they hinted, that he had aſſerted the convocation to be part of the parliament. The ſame was done likewiſe by the clergy of Cheſter and Shropſhire. About the ſame time mr. Joſeph Hall, mace-bearer to the king, and juſtice of the peace, was ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory, to pay 200l. fine, to lie three months in priſon, and give ſecurity alſo for ſeven years, for his Sober Reply to mr. Higg's merry Argument for the Tritheſtical Doctrine of the Trinity.

In May, the king publiſhed directions to the archbiſhops and biſhops, for the preſervation of unity in the church, and the purity of the Chriſtian faith, particularly in the doctrine of the trinity. They were required to ſee, 'that no preacher whatſoever, in his ſermon or lecture, do preſume to deliver any other doctrine, concerning the great and fundamental truths of our moſt holy religion, and particularly concerning the bleſſed trinity, than what are contained in the holy ſcriptures, and are agreeable to the three creeds, and the thirty-nine articles of religion.' All perſons denying one of the perſons in the trinity to be God, &c. were to be incapable of any office, and to ſuffer impriſonment three years.

hopes from their known zeal and affection for the proteſtant religion, and the true intereſt of their country, that they will enable him to make good the engagements he has entered into upon this occaſion.

'His majeſty being informed, that two ſhips called the Briſtol Merchant and Turky Merchant (now lying under quarentine) did arrive from Cyprus, and other parts of Turky, infected with the plague, and have cotton, wool, and other goods on board, which are dangerous to ſpread the infection; and conceiving it neceſſary for the preſervation of the health of his ſubjects, that theſe ſhips and their ladings be burnt and deſtroyed, and that a reaſonable ſatisfaction be given to the owners, hath, by advice of his privy-council, cauſed the value thereof to be computed by his majeſty's officers, and ordered thoſe computations to be laid before the houſe of commons, that proviſion may be made for ſatisfying the ſame.'

This meſſage occaſioned a long debate. Mr Shippen, ſir William Wyndham, ſir Joſeph Jekyll, the lord Moleſworth, mr. Butler, and ſome others, deſired to know, 'Whether we were to give 72,000l. (for that was the ſubſidy) to Sweden, beſides the maintaining a great fleet, with ſix thouſand ſeamen in the Baltic, which they thought a ſufficient charge to the nation, without paying ſo great a ſubſidy? urging, that before this laſt treaty with Sweden, there had been a rupture between the two nations, and hoſtilities, and great depredations committed by the Swediſh privateers on our merchants; ſo that before any ſubſidy be given to that crown, accounts ought firſt to be ſtated and ſettled, and it might appear upon the balance, that Sweden is indebted to us.' To this it was anſwered by mr. Walpole and his brother, mr. Lechmere, the lord Barrington, and ſome others, 'that the ſubſidy allowed to Sweden by this laſt treaty, and the ſquadron ſent to their aſſiſtance, who was no more than had been ſtipulated by former engagements; but that the ſubſidy was not like to be demanded any more, the preliminaries of the peace between the czar of Muſcovy and the crown of Sweden being in a manner ſettled. Neither did the king deſire any new tax for it, the land and malt-tax being ſufficient to anſwer all this year's expence.' Mr Walpole added, 'he was extremely glad, he could at the ſame time acquaint the houſe, that his majeſty's endeavours to procure a general peace had been ſo ſucceſsful, that an advantageous treaty with Spain was actually agreed on and ſigned.' The lord Moleſworth obſerved, 'that he would go as far as any man to maintain and ſupport the honour and dignity of the crown of Great-Britain; but that, on the other hand, he was not for ſquandering away unneceſſaryly the ſmall remainder of the wealth of the nation. That by our late conduct we were become the allies of the whole world, and the bubbles of all our allies; but when we have occaſion for our allies, we are obliged to pay them well: and to that purpoſe he inſtanced in the Dutch troops, that came over to our aſſiſtance in the rebellion in 1715. He added, 'that, as to our alliances with Sweden, it was a matter of great intricacy and nicety, becauſe the treaties which England has in divers times made with Sweden, are partly contradictory.' He then entered into a detail of the treaties of Roſchield and Trevendal made in the reigns of king Charles II. and William III. 'that the engagements lately entered into with the crown of Sweden, were likewiſe, in ſome meaſure, contrary to the treaties ſubſiſting with Denmark; particularly as to the ſecuring to the duke of Holſtein the duchy of Sleſwick; and directly oppoſite to the meaſures formerly concerted with the czar of Muſcovy, in order to engage him to check the fierceneſs and ambition of the late king of Sweden: and therefore, in order to engage the czar to yield what he had gained, it were but juſt, that the king of Pruſſia ſhould give up Stetin, and the elector of Hanover, Bremen and Verden. He owned, that the diſtreſſed condition to which the Swedes had been reduced, was really worthy of compaſſion: but that, on the other hand, it muſt be conſidered, they had been, in great meaſure the authors of their own misfortunes by their tame ſubmiſſion to a deſpotic tyrannical prince, and by ſacrificing their whole ſubſtance to enable him to carry on his unjuſt, raſh, and ambitious deſigns; and that any nation who followed their example, deſerved the ſame fate. To this purpoſe he took notice of the hard uſage of the ſubjects of Mecklenburgh from their prince, which he inſinuated to have been one of the cauſes of the late rupture with the czar; but that, after all, England ought not to intermeddle with the affairs of the empire: that the getting naval ſtores for our ſhipping was the main advantage we reaped from our trading in the Baltic: and he owned, that hemp was a very neceſſary commodity, particularly at this juncture; but that, if due encouragement were given to ſome of our plantations in America, we might be ſupplied from thence at a much cheaper rate than from Sweden and Norway.' Mr Lechmere diſtinguiſhed himſelf alſo on this occaſion; but the ſubſidy was at laſt granted by a majority of 197 againſt 136. A ſupply was alſo given to ſatisfy the owners of the ſhips that were to be burnt, on account of their being ſuſpected to be infectious.

Notwithſtanding this warm debate about the Swediſh ſubſidy, the king ſent, about three weeks after, another meſſage to the commons, relating to the debts of the civil liſt.

'His majeſty finds it neceſſary to acquaint his loyal houſe of commons with the difficulties he labours under, by reaſon of debts contracted in the civil government; which being computed at Lady-day laſt, do amount to more than 550,000l.

If the proviſion, made by an act of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament for diſcharging this debt, had not hitherto proved in a very great degree ineffectual, his majeſty had not been under a neceſſity of applying again to parliament upon this occaſion. But being reſolved to cauſe a retrenchment to be made of his civil liſt expences for the future, and finding that ſuch a retrenchment cannot be well effected, without diſcharging the preſent arrears, has ordered the accounts thereof to be laid before the houſe, and hopes he may be empowered to raiſe ready money for that purpoſe on the civil liſt revenues, which to avoid laying any new burden on his people, his majeſty propoſes ſhall be replaced to the civil liſt, and reimburſed by a deduction to be made out of the ſalaries and wages of all officers, and the penſions, and other payments from the crown.' After the reading of this meſſage, mr. Shippen ſtood up, and made a long ſpeech, wherein he took notice of 'this new and unuſual method of aſking for money, not from the throne, and at the beginning of a ſeſſion, as it had always been the cuſtom in the former reigns; but now, by a meſſage, towards the end of the ſeſſion, when moſt of the members were gone home. Look round about the houſe, gentelman (ſaid he) and ſee how few members are preſent, when a buſineſs of this conſequence is to be debated.' But, beſides the unſeaſonableneſs of the time, he obſeved, 'that this meſſage was no leſs extraordinary as to another circumſtance; for, whereas the ways and means of raiſing ſupplies were always left to the commons, here, not only the ſum, but the way of raiſing it, was pointed out to them, which was making the houſe a perfect parliament of Paris. That if things were brought to that paſs, it might be eaſy for any king, whenever he thought fit, to make himſelf arbitrary and abſolute maſter of our liberties and properties; concluding, he was ſure, that the gentleman who adviſed the aſking for ſuch a ſum in that manner, would have been of a quite contrary mind two years ago; but that it was uſual for men's judgments to alter as their intereſts lead them.' Mr Shippen was anſwered by mr. Walpole, who ſhewed the occaſion and the reaſonableneſs of the king's meſſage, the tenderneſs and regard he expreſſed in it for the eaſe of his ſubjects, and the neceſſity of complying with his deſires. He was ſeconded by mr. Lowndes, who ſaid, that ſix-pence in the pound on all the civil liſt funds would anſwer the purpoſe. But mr. Pulteney and ſir Joſeph Jekyll were of opinion, that it would not do, and therefore moved for one ſhilling in the pound; adding, that, if this were too much for the preſent occaſion, the overplus might go towards the diſcharge of the public debts. Mr Sloper agreed with them, and upon this laſt conſideration moved for one ſhilling and ſix-pence in the pound; and that the tax might extend to all military officers, whoſe pay was above ten ſhillings a day. But this motion was dropped, and after ſome other debates it was at laſt agreed that 500,000l. ſhould be raiſed for the debts of the civil liſt, by a deduction of ſix-pence in the pound out of ſalaries, wages, penſions, and other payments from the crown. For this purpoſe a bill paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent. At the ſame time paſſed alſo an act for a general pardon.

The act for reſtoring public credit was paſſed the 10th of Auguſt, when the king came to the houſe of peers, and concluded the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I am glad that the buſineſs of this, and the former ſeſſion, is at length brought to ſuch a period, that I have now an opportunity of giving you ſome receſs, after the great pains you hve taken in the ſervice of the public.

'The common calamity, occaſioned by the wicked execution of the South-ſea ſcheme, was become ſo very great

before your meeting, that the providing proper remedies for it was very difficult. But it is a great comfort to me to obſerve, that public credit now begins to recover, which gives me the greateſt hopes, that it will be entirely reſtored, when all the proviſions, you have made for that end, ſhall be duly put in execution.

'I have great compaſſion for the ſufferings of the innocent, and a juſt indignation againſt the guilty; and have readily given my aſſent to ſuch bills, as you have preſented to me, for puniſhing the authors of our late misfortunes; and for obtaining the reſtitution and ſatisfaction due to thoſe, who have been injured by them, in ſuch a manner, as you judge proper. I was at the ſame time willing and deſirous, by my free and general pardon, to give eaſe and quiet to the reſt of my ſubjects, many of whom may, in ſuch a general infatuation, have been unwarily drawn in to tranſgreſs the laws.'

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

'I return you my hearty thanks for the ſupplies you have granted for the current ſervice of this year, and particularly for your enabling me to diſcharge the debts and arrears on the civil liſt, and to make good the engagements I was under for procuring peace in the north, which in all probability, will now very ſoon be concluded. Theſe inſtances of your faithful endeavours to ſupport the honour and dignity of the crown at home and abroad, are freſh marks of you zeal and affection to my perſon and government.'

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I take this opportunity of acquainting you, that we have renewed all our treaties of commerce with Spain, upon the ſame foot as they were ſettled before the late war, which muſt neceſſarily prove an immediate and valuable advantage to the trade and manufactures of this kingdom.

'I earneſtly recommend to you all, in your ſeveral ſtations, to ſuppreſs profaneneſs and immorality, and to preſerve the peace and quiet of the kingdom.

'You are all ſenſible that the diſcontents occaſioned by the great loſſes that many of my ſubjects have ſuſtained, have been induſtriouſly raiſed and inflamed by malicious and ſeditious libels: but I make no doubt, but that, by your prudent conduct in your ſeveral countries, all the enemies of my government, who flattered themſelves they ſhould be able to take advantage from our misfortunes, and blow up the ſufferings of my people into popular diſcontent and diſaffection, will be diſappointed in their wicked deſigns and expectations.'

The zeal of the parliament deſerved the praiſes beſtowed by the king, for having in great meaſure reſtored the public credit, when under ſuch difficulties, and his thanks, not only for the ſupplies for the ſervice of the year, but for the diſcharge of the civil liſt debts, and the ſubſidy to Sweden. The king was ſenſible of the injurious ſuſpicions raiſed on his account with regard to the South-ſea company: the emperor's refuſal to deliver up mr. Knight, and the favour ſhewn to the directors and their abettors, were conſidered as his work, and greatly increaſed the number of the diſaffected. Hence it was that he ſtrongly expreſſed his apprehenſions, that the enemies to his government would endeavour to blow up the ſufferings of the people into diſcontent, that the members of parliament might be the more zealous to diſappoint their deſigns.

After the ſpeech the parliament was prorogued to the 19th of October.

During thoſe proceedings, ſeveral changes had been made in the miniſtry. Mr Walpole (as has been ſaid) was made firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, and chancellor of the exchequer. [m] The lords Townſhend and Carteret were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate. The earl of Ilay was made privy-ſeal of Scotland, and the earl of Bute a lord of the bedchamber.

Whilſt the parliament was employed in ſettling affairs at home, the king had continued his negotiations abroad, and ended them with ſucceſs.

On the 13th of June, N. S. the treaty of peace between Great-Britain and Spain was ſigned at Madrid. It contained only ſix articles, by which all the regulations with regard to commerce, agreed upon by the former treaties, were renewed; and both the contracting parties promiſed to execute it with the utmoſt ſincerity, and to renounce all interpretations, which had been made uſe of to reſtrain and to weaken theſe conventions. They engaged to reſtore mutually all the effects ſeized and confiſcated on both ſides. His Britannic majeſty, in particular, was to reſtore all the ſhips of the Spaniſh fleet, which had been taken by that of England, in the action near Sicily, with the guns, ſails, rigging, &c. in the ſame condition, in which they then were, or the value of them, if they were ſold.

The deciſion of the other difficulties and pretenſions was referred to the congreſs of Cambray. It was ſtipulated likewiſe, that the publication of this treaty ſhould be deferred till the general peace, which was negotiating at Cambray, or ſome other agreement ſhould be made. It was, however, to take place immediately after its being ratified, and the letters of which ratification were to be exchanged in ſix weeks, or ſooner, if poſſible. To theſe was added a ſecret article, by which king George promiſed not to interfere any longer in the affairs of Italy, and the king of Spain made an abſolute ceſſion of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon.

The ſame day another treaty was ſigned at Madrid, which was little expected: it was a defenſive alliance between Great-Britain, France, and Spain; by which they were to defend the dominions of each other, wherever ſituated, as they were fixed by the treaties of Utrecht, Baden, and London. Each of the allies was to furniſh him, who ſhould have occaſion for aſſiſtance, or be attacked, with 8000 foot and 4000 horſe, or an equivalent in money and ſhips.

One deſign of this alliance was the maintenance and obſervation of the treaty, which was to be made at Cambray, in order to terminate the differences between the emperor and king of Spain.

'Their Britannic, moſt chriſtian, and catholic majeſties (ſaid the fifth article of this treaty) being entirely ſatisfied with the ſentiments, the duke of Parma has always ſhewn towards them, and being deſirous to give him marks of the ſingular eſteem and affection they have for him, promiſe and engage, by virtue of the preſent treaty, to grant him a particular protection for the preſervation of his territories and rights, and for the ſupport of his dignity; ſo that, if he ſhall be diſturbed, they will join their good offices and endeavours to obtain a juſt ſatisfaction; and, if that be refuſed, they will agree upon meaſures to procure it him by all other methods, which ſhall be in their power.'

The States-General were, on the firſt opportunity, to be invited to enter into this treaty; and it was promiſed to maintain the treaty of defenſive alliance, made at the Hague, the 4th of January, 1717, and that nothing ſhould be done, either directly or indirectly, to the prejudice thereof.

The congreſs at Cambray, to which all the difficult points were referred, was at laſt opened. The ambaſſadors of England and France had the title of mediators, and were to terminate the numberleſs differences between the courts of Vienna and Madrid; but they could not ſucceed, the demands on both ſides being ſo oppoſite. The imperial miniſters talked in ſo high and deciſive a ſtrain, that there was no treating with them: 'All the pretenſions of their maſter were inconteſtable, and equity itſelf; to oppoſe or conteſt them, was attacking his ſacred majeſty.' It was thus they expreſſed themſelves, in ſpeaking of the pretenſions of the duke of Parma, who had inſiſted, that the emperor and empire had no right to exerciſe any ſuperiority over the duchies of Parma and Placentia. The imperial miniſters declared, 'they were amazed the duke of Parma ſhould have the aſſurance to draw up ſuch a memorial, and engage the mediators to preſent it to them. It violates (ſaid they) the reſpect due to his imperial majeſty, by denying, he has any ſovereignty over the duke. The mediators ſhould have ſuppreſſed ſuch unreaſonable pretenſions, which they neither could regard, nor had time to diſcuſs. If the duke had any juſt complaints to propoſe, and would repreſent them with reſpect to the imperial court, they would undoubtedly be treated there with equity.'

The mediators anſwered, that the terms uſed by the imperial miniſters were not very becoming between princes: that the memorial in queſtion could not, without cenſure, have been ſuppreſſed: that the duke of Parma had reaſon to apply to the congreſs for juſtice, and that he had not met with ſufficient encouragement, in his repreſentations to the court of Vienna, to addreſs himſelf thither again. To this

[m] The other commiſſioners of the treaſury were Bailie, Turner, Edgecombe, and Pelham. Mr Horatio Walpole was made ſecretary of the treaſury: and Edward Carteret and Galfredus Walpole, poſt-maſter general. Benjamin Mildmay, brother to the lord Fitzwalter, was made a commiſſioner of the exciſe, and Charles Stanhope, treaſurer of the chamber to the king. Hugh Forteſcue was called up to the houſe of Lords by the title of baron Clinton.

it was added, that the negotiations had been always delayed, by continued obſtructions from the plenipotentiaries of the emperor.

With ſuch diſpoſitions, nothing was concluded, and never was congreſs more fruitleſs. To amuſe and ſurpriſe one another was the chief buſineſs; and, when they broke up, they were farther than ever from agreeing.

After the peace with Spain, king George had the ſatisfaction to ſee the tranquillity of Europe reſtored, by a reconciliation between Sweden and Ruſſia. Though this was not done by his mediation, yet, it is certain, the aſſiſtance he had given Sweden, and the peace he had procured between that crown and thoſe of Pruſſia, Denmark, and Poland, had determined the czar to bound his pretenſions, and hearken to an accommodation. As the czar had no quarrel with France, he accepted the mediation of that crown, but abſolutely refuſed to hear of the mediation of Great-Britain.

Sweden was forced to yield up to the czar almoſt all his conqueſts, after the battle of Pultowa; as Livonia, Ingria, Eſtonia, part of Carelia, and of the territory of Wyburg, Riga, Revel, Nerva, &c. and, in return, the czar reſtored only part of Finland, with two millions of rix-dollars, promiſing not to concern himſelf with the regulations of their government.

The czar included in the treaty the king and republic of Poland, and conſented alſo to the including of the king of Great-Britain, in ſuch ſort, that the differences between them ſhould be adjuſted in an amicable manner.

Theſe differences daily increaſed; and, if theſe princes had been neighbours, a war would certainly have enſued. Their enmity was in a great meaſure perſonal. The czar's was founded upon the conduct of king George, who, whilſt only elector of Hanover, had entered into the views of the northern ſtates againſt Sweden, and, after reaping the fruit of that alliance had declared, on all occaſions, againſt Ruſſia. Hence the czar always diſtinguiſhed the king of England from the elector of Hanover, and ſhewed all poſſible regard for the Engliſh, whilſt he endeavoured, by all methods, to annoy their king; and, perhaps he would have ſucceeded, had it not been for the death of Charles XII. That prince and the czar, how much ſoever they were offended with each other, were more ſo with king George, and were going to lay aſide or ſuſpend their reſentments, in order to be revenged. About the time of the king's laſt arrival from Hanover, mr. Baſtugef, the czar's reſident at London, for ſome expreſſions in a memorial, was ordered to depart the kingdom in a fortnight. The czar, in revenge of this affront, took occaſion to publiſh a declaration (which was delivered to the Engliſh factory at Peterſburg, and printed in Holland) in order to raiſe diſcontents in England. The declaration was as follows:

Peterſburg, Jan. 29, 1720-21.

'It is notorious in what an unjuſt and injurious manner, our reſident was ſent away from the court of England; which, having done us a great and ſenſible wrong, ought naturely to have engaged us to uſe repriſals, according to what is practiſed every where elſe. But as we perceive that all this is done without any regard to the intereſt of England, and only in favour of the Hanoverian intereſt; for which the miniſters of Great-Britain not only neglect the friendſhip of foreign powers, but do not even ſpare their own country, which more nearly, and more ſenſibly concern them; we were unwilling that the Engliſh nation, which has no ſhare in that piece of injuſtice, ſhould ſuffer for it; and therefore we grant to them all manner of ſecurity and free liberty to trade in all our dominions.'

Theſe two princes, without mentioning their other qualities, had great talents for negotiation; but king George excelled; for, it muſt be owned, no prince could more wiſely improve any favourable circumſtances to diſconcert his enemy's projects.

Beſides theſe treaties in which king George had ſo great an influence, there was one made with the Moors, and ſigned the 12th of Auguſt. Spain, being then at war with the Moors, loudly complained of the treaty, but without any effect.

This year died pope Clement XI. His name was John Francis Albani, native of Urbino. He had ſat in the papal chair above twenty years. When he was cardinal, he was for his abilities courted by all the powers of Europe, and had a great hand in the will of king Charles II. of Spain. He was revengeful to the laſt degree, inflexible in his reſolutions, and rejected all advice. His greateſt policy was to keep princes at variance. He expreſſed great kindneſs for the pretender. When he found he was going to die, he ſent for the pretender, who being come, he told the cardinals, then in his bed-chamber, that he wanted to ſpeak with him in private; but, one of them repreſenting, that it would redound moſt to his holineſs's honour to deliver his laſt thoughts to him in their preſence, the pope complied, and recommended to them the three following points:

1. To let the pretender reſide conſtantly in the palace which he had aſſigned him.

2. To continue the penſion granted to him, that he may be always enabled to ſupport the royal dignity, till he recover his kingdoms.

3. To oblige the ſucceſſor in the holy ſee, to aſſiſt the pretender in all things againſt the attempts of his enemies.

The cardinals aſſured the pope they would take care to perform the 1ſt and 3d articles; but that, as to the 2d, they would be inexcuſable, if they ſhould continue to exhauſt the treaſure of the church, which was by no means appropriated for the preſervation of one prince alone, but for the defence of the Roman catholic religion in general. To this the pope anſwered, that his ſucceſſor might, with a very ſafe conſcience, draw out ſums from the treaſury for the maintenance of the pretender, becauſe he had been deprived of his dominions for the ſake of the catholic religion; moreover, the pretender himſelf made a very moving ſpeech againſt the inhumanity of abandoning one that was ſo helpleſs: but the cardinals replied, that they would conſider of it, and give their anſwer next day. The pope, acquieſcing therewith, deſired the cardinal d'Althan to engage the emperor to eſpouſe the pretender's intereſt, and not to forſake him in the preſent juncture; but that cardinal begged to be excuſed, and ſhewed, that it was impoſſible to be done, not only on account of ſolemn treaty, but alſo by reaſon of the ſignal ſervices which England did to his imperial majeſty, in the late war againſt the Spaniards.

Clement XI. was ſucceeded by Michael Angelo, of the family of Conti, who took the name of Innocent XIII. in memory of pope Innocent III. the moſt worthy of all the popes choſen from among the cardinals of that family. [n]

On the 15th of April, the princeſs of Wales was delivered of a ſon at Leiceſter-houſe, and, the next day the city of London having preſented the congratulatory addreſs, the king in his anſwer, ſaid, 'I cannot omit taking this opportunity of aſſuring you, that I am truly concerned at the calamity brought upon you by the wicked management of the South-ſea company. I have, however, this comfort, that the report of any part of this misfortune cannot with the leaſt juſtice be imputed to me. Nothing will give me more eaſe and ſatisfaction than the ſeeing you delivered from your preſent ſufferings, your trade revived, and public credit re-eſtabliſhed.' This declaration was thought to be neceſſary, by reaſon of the inſinuations raiſed by the diſaffected.

The young prince was chriſtened the 2d of May: the godfathers were the king of Pruſſia and the duke of York, repreſented by the earl of Grantham and the lord Lumley. The godmother was the queen of Pruſſia, repreſented by the dutcheſs of Dorſet. The young prince was named William Auguſtus, who, this very year 1746, defeated the rebels in Scotland.

The king held, on the 27th of March, a chapter of the order of the garter, to fill up the vacancies occaſioned by the death of the dukes of Rutland and Buckingham. [o] In their room were choſen Charles Fitzroy, duke of Grafton, and Henry Clinton, earl of Lincoln.

The parliament had but one ſeſſion left, ſince the ſeven years expired at Lady-day next. It was propoſed in council to diſſolve the preſent, and call a new parliament; but it was repreſented by the majority, that it would be more expedient to hold another ſeſſion, as farther meaſures were

[n] The family of Conti is one of the four chief families of Rome; the other three are thoſe of Colodna, Orſino, and Savelli, which laſt is extinct.

[o] John Sheffield, duke of Buckingham, died February 24, 1720-21. He had himſelf made the following epitaph, and ordered it to be engraved on his tomb: but it was not orthodox enough:

Pro Rege ſæpè, pro rebublicâ ſemper, dubius non improbus vixi. Incertus nec perturbatus morior. Chriſtum veneror. In deo confido æterno ac omnipotente. ENS ENTIUM MISERERE MEI.

He was made knight of the garter by king Charles II. and lord-chamberlain by his ſucceſſor: he was always in the oppoſition againſt king William, and made privy-ſeal by queen Anne. Notwithſtanding his dying in a ſtate of uncertainty, as he owned in his epitaph, he had appeared very zealous for the church. He left a ſon by a natural daughter of king James II. who are ſince both dead, and the family extinct.

This year, September 15, died Matthew Prior, for whom a monument was erected in Weſtminſter-abbey.

to be taken towards a perfect reſtoration of the public credit, which another parliament might not ſo readily come into. It had been inſinuated, that a deſign was formed for the continuance of the parliament beyond the next ſeſſion: and ſo far believed, that ſeveral members of the common-council of London demanded, in form, of the lord-mayor, that a council ſhould be ſummoned, in which it was intended to move for an addreſs to the king to thank him for his great care of the trade and commerce with Spain, but principally to expreſs their hopes of his calling frequent and new parliaments. The lord-mayor, perceiving their intentions, refuſed to comply with their requeſts on various pretences. Upon this, they publiſhed an account of their proceedings, with the heads of their intended addreſs, under the artful title of, 'An apology for the citizens of London, for their not addreſſing his majeſty under the preſent circumſtances of affairs.'

The plague raged this year in the ſouthern parts of France, particularly at Marſeilles. On this occaſion a proclamation was publiſhed, forbidding any perſon to come into England from any part of France, between the bay of Biſcay and Dunkirk, without certificates of health. The ſtreets were ordered to be paved and kept clean; and an act of parliament paſſed the laſt ſeſſion for prevention of infection, by building of peſt-houſes (to which the infected perſons, or healthy of an infected family, were to be removed) and by ordering trenches or lines to be drawn round any city, town, or place infected. Theſe precautions, appearing to ſome to be unreaſonable, cauſed great debates, as will hereafter be ſeen.

The parliament met on the day appointed, October 19; and the ſeſſion was opened with the following ſpeech from the throne:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I acquainted you, when we parted laſt, with our having renewed all our treaties of commerce with Spain; ſince which, peace is happily reſtored in the north, by the concluſion of the treaty between the czar and the king of Sweden, and by that, which I have made with the Moors, a great number of my ſubjects are delivered from ſlavery; and all ſuch of them, as trade to thoſe parts of the world, are, for the future, ſecured from falling under that dreadful calamity.

'In this ſituation of affairs, we ſhould be extremely wanting to ourſelves, if we neglected to improve the favourable opportunity, which this general tranquility gives us of extending our commerce, upon which the riches and grandeur of this nation chiefly depend. It is very obvious, that nothing would more conduce to the obtaining ſo public a good, than to make the exportation of our own manufactures, and the importation of the commodities, uſed in themanufacturing of them, as practicable and as eaſy as may be preſerved in our favour, our navigation increaſed, and greater numbers of our poor employed.

'I muſt therefore recommend it to you, gentlemen of the houſe of commons, to conſider how far the duties upon theſe branches may be taken off and replaced, without any violation of public faith, or laying any new burthen upon my people. And I promiſe myſelf, that, by a due conſideration of this matter, the produce of thoſe duties, compared with the infinite advantages, that will accrue to the kingdom by their being taken off, will be found ſo inconſiderable, as to leave little room for any difficulties or objections.

'The ſupplying ourſelves with naval ſtores, upon terms the moſt eaſy and leſs precarious, ſeems highly to deſerve the care and attention of parliament. Our plantations in America naturally abound with moſt of the proper materials for this neceſſary and eſſential part of our trade and maritime ſtrength: and if, by due encouragement, we could be furniſhed from thence with thoſe naval ſtores, which we are now obliged to purchaſe and bring from foreign countries, it would not only greatly contribute to the riches, influence, and power of this nation, but, by employing our own colonies in this uſeful and advantageous ſervice, divert them from ſetting up and carrying on manufactures, which directly interfere with thoſe of Great-Britain.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

'It will be a great pleaſure to me, if, in raiſing the ſupplies of this year, it may be ſo ordered, that my people may reap ſome immediate benefit from the preſent circumſtances of affairs abroad. I have ordered eſtimates to be prepared for the ſervice of the enſuing year, and likewiſe an account of the debts of the navy to be laid before you. You cannot but be ſenſible of the ill conſequences, that ariſe from ſuch a large debt remaining unprovided for; and that, as long as the navy and victualling bills are at a very high diſcount, they do not only effect all other public credit, but greatly increaſe the charge and expence of the current ſervice. It is therefore very much to be wiſhed, that you could find a method of diſcharging this part of the national debt, which of all others is the moſt heavy and burthenſome; and by that means have it in your power to eaſe your country of ſome part of the taxes, which from an abſolute neceſſity, they have been obliged to pay.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'The unſpeakable miſery and deſolation, that has of late raged in ſome parts of Europe, cannot but be a ſuffi ent warning to us, to uſe all poſſible precautions to prevent the contagion from being brought in among us; or, if theſe kingdoms ſhould be viſited with ſuch a fatal calamity, to be in a condition, with the bleſſing of God, to ſtop its farther progreſs. And as all other proviſions will be altogether vain and fruitleſs, if the abominable practice of running goods be not at once totally ſuppreſſed, I moſt earneſtly recommend to you, to let no other conſideration ſtand in competition with a due care of preſerving ſo many thouſand lives.

'The ſeveral affairs which I have mentioned to you, being of the higheſt and moſt immediate concern to the whole kingdom, I doubt not but you will enter into the conſideration of them with that temper, unanimity, and diſpatch, that the neceſſity and importance of them require.'

The king, in his ſpeech, propoſes the affairs to be conſidered; ſhews the beſt manner of extending commerce, and ſupplying naval ſtores: expreſſes his concern for the debts of the navy, and hopes they will be taken care of in the ſupplies for the preſent year: concludes with recommending all poſſible means to prevent the plague, or ſtop the progreſs of its contagion, particularly by providing againſt the practice of ſmuggling.

The addreſſes of thanks were ſuitable to the ſpeech; the king was congratulated upon his ſucceſs for reſtoring the tranquility of Europe, and ſecuring the trade of the nation by treaties: aſſurances were given to proceed to the conſideration of the affairs recommended by him, with temper, unanimity, and diſpatch. Notwithſtanding theſe aſſurances of unanimity, the debates ran very high this ſeſſion, and nothing paſſed without great oppoſition.

One of the firſt debates which happened in the houſe of lords was about the famous mr. Law. He came to England, on the 20th of October, in the fleet under ſir John Norris from the Baltic. Mr Law, after the downfal of the Miſſiſſippi ſtoc, had been forced to leave France, to avoid the reſentment of the enraged people, who had more than once attempted his life. Having ſpent ſome time at Venice, and paid a viſit to the pretender at Rome, people were not a little ſurpriſed, ſome time after, to hear, that he was gone to Hanover, from whence he deſigned ſhortly to come into England. He was brought up to London by a lord, with whom he had negotiated for great parcels of South-ſea ſtoc; was privately admitted at court; and having taken a houſe in Conduit-ſtreet, near Hanover-ſquare, he was, for ſome days, viſited by great numbers of perſons of quality and diſtinction. This gave ſo much umbrage, that on the 26th of October, earl Coningſby repreſented to the houſe of lords how dangerous it might be, on ſeveral accounts, to entertain and countenance ſuch a man as mr. Law; and a day being, at his motion, appointed to conſider of that matter, the earl ſaid, 'that he (the earl) could not but entertain ſome jealouſy of a perſon, who had done ſo much miſchief in a neighbouring kingdom, and who being ſo immenſely rich, as he was reported to be, might do a great deal more hurt here, by tampering with any, who were grown deſperate, by being involved in the calamity occaſioned by the fatal imitation of his pernicious projects. That this perſon was the more dangerous, in that he had renounced, not only his natural affection to his country, and his allegiance to his lawful ſovereign, by being naturalized in France, and openly countenancing the pretender's friends, but, which was worſt of all, he had alſo renounced his God, by turning Roman catholic; concluding, that they ought to enquire, whether ſir John Norris had orders to bring him over?' The lord Carteret anſwered, 'that mr. Law had many years ago, the misfortune to kill a gentleman in a duel; but that, having at laſt, received the benefit of the king's clemency, and the appeal lodged by the relations of the deceaſed being taken off, he was come over to plead

his majeſty's pardon. That there was no law to keep any Engliſhman out of his country; and as mr. Law was a ſubject of Great-Britain, it was not even in the king's power to hinder him from coming over, if he thought fit.' To this the Lord Trevor replied, 'that mr. Law was indeed a ſubject of Great-Britain, and, therefore, as ſuch, had an undoubted right to come hither; but the circumſtances of a perſon of his character being brought on board an Engliſh admiral, and at this juncture of time, might deſerve the conſideration of that houſe.' Earl Cowper ſpoke much to the ſame effect: but, however, the affair was dropped, and mr. Law, attended by the duke of Argyle and the earl of Ilay, pleaded his pardon at the King's-bench according to form.

The navy debt, which was increaſed to 1,700,000l. and of which the conſideration had been recommended from the throne, occaſioned great debates in both houſes. Mr Freeman, in the houſe of commons, reflected with ſome warmth upon the perſons concerned in that part of the adminiſtration, ſaying, 'it was matter of wonder, how ſo great a debt could be incurred, when the parliament had provided what had been deſired upon that head.' Mr Shippen hinted, 'that ſuch extraordinary expences could not be for the immediate ſervice of Great-Britain, but in all probability, for the preſervation of ſome foreign acquiſitions.' Sir Joſeph Jekyll ſaid, 'that he was not againſt providing for any juſt public debt; but that, in his opinion, they could not anſwer it, either to themſelves, or thoſe they had the honour to repreſent, if they gave away the nation's money blindfold; and therefore he deſired, that the houſe might be informed, how ſo great a debt had been contracted?' To this mr. Walpole replied, 'nothing in the world was more reaſonable; and therefore he backed the motion, for having a particular account of that debt laid before the houſe; but, in the mean time, he might aſſure them, that near 1,100,000l. of it was contracted in the laſt reign; and as the perſons now in the adminiſtration were not anſwerable for that part, neither did they deſire, that above one million of it ſhould be this year provided for.' This was agreed to without dividing.

The ſame affair was more warmly debated in the houſe of lords: when a ſurpriſe was expreſſed, how the navy debt came to be ſo large, it was anſwered (as in the houſe of commons) that near two-thirds of the debt had been contracted in the laſt reign, of which the proofs were ready. Upon this the earl of Rocheſter ſaid, 'that, ſince the debt was incurred, it was but juſtice, that they, who truſted the government, ſhould be paid; but, on the other hand, it became the wiſdom of that houſe to endeavour to prevent the like for the future, and to reſtore the navy on the ancient foot, that is, not to exceed the expences provided for by parliament.' And moved for an addreſs to that purpoſe. This was oppoſed by the earl of Ilay, who urged, 'that the public good, and the ſafety of the nation, being the grand object and rule of government, ſome latitude muſt of neceſſity be given, and allowance made to thoſe who are in the adminiſtration, for extraordinary expences, upon unforeſeen exigences. And therefore, if the miniſters, as they had promiſed it, gave the houſe a ſatisfactory account how the debt in queſtion came to be contracted, there was, in his opinion, no occaſion for ſuch an addreſs.' The lord-chancellor Parker and others ſpeaking on the ſame ſide, the motion for an addreſs was rejected by 64 voices (among which was the lord Harcourt's, who had been lately made a viſcount) againſt 22.

In ſeveral other debates on this affair, it was urged, 'that the navy debt was increaſed by employing more ſeamen than were provided for by parliament, particularly by ſending large fleets to the Baltic and Mediterranean, and keeping the ſailors in pay during the winter: that theſe expences were not neceſſary for the ſervice of Great-Britain, and therefore it was proper to have all the papers relating to the northern tranſactions, particularly the lord Carteret's private inſtructions, laid before the houſe, in order to have full ſatisfaction concerning the grounds of theſe expeditions, and to ſee whether the act of ſettlement had been no ways infringed by them, a point of the utmoſt conſequence to the preſent eſtabliſhment. To this it was anſwered, that the employing more ſeamen for ſeveral years, than were provided for by parliament, was occaſioned by ſervices which either were purſuant to the previous advice, or had the ſubſequent approbation of one or both houſes, and were alſo neceſſary for the ſafety of the kingdom, and tranquility of Europe: that, the nature of theſe ſervices detaining the ſquadrons till the months of November, or December, the paying off the ſeamen was inconſiſtent with having the ſhips ready to ſail early in the ſpring, and nothing would be ſaved by it. By a great majority it was voted, that lord Carteret's private inſtructions ſhould not be addreſſed for, and that the ſending a ſquadron to the Baltic did no way break into the act of ſettlement.

The affairs of Spain in the north were ſo equally concerned in the increaſe of the naval debt, that the enquiry into the one naturally led to the enquiry into the other. The debate was opened by the duke of Wharton, who animadverted upon the conduct of the miniſters, both as to the war and peace with Spain, and moved that the treaty with that crown might be laid before the houſe. The earl of Sunderland ſaid, 'he did not doubt but his majeſty would be always ready to comply with the deſires of that houſe, and even in this particular, as well as in others; but that, for his part, he would be ſo free as to declare his judgment againſt adviſing his majeſty to communicate the treaty in queſtion at this juncture, becauſe, to his knowledge, there was in it a ſecret article, which the king of Spain had deſired might not be made public, till after the treaty of Cambray was over; and, his majeſty having granted that requeſt, he therefore hoped that houſe would not deſire his majeſty to break his promiſe.' Upon this the duke of Wharton's motion was rejected by a majority of 59 voices againſt 22. In another debate the earl of Strafford ſuggeſted, 'that as the war with Spain was undertaken without neceſſity, or a juſt provocation, ſo the peace was concluded without any benefit or advantage. That, contrary to the law of nations, the Spaniſh fleet was fallen upon without any declaration of war, and even while a Britiſh miniſter and a ſecretary of ſtate were amicably treating at Madrid; ſo that the Spaniards might think themſelves ſecure from any hoſtilities. And as the manner of beginning the war did not appear juſtifiable, ſo neither could the war itſelf be eaſily reconciled with ſound politics, ſince it was an interruption to one of the moſt valuable branches of our trade, and at a time when the nation groaned under the preſſure of heavy debts, occaſioned by a former long expenſive war: concluding with a motion for an addreſs to his majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to cauſe the inſtructions, that were given to ſir George Byng (now lord Torrington) to be laid before the houſe.' But as the motion for the treaty, ſo this for the inſtructions of ſir George Byng, was upon the queſtion rejected by a majority of 67 againſt 24. A proteſt was entered, repreſenting, that a motion for the admiral's inſtructions had never been denied; that, without a ſight of the lord Torrington's inſtructions, the war with Spain, in which the action in the Mediterranean involved us, did not appear juſtifiable, and was plainly prejudicial to the nation, as it interrupted our commerce with Spain, and occaſioned a ſtrict union between the French and Spaniſh crowns, which it was the intereſt of Great-Britain to have kept always divided. Nor did it appear that Great-Britain reaped any fruits from that war.

After this it was moved, that the houſe would enquire what were become of the ſhips taken from the Spaniards, and how they were diſpoſed of, and an addreſs for that purpoſe was voted.

[1721-22] The debates on the navy debt being put off for three weeks, a proteſt (Feb. 19,) was entered againſt it, in which the ſeveral particulars that were deſigned to be proceeded upon, were ſpecified, but they were afterwards expunged by an order of the houſe.

The bill to prevent infection from the plague cauſed likewiſe long and warm debates in the houſe of lords. Earl Cowper moved, 'that a clauſe might be added to the bill for repealing ſo much of the late quarentine act, as impowers the government to remove to a lazaret, or peſt-houſe, any perſon whatſoever, infected with the plague, or healthy perſons out of an infected family from their habitations; and alſo ſo much of the act, as gives power for the drawing lines or trenches round any city, town, or place infected. He repreſented, that theſe powers were altogether unknown to our conſtitution, inconſiſtent with the lenity of our free government, ſuch as could never be wiſely or uſefully put in practice; and the more odious, becauſe they ſeemed to be copied from the arbitrary government of France, and could not be executed but by military force.' The earl alſo oppoſed the forcing perſons to accept of nurſes and phyſicians appointed by government. Though the repeal of the obnoxious clauſes in the quarentine act, met with much oppoſition, and a petition from the city of London, for that purpoſe, had been rejected by the lords: yet an act paſſed at laſt for repealing the clauſes for removing perſons to peſt-houſes, and drawing lines round any city or town that was infected.

The mutiny and deſertion bill occaſioned the uſual diſputes about the army. The lord Trevor opened the debate with a long ſpeech, wherein he excepted againſt the cauſes for puniſhing ſoldiers with death for deſertion, and for exempting them from being arreſted for debt. He urged, 'that the exerciſe of the martial law in time of peace was unknown, and repugnant to our conſtitution: that ſuch a law was indeed neceſſary during the late rebellion; but, there being at preſent no ſuch reaſon, and all being perfectly quiet and eaſy under his majeſty's mild government, the puniſhment of offences committed by the ſoldiery ought to be left to the civil magiſtrate: and that, on the other hand, it was unreaſonable to grant ſoldiers a protection from their lawful creditors, ſince a great many poor people, who might be drawn in to truſt them, might be ruined.' After a warm debate, the bill paſſed without any alteration or reduction of the forces.

There was at this time great clamour againſt the French building and buying ſhips in England. Some were built for them at Briſtol, and more at London. When this matter was conſidered in the houſe of lords, it was ſuggeſted, 'that the practice of building ſhips for foreigners might be attended with very ill and dangerous conſequences; for, as ſuch foreigners, though at preſent in amity with us, may yet, one time or other, become our enemies, they will, in ſuch a caſe, make uſe of thoſe very ſhips to fight againſt us: beſides this general conſideration, the preſent great ſcarcity of timber in England made ſuch a practice ſo much the more unjuſtifiable, eſpecially if it was conſidered what a great number of ſhips had lately been built for the French, ſome of which were ſixty or ſeventy gun ſhips.' To this it was anſwered, 'that they knew of no law in being to hinder any ſhip-carpenter from working for any one, that would employ him. That the French, though now in amity, may indeed be one day our enemies; but yet, if they built not here ſuch ſhips as they have occaſion for, they might get them built in Holland or at Hamburgh; and they were of opinion, that it was better for us to get their money than our neighbours: that indeed, if we could hinder the French from building ſhips at all, it would be prudent to do it; but ſince they can have them in other places, our prohibiting them to buy them here would rather be detrimental than advantageous to us.' After ſome other ſpeeches, it was agreed to conſult the judges. Upon which, chief-juſtice Pratt, in the name of all the judges preſent (except baron Montague, who deſired farther time to conſider of it, before he gave his opinion) declared, 'that they knew of no law, whereby the king was impowered to hinder any of his ſubjects from building ſhips for any one, that would employ them, whether natives or foreigners.' Earl Cooper ſaid, if there was no ſuch law, it was high time there ſhould be one, to put a ſtop to ſuch a pernicious practice for the future; and therefore moved, that the judges be ordered to bring in a bill for that purpoſe. But, after ſome diſputes about certain proviſoes, the conſideration of the bill was put off and never more reſumed.

The quakers having petitioned the commons for leave to bring in a bill for taking out their ſolemn affirmation the words, 'in the preſence of Almighty God,' a bill paſſed the houſe for that purpoſe, and was ſent up to the lords, where it occaſioned a debate. The biſhop of Rocheſter having, among other things, ſaid, 'He did not know why ſuch a diſtinguiſhing indulgence, as was intended by this bill, ſhould be allowed to a ſet of people, who were hardly chriſtians.' The earl of Ilay anſwered, 'he wondered that reverend prelate ſhould call in queſtion, whether the quakers were chriſtians, ſince they were ſo, at leaſt by act of parliament, being included in the Toleration act, under the general denomination of proteſtant diſſenters. The biſhop replied, 'It was againſt the ſtanding orders of that auguſt aſſembly to make any perſonal reflections; and he thought it a much greater indecency to make a jeſt of any thing, that was ſacred; and that the calling the quakers chriſtians, by act of parliament, was a ſort of ſide-wind reflections upon chriſtianity itſelf; however, he would let that paſs, and reſerve to another opportunity what he had to offer againſt the bill. Accordingly, he afterwards endeavoured to prove the quakers were no chriſtians, and was ſeconded and ſupported by the earl of Strafford, lord North and Grey, and the archbiſhop of York. When the bill was committed, a petition from ſome of the London clergy was preſented by the archbiſhop of York, ſetting forth, 'that, the bill might, in its conſequences, nearly affect the property of the ſubject in general, ſo it would in a more eſpecial manner, indanger the legal maintenance of the clergy by tythes, inaſmuch as the people called quakers pretend to deny the payment of tythes upon a principle of conſcience: and therefore might be under ſtrong inducements to eaſe their conſciences in that reſpect, by violating them in another, when their ſimple affirmation, on behalf of friends of the ſame perſuaſion, ſhall paſs in all courts of judicature for legal evidence. However, that the injuries, which the petitioners in their private affairs might poſſibly ſuffer, were as they ought to be, of ſmall account with them in compariſon of the miſchiefs which might redound to ſociety from the indulgence intended, as it ſeemed to imply, that juſtice may be duly adminiſtered, and government ſupported, without the intervention of any ſolemn appeal to God as a witneſs of the truth of what is ſaid by all perſons, in all caſes of great importance to the common welfare; whereas the petitioners were firmly perſuaded, that an oath was inſtituted by God himſelf, as the ſureſt bond of fidelity among men, and hath been eſteemed, and found to be ſo by the wiſdom and experience of all nations in all ages. But that what chiefly moved the petitioners to apply to their lordſhips ſerious concern, leſt the minds of good men ſhould be grieved and wounded, and the enemies of chriſtianity triumph, when they ſhould ſee ſuch condeſcenſions made by a chriſtian legiſlature to a ſet of men, who renounce the divine inſtitutions of Chriſt; particularly that, by which the faithful are initiated into his religion, and denominated chriſtians; and who cannot, on this account, according to the uniform judgment and practice of the catholic church, be deemed worthy of that ſacred name. The petitioners moreover repreſented, that, upon the beſt information they could get, the inſtances wherein any quaker had refuſed the ſolemn affirmation preſcribed by an act in the 7th and 8th years of William III. had from the paſſing that act to that day, been exceeding rare; ſo that there might be ground to hope, that the continued uſe of the ſaid ſolemn affirmation would, by degrees, have entirely cured that people of all thoſe unreaſonable prejudices againſt an oath, which the favour deſigned them by the bill might tend to ſtrengthen and confirm. And the petitioners humbly left it to their lordſhips wiſe deliberations, whether ſuch an extraordinary indulgence, granted to a people already, as is conceived, too numerous, might not contribute to multiply their ſect, and tempt perſons to profeſs themſelves quakers in order to be exempted from the obligation of oaths, and to ſtand upon a foot of privilege, not allowed to the beſt chriſtians in the kingdom.'

The receiving and reading of this petition was warmly oppoſed, and, the queſtion being at laſt put, it was rejected. All the biſhops preſent, except the two archbiſhops, the biſhops of Oxford, (Potter) Litchfield and Coventry, (Hough) and Rocheſter, were againſt the petition. The biſhop of Saliſbury endeavoured to mitigate the matter, and propoſed, that the petitiones might have leave to withdraw their petition; but this was oppoſed by the earl of Sunderland, who ſaid, that a committee ought to be appointed to enquire into the authors and promoters of it, for he looked upon it to be no better than a libel. The lord Townſhend took notice of the irregular way, in which the petition was preſented, for, if it was a petition of the London clergy, it ought to be offered either by the biſhop of that dioceſe, or the archbiſhop of Canterbury; whereas it was preſented by the archbiſhop of York, who was metropolitan of another province. However, a proteſt was entered by ſeveral lords and biſhops againſt rejecting the petition. After this, the archbiſhop of Canterbury moved, that the quakers affirmation might not be admitted in courts of judicature, but among themſelves; and the archbiſhop of York moved for a clauſe, that the quakers affirmation ſhould not go in any ſuit at law for tythes: but, after ſome farther debate, the bill was gone through, and ſent bac to the commons; but a proteſt was entered againſt it by ſeveral lords and biſhops.

As nothing had paſſed without being proteſted againſt, the earl of Sunderland, towards the end of the ſeſſion, took notice, 'that the privilege of entering proteſts had, of late, been ſo much abuſed, that, in his opinion, ſome reſtraint ought to be put to it by limiting the time for entering proteſts upon aſking leave of the houſe, which was never denied: and therefore he moved, that ſuch lords, as ſhall enter their proteſtations with reaſons ſhall do the ſame before two o'clock the next ſitting day, and ſign them before the houſe riſes.' This was oppoſed by the lord Cowper, who alledged, 'that, the time being ſo ſhort, and very few lords coming ſo early, ſuch an order would in effect put an end to all proteſting, which was an ancient privilege of that houſe.' The biſhop of Rocheſter added, 'that if proteſts were limited to ſo ſhort a time, this was at leaſt the way to have them

crude and indigeſted: and he thought it unbecoming the dignity of that auguſt aſſembly to have any thing entered upon their journals, which were records for after ages, before it had been duly conſidered, and well digeſted.' However, it was reſolved, that it ſhould be a ſtanding order of the houſe (inſtead of the order of the 5th of March, 1641) that ſuch lords, as ſhall enter their proteſtations with reaſon, ſhall do the ſame before two o'clock the next ſitting day, and ſign them before the houſe riſes.

The commons, after having granted the neceſſary ſupplies, brought in a bill for ſecuring the freedom of elections of members of parliament. Great debates aroſe about ſeveral clauſes that were offered to be inſerted in the bill; particularly, that no officer of the cuſtoms or exciſe ſhould vote at any election for parliament men. This was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, as taking away from thoſe officers their birth-right, as Engliſhmen and freeholders; upon which that clauſe was dropped. Another was propoſed, that no perſon, who did not pay ſcot and lot, ſhould have a vote in a corporation. This was alſo oppoſed, 'becauſe (as it was urged) it had already been adjudged at committees of elections, and agreed to by the houſe in ſeveral caſes, that ſuch perſons, in ſome places ſhould have no votes; and in other places they ſhould be allowed to vote, provided they did not receive alms from the pariſh.' As this clauſe was not inſiſted upon, the bill paſſed, and was ſent up to the lords. The earl of Sunderland endeavoured to ſhew the impoſſibility of the ſeveral clauſes of the bill being put in execution, without expoſing the moſt innocent perſons to the guilt of perjury. After ſeveral ſpeeches on both ſides, the bill was rejected by 48 voices againſt 30.

An act paſſed this ſeſſion, to enable the South-ſea company to diſpoſe of the effects in their hands by way of lottery or ſubſcription, in order to pay the debts of the company. By a clauſe in this bill, the South-ſea company were impowered to ſell 200,000l. a year of their capital ſtoc for the ſame purpoſe. Another act paſſed, to prolong the times for hearing and determining claims upon the eſtates of the South-ſea directors, and of mr. Aiſlabie and mr. Craggs.

On the 7th of March, the buſineſs of the ſeſſion being over, the king came to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the parliament, with the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'You could not have given me a more acceptable inſtance of your zeal and affection, than by diſpatching, with ſo much unanimity, the ſeveral particulars I recommended to you at the beginning of this ſeſſion, for the eaſe and advantage of my people.

'The many and great encouragements you have given to our trade and manufactures, and the proviſion you have made for our being ſupplied with naval ſtores from our own plantations, will, I make no doubt, excite the induſtry of my ſubjects, employ a greater number of the poor, increaſe our navigation, and be a conſiderable addition to the riches and ſtrength of this nation.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

'The raiſing the current ſupplies of the year, and the making a proviſion for the diſcharge of ſo conſiderable a part of the debt of the navy, is a farther proof of your affection to me, and your regard for the public; and your doing it, in a manner ſo little burthenſome to my people, gives me the greateſt ſatisfaction.

My Lords and Gentleman,

'I cannot in juſtice part with this parliament, without returning you my ſincereſt thanks for your ſteady and reſolute adherence to my perſon and government, and to the intereſt of the proteſtant cauſe both at home and abroad. The enemies of our happy conſtitution have given the ſtrongeſt and moſt honourable teſtimony of your behaviour in theſe particulars, by the implacable malice, which they have, upon all occaſions, expreſſed againſt you.

'You muſt all be ſenſible, that they are at this juncture reviving with the greateſt induſtry, the ſame wicked arts of calumny and defamation, which have been the conſtant preludes to public troubles and diſorders: and ſuch is their infatuation, that they flatter themſelves, the groſſeſt miſrepreſentations will turn to their advantage, and give them an opportunity of recommending themſelves to the favour and good opinion of my people. But I have ſo juſt a confidence in the affection of my ſubjects, and in their regard for their own welfare, that I am perſuaded they will not ſuffer themſelves to be thus impoſed upon, and betrayed into their own deſtruction.

'For my part, as the preſervation of the conſtitution in church and ſtate ſhall always be my care, I am firmly determined to continue to countenance ſuch, as have manifeſted their zeal for the preſent eſtabliſhment, and have the religious and civil rights of all my ſubjects truly at heart; and I queſtion not but that behaviour, which has juſtly recommended them to me will effectually ſecure to them the good-will of all that are well-affected to my government, and will convince the world, that the expectations of thoſe are very ill grounded, who hope to prevail with a proteſtant free people, to give up their religion and liberties into the hands of ſuch as are enemies unto both.'

After this ſpeech the parliament was prorogued to the 15th of March, but, on the 10th, a proclamation was publiſhed to diſſolve the parliament, and, three days after, another for calling a new one.

[1722] Soon after the diſſolution of the parliament, died Charles Spencer, earl of Sunderland, whoſe abilities as a miniſter were indiſputable, but who expoſed himſelf to great odium by the violence of his temper, and the ſhare he was thought to have had in the South-ſea ſcheme; and in the latter part of his life it is thought, upon good grounds, that he had entered into correſpondences and deſigns, which would have been fatal to the public.

His death was followed in leſs than a month by that of his father-in-law the duke of Marlborough, whoſe character has been given in the former part of this hiſtory.[p] He was

Ambaſſador extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
To the ſtates-general of the united provinces.

The duke contracted ſeveral alliances before the death of king William. He confirmed and improved theſe. He contracted others, after the acceſſion of Queen Anne; and re-united the confederacy, which had been diſſolved at the end of a former war, in a ſtricter and firmer league.

Captain-general and commander in chief
Of the forces of Great-Britain.

The duke led to the field the army of the allies. He took with ſurprizing rapidity Venlo, Ruremonde, Stevenſwaert, Liege. He extended and ſecured the frontiers of the Dutch. The enemies, whom he found inſulting at the gates of Nimweghen, were driven to ſeek for ſhelter behind their lines. He forced Bonne, Huy, and Limbourge in another campaign. He opened the communication of the Rhine, as well as the Maes. He added all the country between theſe rivers to his former conqueſts. The arms of France, favoured by the defection of the elector of Bavaria, had penetrated into the heart of the empire. This mighty body lay expoſed to immediate ruin. In that memorable criſis, the duke of MARLBOROUGH led his troops with unexampled celerity, order, from the ocean to the Danube. He ſaw; he attacked; nor ſtopped, but to conquer the enemy. He forced the Bavarians, ſuſtained by the French, in their ſtrong intrenchments at Schellenberg. He paſſed the Danube. A ſecond royal army, compoſed of the beſt troops of France, was ſent to reinforce the firſt. That of the confederates was divided. With one part of it the ſiege of Ingolſtadt was carried on. With the other the duke gave battle to the united ſtrength of France and Bavaria. On the ſecond day of Auguſt, 1704, he gained a more glorious victory than the hiſtories of any age can boaſt. The heaps of ſlain were dreadful proofs of his valour. A marſhal of France, whole legions of French, his priſoners, proclaimed his mercy. Bavaria was ſubdued. Ratiſbon, Augſburgh, Ulm, Meminghen, all the uſurpations of the enemy, were recovered. The liberty of the diet, the peace of the empire, were reſtored. From the Danube the duke turned his victorious arms toward the

[p] It may not be improper to inſert here the monumental inſcription on the pillar in the park, before the caſtle of Blenheim, which enumerates the duke of Marlborough's exploits in a plain, elegant, and maſculine ſtyle:

The caſtle of Blenheim was founded by Q. Anne.
In the fourth year of her reign;
In the year of the chriſtian æra 1705;
A monument deſigned to perpetuate the memory of the ſignal victory
Obtain'd over the French and Bavarians,
Near the village of Blenheim,
On the banks of the Danube,
By JOHN duke of MARLBOROUGH;
The hero not only of his nation, but of his age;
Whoſe glory was equal in the council and in the field;
Who by wiſdom, juſtice, candour, and addreſs,
Reconciled various and even oppoſite intereſts;
Acquired an influence, which no rank, no authority can give,
Nor any force but that of ſuperior virtue;
Became the fixed important center,
Which united in one common cauſe
The principal ſtates of Europe;
Who by military knowledge, and irreſiſtible valour,
In a long ſeries of uninterrupted triumphs,
Broke the power of France,
When raiſed the higheſt, when exerted the moſt;
Reſcued the empire from deſolation;
Aſſerted and confirmed the liberties of Europe.

Philip, a grandſon of the houſe of France, united to the intereſts, directed by the policy, ſupported by the arms of that crown, was placed on the throne of Spain. King William the third beheld this formidable union of two great, and once rival, monarchies. At the end of a life ſpent in defending the liberties of Europe, he ſaw them in their greateſt danger. He provided for their ſecurity, in the moſt effectual manner. He took the duke of Marlborough into his ſervice.

interred the 9th of Auguſt, with great funeral pomp, in Weſtminſter-Abbey; and was ſucceeded as maſter-general of the ordnance, and colonel of the firſt regiment of foot-guards by the earl of Cadogan.

The elections for members of parliament were carried on with great zeal on both ſides; but the majority of the elected was clearly in favour of the court; as was likewiſe that of the ſixteen Scots peers, who were the dukes of Montroſe and Roxburgh, the Marquis of Tweedale, the earls of Sutherland, Rothes, Loudon, Haddington, Buchan, Selkirk, Orkney, Stairs, Deloraine, Ilay, Hoptoun, Bute, and Aberdeen. [q]

It was king George's lot to meet with continual diſturbances. The affair of the South-ſea and the favour ſhewn to the managers of that ſcheme, had raiſed great diſcontents. It was natural for the enemies of his perſon and government to improve ſuch a juncture: accordingly they did ſo, and, though without hope of any foreign aſſiſtance, they imagined it poſſible to ſucceed in their deſigns, unleſs prevented by a diſcovery. The king had ſome ſuſpicion of a plot, which he had intimated in his ſpeech to both houſes, but preſently after his ſuſpicions were turned into certainty. In the beginning of May he had full information of a conſpiracy formed againſt him, the firſt notice of which came from the duke of Orleans.

Upon this information, a camp was marked out in Hyde-park, to which the troops of the king's houſehold marched the next day. Orders were iſſued to all military officers immediately to repair to their reſpective commands. Lieutenant-general Maccartney was diſpatched to Ireland, to bring over ſome troops from thence into the weſt of England. Meſſengers were ſent to Scotland to ſecure ſome ſuſpected perſons; and mr. Horace Walpole, who ſome days before, went over to Holland, was inſtructed to deſire the ſtates, to keep in readineſs the guarantee troops, in order to be ſent into England in caſe of neceſſity. On the other hand, colonel Churchill was ſent to the court of France, with a private commiſſion, probably to ſee how far the aſſurances from thence were to be depended upon. By theſe precautions the public tranquility was preſerved in Great-Britain. However, the apprehenſions of the plot did not a little affect public credit; for, on May the 7th, South-ſea ſtoc fell from 90 to 77; and the timorous or diſaffected began a run upon the bank. But a few days after, the funds gradually roſe to their former value.

To authorize theſe precautions, and ſound the temper of the people, the lord Townſhend writ the following letter to the lord-mayor of London:

My Lord, Whitehall, May 8, 1722.

'His majeſty having nothing more at heart than the peace and ſafety of his good city of London, the protection of its inhabitants, and the ſupport of public credit, has commanded me to acquaint your lordſhip, that he has received repeated and unqueſtionable advices, that ſeveral of his ſubjects, forgetting the allegiance they owe to his majeſty, as well as the natural love they ought to bear to their country, have entered into a wicked conſpiracy, in concert with traitors abroad, for raiſing a rebellion in this kingdom in favour of a popiſh pretender, with a traiterous deſign to overthrow our excellent conſtitution both in church and ſtate, and to ſubject a proteſtant free people to tyranny and ſuperſtition; but I am perſuaded, that it will be a great ſatisfaction to your lordſhip and the city to find, that, at the ſame time I am ordered to inform you of this deſign, I am likewiſe commanded by his majeſty to let you know, that he is firmly aſſured, that the authors of it neither are, nor will be ſupported, nor even countenanced by any foreign power. And as his majeſty has had timely notice of their wicked machinations, and has made the proper diſpoſitions for defeating them, he has no reaſon to doubt, but by the continuance of the bleſſing of Almighty God, and the ready aſſiſtance of his faithful ſubjects, this effort of the malice of his enemies will he turned to their own confuſion.

'His majeſty makes no doubt, but your lordſhip, purſuant to the truſt repoſed in you, will, in conjunction with

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Rhine, and the Moſelle. Landau, Treves, Traerbach were taken. In the courſe of one campaign the very nature of the war was changed. The invaders of other ſtates were reduced to defend their own. The frontier of France was expoſed in its weakeſt part to the efforts of the allies.

That he might improve his advantage, that he might puſh the ſum of things to a ſpeedy deciſion, the duke of MARLBOROUGH led his troops early in the following year once more to the Moſelle. They, whom he had ſaved a few months before, neglected to ſecond him now. They, who might have been his companions in conqueſt, refuſed to join him. When he ſaw the generous deſigns he had formed fruſtrated by private intereſt, by pique, by jealouſy, he returned with ſpeed to the Maes. He returned; and victory returned with him. Liege was relieved; Huy re-taken; the French, who had preſſed the army of the ſtates-general with ſuperior numbers, retired behind intrenchments, which they deemed impregnable. The duke forced theſe intrenchments, with inconſiderable loſs, on the ſeventh day of July, 1705. He defeated a great part of the army, which defended them. The reſt eſcaped by a precipitate retreat. If advantages proportionable to this ſucceſs were immediately obtained, let the failure be aſcribed to that misfortune which attends moſt confederacies, a diviſion of opinions, where one alone ſhould judge; a diviſion of powers, where one alone ſhould command. The diſappointment itſelf did honour to the duke. It became the wonder of mankind how he could do ſo much under thoſe reſtraints, which had hindered him from doing more.

Powers more abſolute were given him afterwards. The increaſe of his powers multiplied his victories. At the opening of the next campaign when all his army was not yet aſſembled, when it was hardly known that he had taken the field, the noiſe of his triumphs was heard over Europe. On the 12th of May, 1706, he attacked the French at Ramillies. In the ſpace of two hours, the whole army was put to flight. The vigour and conduct with which he improved this ſucceſs, were equal to thoſe, with which he gained it. Louvain, Bruſſels, Malines, Liere, Ghent, Oudenard, Antwerp, Damme, Bruges, Courtray ſurrendered. Oſtend, Menin, Dendermond, Aeth were taken. Brabant and Flanders were recovered. Places which had reſiſted the greateſt generals for months, for years; provinces, diſputed for ages, were the conqueſts of a ſummer. Nor was the duke content to triumph alone. Sollicitous for the general intereſt, his care extended to the remoteſt ſcenes of the war. He choſe to leſſen his own army, that he might enable the leaders of other armies to conquer. To this it muſt be aſcribed that Turin was relieved, the duke of Savoy re-inſtated, the French driven with confuſion out of Italy.

Theſe victories gave the confederates an opportunity of carrying the war, on every ſide, into the dominions of France. But ſhe continued to enjoy a kind of peaceful neutrality in Germany. From Italy ſhe was once alarmed, and had no more to fear. The entire reduction of this power whoſe ambition had cauſed, whoſe ſtrength ſupported the war, ſeemed reſerved for him alone, who had ſo triumphantly begun the glorious work.

The barrier of France, on the ſide of the Low-countries, had been forming for more than half a century. What art, power, expence could do, had been done to render it impenetrable. Yet here ſhe was moſt expoſed; for here the duke of MARLBOROUGH threatened to attac her.

To cover what they had gained by ſurprize, or had been yielded to them by treachery, the French marched to the banks of the Schelde. At their head were the princes of the blood, and their moſt fortunate general, the duke of Vendoſme. Thus commanded, thus poſted, they hoped to check the victor in his courſe. Vain were their hopes. The duke of MARLBOROUGH paſſed the river in their ſight. He defeated their whole army. The approach of night concealed, the proximity of Ghent favoured their flight. They neglected nothing to repair their loſs; to defend their frontier. New generals, new armies, appeared in the Netherlands. All contributed to enhance the glory, none were able to retard the progreſs of the confederate arms.

Liſle, the bulwark of this barrier, was beſieged. A numerous garriſon and a marſhal of France defended the place. Prince Eugene of Savoy commanded, the duke of MARLBOROUGH covered and ſuſtained the ſiege. The rivers were ſeized, and the communication with Holland interrupted. The duke opened new communications with great labour and much greater art. Through countries, over-run by the enemy, the neceſſary convoys arrived in ſafety. One alone was attacked. The troops which attacked it, were beat. The defence of Liſle was animated by aſſurances of relief.

The French aſſembled all their force. They marched towards the town. The duke of MARLBOROUGH offered them battle, without ſuſpending the ſiege. They abandoned the enterprize. They came to ſave the town. They were ſpectators of its fall.

From this conqueſt the duke haſtened to others. The poſts, taken by the enemy on the Schelde, were ſurprized. That river was paſſed the ſecond time; and notwithſtanding the great preparations made to prevent it, without oppoſition.

Bruſſels, beſieged by the elector of Bavaria, was relieved. Ghent ſurrendered to the duke in the middle of a winter remarkably ſevere. An army, little inferior to his own, marched out of the place.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year permitted him to open another campaign, the duke beſieged and took Tourney. He inveſted Mons. Near this city the French army, covered by thick woods, defended by treble intrenchments, waited to moleſt, nor preſumed to offer battle. Even this was not attempted by them with impunity. On the laſt day of Auguſt 1709, the duke attacked them in their camp. All was employed, nothing availed againſt the reſolution of ſuch a general; againſt the fury of ſuch troops. The battle was bloody. The event deciſive. The woods were pierced. The fortifications trampled down. The enemy fled. The town was taken. Douay, Bethune, Aire, St. Venant, Bouchain underwent the ſame fate in two ſucceeding years. Their vigorous reſiſtance could not ſave them. The army of France durſt not attempt to relieve them. It ſeemed preſerved to defend the capital of the monarchy.

The proſpect of this extreme diſtreſs was neither diſtant, nor dubious. The French acknowleged their conqueror, and ſued for peace.

Theſe are the actions of the duke of MARLBOROUGH.
Performed in the compaſs of few years,
Sufficient to adorn the annals of ages.
The admiration of other nations
Will be conveyed to the lateſt poſterity,
In the hiſtories even of the enemies of Britain.

The ſenſe, which the Britiſh nation had
Of his tranſcendent merit,
Was expreſſed
In the moſt ſolemn, moſt effectual, moſt durable manner.

The acts of parliament, inſcribed on this pillar,
Shall ſtand
As long as the Britiſh name and language laſt,
Illuſtrious monuments
Of MALBOROUGH's glory
And
Of Britain's gratitude.

[q] About this time David Graham, eldeſt ſon of the duke of Montroſe, was created earl Graham of Belford in Northumberland; and Robert Ker, only ſon of the duke of Roxburgh, earl Ker of Wakefield in Yorkſhire. John Leſly, earl of Rothes, dying ſoon after his election, James Ogilvy, earl of Finlater and Seafield was elected in his room.

the other magiſtrates of his good city of London, exert, with the utmoſt care and vigilance, your authority at ſo important a conjuncture, for the preſervation of the public peace, and the ſecurity of the city.

I am, &c.

TOWNSHEND.'

The reception this letter met with was very acceptable to the court. An addreſs was preſented by the court of aldermen, thanking the king for his indulgent regard to the city of London, by informing them of the wicked deſigns of his enemies at home and abroad, and congratulating him upon the happy ſucceſs of his nogotiations, which had procured aſſurances, that theſe traiterous purpoſes would not be ſupported by any foreign power:

'When we reflect (continues the addreſs) on the many bleſſings, which Britons enjoy, under the protection of a prince, who makes the laws of this land his rule for the government of his people, when we conſider that neither the civil, or religious rights of your majeſty's ſubjects, have met with the leaſt inſtance of violation, ſince your majeſty's happy acceſſion to the throne of theſe realms, when we recollect your majeſty's royal clemency and benevolence, (ſince the laſt rebellion) to numbers of thoſe who had offended, in the higheſt degree, againſt their king, and the laws of their country, we cannot but expreſs the utmoſt abhorrence of thoſe vile and deteſtable perſons, who ſhall again conſpire and attempt to bring a free and happy people under the yoke and tyranny of ſuperſtition, and to involve this nation in a ſtate of blood, miſery, and utmoſt confuſion.

And as theſe muſt be the unavoidable conſequences attending any enterprize to alter our preſent happy eſtabliſhment, and to introduce a popiſh one;

As Engliſhmen that value our liberties; as honeſt men that have ſworn allegiance to your majeſty, and who have abjured and renounced the pretender; and as real friends to our excellent conſtitution in church and ſtate (with a proteſtant prince at the head of it) we beg leave in the moſt ſolemn manner, to declare to your majeſty, that, as we are bound in gratitude, we will exert ourſelves in our ſeveral ſtations, with the utmoſt care and vigilance, for the preſervation of the public peace and tranquility, and for the reſtoring of public credit; and that we will uſe our ſincere and hearty endeavours for the firm ſupport of your majeſty upon the throne, and for the making your reign eaſy and happy.'

The example of London was followed by many other cities and boroughs, who all expreſſed the ſame zeal and devotion. But, notwithſtanding theſe aſſurances, the king's journey to Hanover was laid aſide, though the regency had been ſettled, in which the prince of Wales had no part. The court, however, went to Kenſington, and the prince and princeſs retired to Richmond.

Various were the reports about the nature and diſcovery of the conſpiracy, as the government did not as yet think fit to publiſh the particulars. However, to remove all ſuſpicions of its realty, ſeveral perſons were taken up. On the 21ſt of May, mr. George Kelly, who went under the name of Johnſon, an Iriſh clergyman, was ſeized at his lodgings in Bury-ſtreet, by three meſſengers, for treaſonable correſpondences; and, having delivered his ſword and papers to them, they placed them in a window, and went in ſearch of other things. Their negligence gave him an opportunity of recovering his ſword, which he drew, and ſwore he would run the firſt man through the body, that diſturbed him in what he was doing, which was burning his papers in a candle with his left hand, whilſt he held the drawn ſword in the other. When the papers were burnt, he ſurrendered himſelf.

On the 4th of Auguſt, mr. Robert Cotton, of Huntingtonſhire, one of the gentlemen concerned in the late rebellion, and cleared by the act of grace, was ſeized at his lodgings over againſt Somerſet-houſe, as were alſo his footman and landlady. Two days after, mr. Cochran and mr. Smith were brought priſoners from Edinburgh, and Cochran was committed to the Tower. One John Sample, formerly a ſervant to ſir Robert Sutton, while he reſided as envoy extraordinary at the court of France, having been taken up for high-treaſon, and being in cuſtody of a meſſenger, found means, on the 5th of Auguſt, to make his eſcape; upon which a proclamation was iſſued out, with a reward of 1000l. for apprehending him. And on the 13th, another proclamation, with the like reward, was publiſhed for apprehending mr. Thomas Carte, a non-juring clergyman, againſt whom a warrant had been iſſued by one of the ſecretaries of ſtate.

On the 24th of Auguſt, dr. Francis Atterbury, biſhop of Rocheſter, and dean of Weſtminſter, was apprehended by ſome of the king's meſſengers, who having ſearched his houſe, and ſecured ſome of his papers, carried him before a committee of the privy-council, who, having examined him, committed him to the Tower for high-treaſon. The next day, mr. Thomas Moore, vicar of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, formerly ſecretary to the biſhop of Rocheſter, was likewiſe taken up, and afterwards examined, but ſoon after diſcharged.

About the middle of September, mr. Bingley, mr. Neynoe, a young Iriſh prieſt, and two other perſons, were ſeized at Deal, and brought up priſoners to London. About the ſame time mr. Chriſtopher Layer, a young counſellor of the Temple, being alſo apprehended, he endeavoured, the next day to make his eſcape; and ſucceeded ſo far in his deſign, that he found means to get out at a bac-window two ſtory high, and having reached the river-ſide, he gave a ſculler ſome guineas to carry him over the water to Southwark with all poſſible expedition. But, being diſcovered, upon his going off, by a ſervant-maid, he was immediately purſued, and a hue and cry being raiſed after him, he was taken and brought bac, and the next morning committed to the Tower. On the 21ſt of September, he was brought under a ſtrong guard to the Cock-pit at Whitehall, and having been ſome hours under examination, before a committee of the privy-council, was remanded to his confinement. The day before, mr. Sayer, of the Temple, was taken into cuſtody; as was alſo, the next day, mr. Stewart, clerk to mr. Leyer, while his maſter was under examination.

The ſame day, John Plunket, ſerjeant to a company of invalids at Plymouth, was ſeized at Chelſea, upon ſuſpicion of being concerned with mr. Layer, and, after examination, committed to the cuſtody of a meſſenger. On the 24th, mr. Shippen's houſe in Norfolk-ſtreet was ſearched for papers, that might give light into ſome ſuſpicions. Warrants were likewiſe iſſued out for apprehending the lord North and Grey, who was gone as far as the Iſle of Wight, and had put himſelf on board a ſmuggler's ſloop, having been ſome time at mr. Holmes's houſe in that iſland. Colonel Morgan, the deputy-governor, being informed of his being on board the ſloop, ſent to a captain of one of the king's frigates, to have an eye upon the ſloop, and, when going to ſail, to ſend his long-boat aboard, and ſecure all the paſſengers on ſuſpicion; which being done, the lord North and Grey at firſt pretended to be another perſon; but finding that did him no ſervice, he confeſſed who he was; and he and the reſt of the paſſengers were carried before the governor, who told them, he muſt ſecure them till he could write to court; and upon an anſwer from thence, he had orders to ſend them up in cuſtody. The lord North and Grey's houſe in Great Queen-ſtreet, being alſo ſearched for papers, the meſſenger found there mr. Swathfegger, ſecretary to the earl of Orrery, who was ſeized and committed to cuſtody; and the next morning, September 27, the earl himſelf was brought to town from his ſeat at Brittel in Buckinghamſhire, and having been examined at the Cock-pit, was ordered to be confined that night at his own houſe, in Glaſs-houſe-ſtreet, under a guard of thirty ſoldiers; and the next day in the evening, was again examined by a committee of the privy-council, and committed priſoner to the Tower: as was alſo the lord North and Grey, being brought up from Portſmouth by lieutenant-general Maccartney, colonel Gordon, and a meſſenger.

On the 26th of September mr. Fleetwood was taken into cuſtody, and mrs. Layer, ignorant of her huſband's fate, and coming over from France, was about the ſame time ſeized at Dover.

Two days after, mr. Stephen Neynoe, the Iriſh prieſt, ſeized at Deal, being cloſely confined in the houſe of mr. Crawford, one of the king's meſſengers, in Manchester-court, near the Thames, found means, about three in the morning, to make his eſcape from a window two ſtory high, by tying the blanket and ſheets together, and got to the wall of a neighbouring garden adjoining to the river; but not knowing, that the tide was high, he leaped into the water, and being unſkilled in ſwimming, was drowned.

After the biſhop of Rocheſter had lain a fortnight in priſon, ſir Conſtantine Phipps preſented a petition to the court at the ſeſſions-houſe in the Old Bailey, in the name of mrs. Morrice, the biſhop's daughter, praying that, in conſideration of the biſhop's ill ſtate of health, he might be either brought to a ſpeedy trial, or bailed, or diſcharged: but it was over-ruled, as were alſo the petitions of two other priſoners for the plot, Cochran and Dennis Kelly.

The commitment of the biſhop of Rocheſter made a great noiſe through the whole kingdom, and gave occaſion to the

diſaffected to heighten jealouſies and diſcontents. They pretended his confinement was injurious to the church of England, and the epiſcopal order, and went ſo far as to offer up public prayers for him (under pretence of his being afflicted with the gout) in moſt churches and chapels in London and Weſtminſter, on Sunday the 16th of September. On the other hand, endeavours were uſed to remove the prejudices of the clergy againſt the miniſtry, and dr. Gibſon, biſhop of Lincoln (now of London) wrote a circular letter, wherein he ſets forth the indulgence wherewith the biſhop was treated: the great reſpect the order of biſhops met with from the king, who in the diſpoſal of his preferments was directed by their advice: the improbality of ſo unpopular an act, without a juſt and even neceſſary foundation: and laſtly the ſafety of the nation, which requires that all delinquents ſhould be cenſured as ſuch, without any regard to the office, or title, or honour they bear.

Whilſt the public was employed in condemning or acquitting the impriſoned biſhop, the king thought proper to ſhew himſelf to the people. He ſet out the latter end of Auguſt for his Weſtern progreſs, accompanied by the prince of Wales. He came to Hackwood, a ſeat of the duke of Bolton, near Baſingſtoke, in Hampſhire, on the 28th of Auguſt, lay there that night, and the next day arrived at Saliſbury, being received every where with demonſtrations of the greateſt affection and joy. On the 20th he went to the camp near the city, and reviewed Londonderry's and Wade's regiments of horſe, and Evan's and Core's regiments of dragoons; and Wills's, Cadogan's, Pocock's, Stanwix's, Groves's, Montague's, and Clayton's regiments of foot. The king returned by the way of Winchester, viſited Portſmouth, lay at Stanſtead, the ſeat of the earl of Scarborough, and arrived at Kenſington the firſt of September.

The noiſe made by the conſpiracy ſeemed to require the meeting of the parliament as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit. Accordingly, on the 9th of October, the king came to the houſe of lords, and opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech very proper to remove any doubts which might have been entertained of the plot:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I am concerned to find myſelf obliged at the opening of this parliament, to acquaint you, that a dangerous conſpiracy has been for ſome time formed, and is ſtill carrying on, againſt my perſon and government, in favour of a popiſh pretender.

'The diſcoveries I have made here, the informations I have received from my miniſters abroad, and the intelligences I have had from the powers in alliance with me, and indeed from moſt parts of Europe, have given me moſt ample and concurrent proofs of this wicked deſign.

'The conſpirators have, by their emiſſaries, made the ſtrongeſt inſtances for aſſiſtance from foreign powers, but were diſappointed in their expectations. However, confiding in their numbers, and not diſcouraged by their former ill ſucceſs, they reſolved once more, upon their own ſtrength, to attempt the ſubverſion of my government.

'To this end they provided conſiderable ſums of money, engaged great numbers of officers from abroad, ſecured large quantities of arms and ammunition, and thought themſelves in ſuch readineſs, that, had not the conſpiracy been timely diſcovered, we ſhould, without doubt, before now, have ſeen the whole nation, and particularly the city of London, involved in blood and confuſion.

'The care I have taken has, by the bleſſing of God, hitherto prevented the execution of their traiterous projects. The troops have been encamped all this ſummer; ſix regiments (though very neceſſary for the ſecurity of that kingdom) have been brought over from Ireland: the ſtates-general have given me aſſurances, that they would keep a conſiderable body of forces in readineſs to embark on the firſt notice of their being wanted here, which was all I deſired of them, being determined not to put my people to any more expence than what was abſolutely neceſſary for their peace and ſecurity.

'Some of the conſpirators have been taken up, and ſecured, and endeavours are uſed for the apprehending others.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'Having thus in general laid before you the ſtate of the preſent conſpiracy, I muſt leave to your conſideration what is proper and neceſſary to be done for the quiet and ſafety of the kingdom. I cannot but believe the hopes and expectations of our enemies are very ill-grounded, in flattering themſelves that the late diſcontents, occaſioned by private loſſes and misfortunes, however induſtriouſly and maliciouſly fomented, are turned into diſaffection, and a ſpirit of rebellion.

'Had I, ſince my acceſſion to the throne, ever attemted any innovation in our eſtabliſhed religion; had I, in any one inſtance, invaded the liberty and property of my ſubjects, I ſhould leſs wonder at any endeavours to alienate the affections of my people, and draw them into meaſures, that can end in nothing but their own deſtruction.

'But to hope to perſuade a free people, in full enjoyment of all that is dear and valuable to them, to exchange freedom for ſlavery, the proteſtant religion for popery, and to ſacrifice at once the price of ſo much blood and treaſure, as have been ſpent in defence of our preſent eſtabliſhment, ſeems an infatuation not to be accounted for. But, however vain and unſucceſsful theſe deſperate projects may prove in the end, they have at preſent ſo far the deſired effect, as to create uneaſineſs and diffidence in the minds of my people; which our enemies labour to improve to their own advantage. By forming plots they depreciate all property, that is veſted in the public funds, and then complain of the low ſtate of credit. They make an increaſe of the national expences neceſſary, and then clamour at the burthen of taxes, and endeavour to impute to my government, as grievances, the miſchiefs and calamities, which they alone create and occaſion.

'I wiſh for nothing more, than to ſee the public expences leſſened, and the great national debt put in a method of being gradually reduced and diſcharged, with a ſtrict regard to parliamentary faith; and a more favourable opportunity could never have been hoped for, than the ſtate of profound peace, which we now enjoy with all our neighbours. But public credit will aways languiſh under daily alarms and apprehenſions of public danger. And, as the enemies of our peace have been able to bring this immediate miſchief upon us, nothing can prevent them from continuing to ſubject the nation to new and conſtant difficulties and diſtreſſes, but the wiſdom, zeal, and vigorous reſolutions of this parliament.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

'I have ordered the accounts to be made up, and laid before you, of the extraordinary charge, that has been incurred this ſummer, for the defence and ſafety of the kingdom; and I have been particularly careful, not to direct any expence to be made greater or ſooner than was of abſolute neceſſity.

'I have likewiſe ordered eſtimates to be prepared, and laid before you, for the ſervice of the year enſuing; and I hope the further proviſions, which the treaſonable practices of our enemies have made neceſſary for our common ſafety, may be ordered with ſuch frugality, as very little to exceed the ſupplies of the laſt year.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I need not tell you of what infinite concern it is to the peace and tranquility of the kingdom, that this parliament ſhould, upon this occaſion, exert themſelves with a more than ordinary zeal and vigour. An entire union among all, that ſincerely wiſh well to the preſent eſtabliſhment is now become abſolutely neceſſary. Our enemies have too long taken advantage from your differences and diſſenſions. Let it be known, that the ſpirit of popery, which breathes nothing but confuſion to the civil and religious rights of a proteſtant church and kingdom, however abandoned ſome few may be, in deſpite of all obligations divine and human, has not ſo far poſſeſſed my people as to make them ripe for ſuch a fatal change. Let the world ſee, that the general diſpoſition of the nation is no invitation to foreign powers to invade us, nor encouragement to domeſtic enemies to kindle a civil war in the bowels of the kingdom. Your own intereſt and welfare call upon you to defend yourſelves. I ſhall wholly rely upon the divine protection, the ſupport of my parliament, and the affections of my people, which I ſhall endeavour to preſerve, by ſteadily adhering to the conſtitution in church and ſtate, and continuing to make the laws of the realm the rule and meaſure of all my actions.'

The addreſſes of thanks were full of the ſentiments which ſo ſtrong and pathetic a ſpeech naturally produced. The deteſtation and abhorrence, as well as the indignation conceived by both houſes, at the hearing of theſe traiterous and dangerous deſigns againſt his majeſty in favour of the popiſh pretender were unſpeakable. The commons eſpecially expreſſed themſelves in a very affecting manner: 'We cannot expreſs too great an abhorrence of ſuch unnatural

practices, nor too great an indignation againſt thoſe who would have made the capital of this flouriſhing kingdom a ſcene of blood and deſolation. Wicked men! whilſt they have the malice to revile your government, and attempt to overturn it, at the ſame time have the inſolence to depend upon the clemency of it for their ſecurity: while they are endeavouring to deſtroy all liberty, they are clamouring that a few of them are, for the public ſafety, confined: whilſt they are attempting to deſtroy all property, they are murmuring at the neceſſary taxes given to your majeſty for the ſecurity of it: and, whilſt they act againſt all law themſelves, they truſt, and are confident, that, even in their own caſes, the laws of the realm will be the rule and meaſure of your actions.' To this were added aſſurances of not only making good all the extraordinary expences already incurred, but of chearfully granting whatever ſhould be neceſſary for the ſafety of the kingdom, as they were entirely convinced, that they could by no other means reſtore public credit, and attempt the gradual reduction of the great national debt, than by doing every thing in their power for the ſupport of his majeſty's goverment, and happy eſtabliſhment in his royal family.

The expreſſions of 'doing every thing in their power' were objected againſt by ſome members as to too general, and it was moved to add the words, 'with due regard to the liberty of the ſubject, the conſtitution in church and ſtate, and the laws now in force.' But the motion was rejected, upon mr. Pulteney's repreſenting that ſuch a clauſe would be injurious to the king, ſince it would look like making a condition or bargain with the king, and tacitly imply, either that the laws had already been infringed, or that the commons were jealous, leſt his majeſty ſhould for the future, break in upon the conſtitution.

As the diſcovery of the plot made the ſuſpenſion of the habeas corpus act neceſſary, a bill was brought in for that purpoſe the very firſt day of the ſeſſion, by the duke of Grafton, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, who repreſented the neceſſity of ſtrengthening the hands of the king's miniſters, in order to a full detection and entire ſuppreſſion of the traiterous deſigns and practices againſt the government, by empowering his majeſty to ſecure all ſuſpected perſons. Accordingly, it was propoſed that the habeas corpus act ſhould be ſuſpended till the 24th of October 1723.

This was oppoſed chiefly by the earls of Angleſea, Cowper, Strafford, and Coningſby, and the lords Trevor, Bathurſt, and Bingley, who repreſented, that, the habeas corpus act being, on all hands admitted to be the greateſt and ſtrongeſt bulwark of Engliſh liberty, it did not conſiſt with the wiſdom of parliament to ſuſpend it, without an abſolute neceſſity. That, indeed, in caſes of actual rebellion, or intended invaſion, that act had been, at times before, ſuſpended; but yet this was done ſparingly, by degrees, and never for above the term of ſix months. That this conſideration put them under a very melancholy apprehenſion for the very being or effect of that excellent law, ſince the ſuſpenſion of it for a year might be as good a precedent for the ſuſpending it, on another occaſion, for the term of two years, as any former precedent was now for the preſent ſuſpenſion. That, the horrid and deteſtable conſpiracy, which occaſioned this ſuſpenſion, having been diſcovered and notified to the city of London above five months before, and divers of the conſpirators impriſoned for it a conſiderable time paſt, it was very unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the danger of this plot, in the hands of an able, faithful, and diligent miniſtry, would continue for a year or more yet to come; and that in ſo high a degree, as to require a ſuſpenſion of the liberty of the ſubject; for ſo they took the habeas corpus act to be. That, indeed, their juſt apprehenſions would, in a great meaſure, be removed, if they could flatter themſelves with the hopes, that his majeſty, on whoſe known equity, goodneſs, and clemency, they entirely depended, would remain among us, during the whole time of this ſuſpenſion: but that his majeſty, not having viſited his dominions abroad theſe two laſt years, would, very probably, leave the kingdom the next ſpring to that end. That, in his majeſty's abſence, this great power of ſuſpecting and impriſoning the ſubjects at will, and detaining them in priſon till the 24th of October 1723, and for as much longer time, as till they can, after that, take the benefit of the habeas corpus act (if they could then do it at all) would be lodged in the hands of our fellow ſubjects, who could not be ſuppoſed to be above all prejudices and partialities, as their lordſhips were ſure his majeſty was; and who, beſides, might have private piques and reſentments to gratify. That this bill did, in effect, veſt the miniſters with an authority almoſt as arbitrary and extenſive as that of a Roman dictator, ſince they might inflict, even on innocent perſons (who ſhould have the misfortune to diſpleaſe them) a puniſhment of above a year's impriſonment, which comes little ſhort of death, and which oftentimes occaſions it. That the dictatorian power among the Romans was always ended or laid down immediately after the occaſion, for which it was given, was over; and it was remarkable, that it was never continued much longer till a little before the Roman common-wealth (from which all other ſtates draw ſo many maxims of government) loſt its liberty. That ſo long a ſuſpenſion of the habeas corpus act weakens the proviſion made in the bill for the members of either houſe of parliament, that they ſhall not be committed or detained, ſitting the parliament, until the matter be firſt communicated, and the conſent obtained of the houſes reſpectively, ſince it is very probable, the parliament will not be ſitting the greateſt part of the time, for which this bill was enacted, and would continue a law. That ſuch is the weakneſs of human nature, that the apprehenſion of what might befal a member of parliament, while the parliament is not ſitting, might have ſome influence on the freedom of parliament. And, upon the whole matter, ſince ſo long a ſuſpenſion was liable to ſo many inconveniences, they thought it adviſable and conſiſtent with the uſual prudence of that auguſt aſſembly, to reduce it to the term of ſix months; at the the end of which, if there appeared to be a neceſſity for it, it might be continued ſix months longer, as was done before in this very reign, during the late rebellion.

Theſe objections to the bill itſelf, or continuance of it for a year, were anſwered by the lords Townſhend, Harcourt, Carteret, the dukes of Argyle, Wharton, and Newcaſtle, and ſome others. They repreſented, 'that the habeas corpus act had been ſuſpended upon much leſs important occaſions, upon bare intimations of a plot; whereas the king had now laid before the parliament the particulars of a conſpiracy to introduce a popiſh prince: that it was neceſſary the ſuſpenſion ſhould continue a whole year, ſince the conſpirators (who probably would lie ſtill all the winter) would exert themſelves in the ſummer when the parliament was up; and might flatter themſelves with the hopes of foreign aſſiſtance.' After theſe debates, the ſuſpenſion, being put to the vote, was carried without a diviſion, and the bill was ſent down to the commons.

The debates (which ran chiefly upon the continuance of it) were much the ſame as in the houſe of lords. Mr Spencer Cowper ſaid, 'that he and all his family had come as early and readily into the revolution, and, on all occaſions, had appeared as zealous for the preſent happy eſtabliſhment, as any one: but yet he could not be of opinion to truſt the liberties of the people in the hands of any miniſtry, for ſo long a time as above a year. That neither in king William's nor queen Anne's reigns, nor ſince his preſent majeſty's acceſſion to the throne, even in times of open and actual rebellion, the habeas corpus act had ever been ſuſpended for above ſix months; and therefore he moved, that the preſent ſuſpenſion might be limited to that term.' Sir Joſeph Jekyll added, 'that, if, at the end of thoſe ſix months, there appeared to be a neceſſity for a farther ſuſpenſion, he ſhould, and he doubted not but the whole houſe would readily come into it.' At laſt, mr. Robert Walpole roſe up, and laid before the aſſembly ſome particulars of the dangerous conſpiracy, which for ſome time had been, and was ſtill carrying on, for the utter ſubverſion of the preſent happy ſettlement. He ſaid, 'that this wicked deſign was formed about Chriſtmas laſt: that the conſpirators had at firſt made application to ſome potentates abroad, for an aſſiſtance of five thouſand men: that being denied, they afterwards (about the month of April) made farther application and earneſt inſtances for three thouſand men: being again diſappointed in their expectations from foreign aſſiſtance, they reſolved deſperately to go on, confiding in their own ſtrength, and fondly depend on the diſaffection in England: that their firſt attempt was to have been the ſeizing of the Bank, the Exchequer, and ſuch other places, where the public money was lodged: that the government had undoubted informations of this plot ever ſince May laſt; but, nevertheleſs, thought fit not to take up any body, becauſe, there being then two terms coming on together, the conſpirators would have had the benefit of the habeas corpus act; and ſo the apprehending them was put off till the long vacation.' He added, 'that the traiterous deſigns againſt his majeſty's perſon and government had been carrying on ever ſince the death of the late queen; and it could be proved, that there had been a

meeting of ſome conſiderable perſons, one of whom was not far off, wherein it had been propoſed to proclaim the pretender at the Royal-Exchange that an exact account of this deteſtable conſpiracy would, in due time, be laid before the parliament: and, as to the buſineſs now before them, though it was true, that the habeas corpus act had never before been ſuſpended for above ſix months; yet, conſidering the lords had made this ſuſpenſion for a whole year, if the commons ſhould go about to alter it, the ſame might occaſion a difference between the two houſes, which, at this time of jealouſy and danger, might ſound ill in foreign courts.' After this ſpeech, the bill paſſed the houſe as ſent down by the lords, and, on the 17th of October, received the royal aſſent.

Purſuant to a clauſe in the act, that no member of either houſe ſhould be impriſoned during their ſitting, till the matter be firſt communicated to the houſe, and their conſent obtained, the king by the lord Carteret deſired the conſent of the lords to detain priſoners the biſhop of Rocheſter, the lord North and Grey, and the earl of Orrery, which was readily given.

Soon after paſſing the bill, the duke of Norfolk was taken into cuſtody at Bath, and brought up to London. He was examined by the council, and afterwards committed to the Tower on ſuſpicion of high-treaſon.

When the lord Townſhend acquainted the peers with this affair, thoſe that oppoſed the ſuſpenſion of the habeas corpus act were againſt conſenting to the duke's commitment. They repreſented, that the cauſe and ground of his being ſuſpected of high-treaſon ſhould be communicated to the houſe, and that a general ſuſpicion was not ſufficient: that this would ſubject every peer, even while the parliament was ſitting, to unwarrantable impriſonments, and might produce very ill effects. But their reaſons were not heard, and after a long debate the houſe conſented to the duke's being detained priſoner in the Tower.

As a farther proof of the plot, the king, on the 16th of November, ſent the following meſſage to the houſe of peers:

'His majeſty having been informed, that many ſcandalous declarations in print have been by ſeveral foreign poſts tranſmitted into this kingdom, in order to be diſperſed among his good and faithful ſubjects, to poiſon their minds, and ſeduce them from their allegiance; ſeveral of thoſe declarations have, by his majeſty's order, ever ſince his majeſty received from both houſes of parliament the laſt moſt ſolemn and acceptable aſſurances of their fidelity, been intercepted; and amongſt them an original in writing, ſigned, as his majeſty has good reaſon to believe, by the pretender himſelf. This, together with one of the printed copies, his majeſty has ordered to be laid before you, as a matter not unworthy of your conſideration.'

This declaration (dated September 20, 1722, at Lucca) was directed by James III, king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to all his loving ſubjects of the three nations, and to all foreign princes and ſtates, to ſerve as a foundation for a laſting peace in Europe, and ſigned James Rex. The pretender begins with ſhewing how fond he is of his ſubjects; that, though the obligation he owes to his own honour be great, yet the obligation to the ſafety and tranquility of his native country is above all ties the deareſt to him and the tendereſt. He then talks of the late violations to the freedom of elections: of conſpiracies invented on purpoſe to give pretence for new oppreſſions: of infamous informers: and a ſtate of proſcription in which he concludes every honeſt well-meaning man to be. Theſe conſiderations have engaged him to enter ſeriouſly into himſelf, and examine his heart, what ſacrifice to make on his own part for the public peace, eſpecially of theſe kingdoms, of which he is the natural and undoubted father. Then he propoſes, that, if king George will quietly deliver to him the poſſeſſion of his throne, he will in return beſtow upon him the title of king in his native dominions, and invite all other ſtates to confirm it, with a promiſe to leave to him his ſucceſſion to the Britiſh dominions ſecure, whenever in due courſe his natural right ſhall take place. As motives to this reſignation, he ſays, that in king George's native dominions an unconteſtable right will free him from the crime and reproach of tyranny, and repreſents the difference between a calm undiſturbed reign over a willing people and a reſtleſs poſſeſſion in a ſtrange land, where authority, forcing the inclinations of the people, can only be ſupported by blood and violence, eternally ſubject to fears and alarms even when no danger appears. He concludes with ſaying, king George's ſettlement here is frail and uncertain, becauſe his title ſhall, whilſt the pretender has health or any deſcendants in being, be for ever diſputed, conjuring him, inſtead of adviſing with an imperious miniſtry, as much his tyrants as the nation's, to conſult his reaſon, to aſk his conſcience, and to examine his intereſt and glory, and then his very ambition will admoniſh him to deſcend from a throne, which muſt be always ſhaking, to mount another, where his ſeat will be firm and ſecure.

When this declaration was read in the houſe of lords, it was unanimouſly reſolved, that it was a falſe, inſolent, and traiterous libel, the higheſt indignity to the king, full of preſumption and arrogance, in ſuppoſing the pretender in a condition to offer terms to his majeſty, and injurious to the honour of the Britiſh nation, in imagining that a free proteſtant people, happy under the government of the beſt of princes, could be ſo infatuated, as without the utmoſt contempt and indignation, to hear of any terms from a popiſh bigotted pretender. Then they ordered the declaration to be burnt at the Royal-Exchange. The king's meſſage, the declaration and the lords reſolution being communicated to the commons, they agreed with the lords, only adding that the ſheriffs ſhould attend in perſon at the burning of the declaration. An addreſs was preſented by both houſes, expreſſing their utmoſt aſtoniſhment and indignation at the ſuprizing inſolence of the pretender and aſſuring, they were determined to ſupport the king's title to the crown with their lives and fortunes. [r]

The commons proceeding to conſider of the ways and means to raiſe the ſupplies, a motion was made, that, towards defraying the expences occaſioned by the late rebellion and diſorders, the ſum of 100,000l. ſhould be raiſed (in lieu of all forfeitures and profits of the two-thirds of their regiſtered eſtates) upon the real and perſonal eſtates of all papiſts or perſons educated in the popiſh religion. This was oppoſed by ſir Wilfrid Lawſon and dr. Friend, who ſaid, that ſuch an extraordinary tax would carry the face of perſecution, which was inconſiſtent with the principles and temper of the proteſtant religion: adding, ſome of thoſe who had their education in foreign ſeminaries, proved ſome of the beſt friends to the preſent govenment. To this mr. Yonge anſwered, that he knew very little of foreign education, but he doubted very much, that loyalty to king George was taught by prieſts and jeſuits in Romiſh ſeminaries. The lord Gage, who was bred a Roman catholic, and had ſeveral relations of that religion, ſaid, that he believed moſt of them to be very loyal ſubjects, though, by their principles, they cannot take the oath of ſupremacy; and therefore he propoſed, that a new oath of Allegiance might be framed for them. mr. William Thompſon ſpoke on the ſame ſide, and declared his abhorance of perſecuting any body on account of their opinions in religion. This was anſwered by recorder Thompſon who ſtated the true notion of perſecution, which, in his opinion, was only when any one is puniſhed for his particular opinion in religion, and for ſerving God according

[r] The addreſs was as follows:

'We your majeſty's moſt dutiful and faithful ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament aſſembled, being deeply affected with the ſenſe of thoſe many bleſſings, which we have conſtantly enjoyed, and hope long to enjoy, under your majeſty's moſt juſt and gracious government; and being thoroughly convinced, that our religious and civil rights, as well as the very being of the Britiſh name and conſtitution, do, under God entirely depended upon the preſervation of our majeſty's ſacred perſon and of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, as ſettled by law in your royal line are filled, with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment and indignation at the unexampled preſumption and arrogance of the pretender to your dominions, in daring to offer ſuch an indignity to your majeſty and the Britiſh nation, as to declare to your ſubjects, and to all foreign princes and ſtates, that he finds himſelf in a condition to offer terms to your majeſty, and even to capitulate with you for the abſolute ſurrender of the religion and liberties of a free nation.

'However great the infatuation of his adviſers may be, we are ſenſible, nothing could have raiſed his or their hopes to ſo extravagant a degree of preſumption, but repeated encouragements and aſſurances from the conſpirators at home, founded on the moſt injurious and groſs miſrepreſentations of the inclinations and affections of your majeſty's ſubjects: and a raſh concluſion, that becauſe ſome, from whom it ought leaſt to have been expected, had broke through the ſolemn reſtraint of reiterated oaths, in order to raiſe themſelves on the ruin of their country; therefore the whole body of the nation was ripe for the ſame fatal defection and ready to exchange the mild and legal government of a moſt indulgent prince, for the boundleſs rage of an attainted fugitive, bred up in the maxims of tyranny and ſuperſtition.

'But we, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, reſolve, by a ſteady and conſtant adherence to your government, to wipe off this ſtain and imputation from the name of Britons, and to convince the world that thoſe wicked deſigns, formed againſt your majeſty's ſacred perſon and government, which the inſolence of this declaration proves to be moſt real, while it affects to treat them as imaginary, and impracticable againſt a prince relying on, and ſupported by the vigour and duty of a Britiſh parliament, and the affections of his people.

'And we beg leave, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to aſſure your majeſty, that neither the impotent menaces of foreign aſſiſtance, nor the utmoſt efforts of domeſtic traitors, ſhall ever deter us from ſtanding by your majeſty with our lives and fortunes and ſupporting your majeſty's moſt juſt title to the crown of theſe realms, againſt the pretender, and all his open and ſecret abettors, both at home and abroad.'

to that opinion and the dictates of his conſcience. But that (ſaid he) was not the caſe here, for the extraordinary tax, now intended to be raiſed upon the papiſts, was not a puniſhment for their being Roman catholics, but on account of penalties they had at divers times incurred for being enemies to the civil government, raiſing rebellions, and contriving plots againſt the ſtate. At laſt, mr. Walpole repreſented 'the great dangers this nation had been in, ever ſince the reformation, from the conſtant endeavours of popery to ſubvert our happy conſtitution and the proteſtant religion, by the moſt cruel, violent and unjuſtifiable methods: that he would not take upon him to charge any particular perſon among them with being concerned in the preſent horrid conſpiracy: but that it was notorious to the whole world, that many of them had been engaged in the Preſton rebellion, and ſome were executed for it; and the preſent plot was contrived at Rome, and countenanced in popiſh countries: that many of the papiſts were not only well-wiſhers to it, but had contributed large ſums of money towards carrying it on; and therefore he thought it very reaſonable ſince they made ſuch ſavings of the incomes of their eſtates, that the ſame ſhould go towards the great expence they and the pretender's friends had put the nation to.' In the courſe of the bill, which was ordered to be brought in, the friends of the Roman catholics, when they ſay it was like to paſs, took the opportunity of a thin houſe to clog it with a clauſe for including the papiſts and non-jurors of Scotland which was carried by five voices only in the committee. But, when this amendment came to be conſidered by the houſe, mr. Walpole repreſented, that the names and real eſtates of the Scots papiſts and non-jurors not being regiſtered, it was impoſſible to aſcertain their proportion of this tax. Upon which the clauſe was rejected, and the bill, having paſſed, was ſent up to the lords, where it was alſo agreed to with another bill from the commons to oblige all perſons, being papiſts, in Scotland, and all perſons in Great-Britain refuſing or neglecting to take the oaths appointed for the ſecurity of the king's perſon and government to regiſter their names and real eſtates. Both theſe bills received the royal aſſent.

Mr Layer was brought to his trial on the 21ſt of November at the King's-bench. His indictment ſet forth, 'that he had been employed in forming a moſt traiterous and horrid plot and conſpiracy againſt his majeſty and his government, by liſting men in Eſſex for the pretender's ſervice, in order to ſtir up a rebellion; and alſo, that he had held correſpondence with the pretender, by carrying letters and treaſonable papers to him beyond ſeas, and from him to his majeſty's diſaffected ſubjects in this kingdom.' The firſt evidence proved, that the earl of Cadogan was to be ſeized, and the Tower at the ſame time; afterwards the Bank of England, and then his majeſty and the prince of Wales. The inliſting men for the pretender was proved by ſeveral perſons, to whom mr. Layer had given money; and, after a trial of about eighteen hours, he was found guilty, and received ſentence of death; but, being reprieved from time to time, the houſe of commons appointed a committee to examine him in relation to the conſpiracy, conſiſting of Spencer Compton, the ſpeaker; Robert Walpole, chancellor of the exchequer; ſir Joſeph Jekyll, maſter of the rolls; Paul Methuen, comptroller of the houſehold; William Pulteney; John Smith, teller of the exchequer; Richard Hampden; lieutenant-general Wills, and ſir Robert Sutton. They choſe Stephen Poyntz to be their ſecretary. Mr Layer's reprieve was prolonged on this occaſion, and, his trial not being publiſhed, the earl of Angleſey, in the houſe of lords, took notice, 'that, at the opening of this ſeſſion, his majeſty, in his ſpeech from the throne, had been pleaſed to acquaint both houſes with the diſcovery of a dangerous conſpiracy, which for ſome time had been formed, and was ſtill carrying on againſt his perſon and government: that ſome of the conſpirators had been taken up and ſecured; and that endeavours were uſed for the apprehending others. That, one of the principal plotters having ſince that time been tried and condemned, it was ſomewhat ſtrange, that no particulars relating to the conſpiracy had yet been communicated to that houſe, the rather, becauſe ſeveral of their members had been apprehended, and were ſtill confined, on ſuſpicion of being concerned in it.' And therefore he moved, 'that the judges of the King's-bench be ordered to cauſe the trial of Chriſtopher Layer to be forthwith printed and publiſhed, being firſt peruſed by the king's council.' This motion was ſupported by the earls Cowper, Strafford, and Aylesford, the lords Trevor, Bathurſt, Lechmere, and ſome others. To this it was anſwered by the lord Carteret, 'that the order moved for was altogether unneceſſary, directions having been long before given by the judges for the printing and publiſhing of the trial with all convenient ſpeed: that the trial being of a very large extent, and ſeveral parts of it, that were taken down in ſhort-hand, requiring a great deal of time to be reviſed and rectified by the judges and the council on both ſides, had occaſioned the delay complained of; but that, the printing of the trial being now in great forwardneſs, the ſame would be publiſhed in a few days.' Upon this a motion for an order to the judges was rejected, and about a week after the trial was publiſhed. However, ſixteen lords entered their proteſts.

[1722-23] Theſe debates probably haſtened the publiſhing of the trial; and, though Layer was ſtill reprieved from time to time in hopes he would make a full diſcovery of the plot, he waved it; and therefore he was at laſt executed at Tyburn, his head being carried to Newgate, and the next day fixed up at Temple-bar; but his quarters were delivered to thoſe who came for them. He was attended at his death by mr. George Hawkins and mr. John Berryman, two clergymen. His ſpeech was very ſhort; but in it he juſtified himſelf in what he had done, and recommended the intereſt of the pretender. He delivered a paper to mr. Price, the under-ſheriff, and another to a friend.

This report of the committee appointed to examine mr. Layer, and others, having been delivered to the houſe on the 1ſt of March, by mr. Pulteny, the chairman, it appeared from thence, that a deſign had been long carrying on by perſons of figure and diſtinction at home in conjunction with traitors abroad, for placing the pretender on the throne of theſe kingdoms. That various methods had been attempted, and various times fixed for putting this deſign in execution. That the firſt intention was to have procured a regular body of foreign forces to invade theſe kingdoms at the time of the late elections; but that the conſpirators, being diſappointed in their expectation, next reſolved to make an attempt at the time, that it was generally believed the king intended to go to Hanover, by the help of ſuch officers and ſoldiers, as could paſs into England unobſerved from abroad, under the command of the late duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms provided in Spain for that purpoſe, at which time the Tower was likewiſe to have been made a place of arms. but this deſign being alſo diſappointed by the diſcoveries made in England, and the king's putting off his journey; by the incampment of his forces at home, as well as the ſending for thoſe from Ireland, and by the readineſs of his allies the ſtates-general, to aſſiſt him in caſe of need; by the orders given in Spain, that the late duke of Ormond ſhould not be ſuffered to paſs through that kingdom, the conſpirators found themſelves under a neceſſity of deferring their enterpize till the breaking up of the camp: during that interval they were labouring by their agents and emiſſaries to corrupt and ſeduce the officers and ſoldiers of the army, and depended ſo much on this defection as to entertain hopes of placing the pretender on the throne, though they ſhould obtain no aſſiſtance from abroad, which nevertheleſs they ſtill continued to ſollicit for.

The truth and reality of theſe deſigns were confirmed by the concurrent advices from almoſt all parts of Europe, ſent by perſons who appeared to have had no communication with each other. Theſe advices were alſo verified by ſeveral diſcoveries made at home by the informations and confeſſions of the parties concerned, as well as by a long ſeries of correſpondence with the conſpirators furniſhed the government againſt themſelves.

From ſeveral letters and circumſtances it appeared, that the firſt deſign was to have been executed with the aſſiſtance of foreign forces, at the time of the elections; that the pretender, the late duke of Ormond, lord Orrery, and the biſhop of Rocheſter, were of his opinion; that memorials were drawn up here, to be preſented to the regent for this purpoſe, and that thoſe memorials were actually preſented, or at leaſt, application made to the regent in conſequence of them, by directions from perſons in England; and that ſuch diſpoſitions had been made for this enterprize at that time, as broke out into riots at ſome of the elections; which muſt have been allowed to have been no unfavourable juncture for ſuch an attempt, conſidering the diſcontents occaſioned by the late South-ſea ſcheme, which the conſpirators have all along flattered themſelves they ſhould be able to improve into a ſpirit of rebellion, and the liberties uſually taken at ſuch a ſeaſon, when all the freeholders of England are neceſſarily aſſembled together, and when the whole nation is too apt to be in a ferment, even in the quieteſt times.

This deſign failing, on account (as it is reaſonable to believe) of the conſpirators not being able to obtain the forces

they ſollicited from abroad, and of their being themſelves divided in opinion as to the time and manner of execution, their next endeavour was to attempt an inſurrection at the time, when they ſuppoſed his majeſty would be going to Hanover. For it appeared by ſeveral particulars, that the duke of Ormond was to have landed in England with officers and arms about that time. The reaſon of Ormond's not coming proceeded from the orders iſſued at Madrid and in France to prevent him, and by the king's not going abroad. In a letter to one of the ſecretaries of ſtate from Rome, notice was taken, that a perſon of great diſtinction at that place had declared it as his opinion, that the grand project formed in a conclave, for placing the pretender on the throne of Britain, was going to be put in execution; but that the ſame perſon afterwards aſſigned four reaſons for its having miſcarried, which were, the want of money, the ſuſpected faith of the regent, the want of ſkill in thoſe who were to conduct it, and the puſillanimity of the pretender, who, to avoid hazarding his own perſon, propoſed to ſend his child.

The report farther obſerved, that the leaders, in order (as it is natural to believe) to ſave themſelves from the danger of legal conviction, choſe to manage their correſpondences by the intervention of perſons of a meaner rank and figure, and of deſperate fortunes, who, they hoped, might eſcape the obſervation of the government; being no otherwiſe conſiderable, than as the truſt repoſed in them made them ſo. Of theſe inferior agents, Layer appears to have been entruſted by lord North and Grey, and lord Orrery; and Plunket, who travelled with Layer to Rome, and whoſe treaſonable practices and correſpondences are cloſely connected with thoſe of Layer, writes of himſelf as tranſacting part of his treaſons with the lord Orrery's clerk, and ſends frequent accounts to the pretender's agents abroad, of matters relating to the ſaid lord.

George Kelly, a non-juring clergyman, appears to have been the perſon principally entruſted by the biſhop of Rocheſter, and to have been employed in writing for him, and conveying letters to him, until the time that he, Kelly, was firſt taken into cuſtody; after which it appears to the committee, that Thomas Carte, another non-juring clergyman, was entruſted and employed by the biſhop in the ſame manner; and the committee obſerved, that George Kelly's correſpondence has a cloſe connection with that of Dennis Kelly, and likewiſe that he appears to have been privy to Plunket's and Neynoe's tranſactions.

The perſon employed by the duke of Norfolk, in conveying letters between him, and George Jernegan, an agent of the pretender's in Flanders, they find to be mrs. Spelman, alias Yallop, who has likewiſe owned her conveying letters in the ſame manner between mr. Harvey of Comb, and one Moore of Brownloe-ſtreet, and the ſaid Jernegan: the committee obſerve, that John Sample acted under the direction of mr. Sempil (commonly called lord Sempil) and his ſon at Paris; and that he wrote letters to the late duke of Ormond and the pretender.

After the reading the report, it was moved, by mr. Pulteney, that this queſtion might be put, 'that upon conſideration of the report, and the ſeveral papers and examinations relating to the conſpiracy, it appears to this houſe, that a deteſtable and horrid conſpiracy has been formed and carried on by perſons of figure and diſtinction, and their agents and inſtruments, in conjunction with traitors abroad, for invading theſe kingdoms with foreign forces, for raiſing inſurrections and rebellion at home, for ſeizing the Tower, and the city of London, for laying violent hands upon the perſons of his moſt ſacred majeſty and the prince of Wales, in order to ſubvert our preſent happy eſtabliſhment in church and ſtate, by placing a popiſh pretender upon the throne.' This queſtion, after a ſhort debate, was carried without dividing; and then mr. Pelham moved, 'that it appears to this houſe, that Chriſtopher Layer, in his ſeveral examinations before the lords of the council, and committee of this houſe, has groſsly prevaricated, ſuppreſſed the truth, contradicted himſelf, and endeavoured, as far as in him lies, to diſguiſe and conceal the horrid and deteſtable conſpiracy:' which was alſo carried in the ſame manner. After this, the attorney-general moved, 'that it appears to this houſe, that John Plunket has been a principal agent and inſtrument in the conſpiracy, and has carried on ſeveral treaſonable correſpondences to procure a foreign force to invade theſe kingdoms, to raiſe inſurrections and a rebellion at home, and was engaged with others in the villainous and execrable deſign, of laying violent hands upon his majeſty's moſt ſacred perſon.' This queſtion being carried with very little oppoſition, the attorney-general moved again, for a bill to inflict certain pains and penalties on John Plunket. Though this motion was warmly oppoſed, yet, after a long debate, it was carried by a majority of 289 againſt 130, and the bill, being brought in, paſſed both houſes: but thirty-one lords entered their proteſts againſt it. A few days after, the ſollicitor-general made the like motion in the caſe of George Kelly, and a bill was alſo paſſed againſt him, which was attended with the ſame proteſts.

By theſe acts Plunket and Kelly were to be kept in cloſe cuſtody during his majeſty's pleaſure, his heirs and ſucceſſors in any priſon in Great-Britain; and, in caſe they ſhould break priſon, they and their aſſiſtants were to ſuffer death.

The ſame day mr. Yonge, in a long ſpeech took notice, how deeply dr. Francis Atterbury, biſhop of Rocheſter, had been concerned in this deteſtable conſpiracy; aggravating his crime from his holy function, and high ſtation in the church of England, a church ever conſpicuous for its loyalty; from the ſolemn oaths he had, on ſo many occaſions, taken to the government, and by which he had abjured the the pretender; when at the ſame time he was traiterouſly conſpiring to bring him in, upon the ruin of hie country, and of all that was dear and valuable to us as freemen and chriſtians: concluding, that as he was a diſgrace to his order, and a diſhonour to the church, ſo he might apply to him on this occaſion theſe words of the 1ſt of Acts, verſe 20, 'Let his habitation be deſolate, and let no man dwell therein, and his biſhopric let another take.' And therefore he moved, 'that it appears to this houſe, that Francis lord biſhop of Rocheſter was principally concerned in forming, directing, and carrying on the wicked and deteſtable conſpiracy, for invading theſe kingdoms with a foreign force, and for raiſing inſurrections and rebellions at home, in order to ſubvert our preſent happy eſtabliſhment in church and ſtate, by placing a popiſh pretender upon the throne.' Sir William Windham ſaid, he ſaw no cauſe to proceed againſt the biſhop in ſo ſevere a manner, there being little or indeed no evidence beſides conjectures and hearſays. However, mr. Yonge's motion was agreed to, and a bill was ordered to be brought in to inflict certain pains and penalties on Francis biſhop of Rocheſter.

[1723] When the bill came to be read a ſecond time, the biſhop ſent a letter to the ſpeaker, which he deſired might be communicated to the houſe, and in which he ſaid, 'that though conſcious of his own innocence, he ſhould decline giving the houſe any trouble that day, and contented himſelf with the opportunity (if the bill went on) of making his defence before another, of which he had the honour to be a member.' However, the commons proceeded in that affair, and the council for the bill being called in, and the bill read, the council opened the evidence, and produced a ſcheme, taken amongſt mr. Layer's papers, which was read, as were alſo ſeveral copies of letters ſtopped at the poſt-office. Then the council examined ſeveral witneſſes to make good the allegations of the bill; produced ſeveral papers taken at his houſes at Weſtminſter and Bromley; as alſo a packet taken on one of his ſervants at the Tower of London; and examined two witneſſes, one to prove, that a letter and paper contained in the packet were his handwriting; and the other to prove, that a letter directed to mr. Dubois, taken amongſt his papers at the deanry at Weſtminſter, was ſealed with the ſame ſeal, with which the letter taken on his ſervant at the Tower was ſealed. Then the council ſummed up the evidence, and being withdrawn, the ſpeaker opened the bill, which was committed to a grand committee, on the 6th of April, when the leading men amongſt the tories choſe to go out of the houſe, ſo that only mr. Lawſon, mr. Oglethorpe, and two or three more, ſtaid to ſpeak in the biſhop's behalf. When they came to the filling up the blank for pains and penalties, it was moved, that he ſhould be deprived of his office and benefice, baniſhed the kingdom, be guilty of felony if he returned, and that it ſhould not be in the king's power to pardon him without conſent of parliament; but without forfeiture of goods and chattels. Mr. Lawſon repreſented, that, the evidence againſt the biſhop being all either hearſay or conjecture, and therefore not to be depended upon, he ought to have no puniſhment at all. Mr. Oglethorp was of the ſame opinion, but gave it another turn. He ſaid, 'it was plain, the pretender had none but a company of ſilly fellows about him; and it was to be feared, that, if the biſhop, who was allowed to be a man of great parts, ſhould be baniſhed, he might be ſollicited and tempted to go to Rome, and there be in a capacity to do more miſchief by his advice, than if he was ſuffered to ſtay in England under the watchful eye of thoſe in power.' But the bill

paſſed and was ſent up to the lords; before whom the biſhop was brought to his trial on the 9th of May; and, himſelf and his council having been heard, the lords in a grand committee went through the bill againſt him; and on the 15th the bill was read the third time; after which a motion being made for paſſing it, there aroſe a very long and warm debate.[s]

Earl Powlet, who opened the debate, ſpoke to the nature of this bill, ſhewed the danger of ſuch an extraordinary proceeding, and urged, that the ſwerving from fixed rules of evidence, and conſequently from juſtice, muſt inevitably be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences to our excellent conſtitution. Dr Willis, biſhop of Saliſbury, in anſwer to that alledged, that as extraordinary diſeaſes require extraordinary remedies; ſo in caſes of extreme danger and neceſſity, when the very being of the ſtates lies at ſtake, if the common law cannot reach offenders, the legiſlature ought to exert itſelf. He was replied to by dr. Gaſtrell, biſhop of Cheſter, who owned, that extraordinary proceedings may indeed be recurred to upon extraordinary occaſions, and when they are evidently neceſſary for the preſervation of the ſtate; but that was very far from the preſent caſe, ſince the conſpiracy, in which the biſhop of Rocheſter was charged to have had a ſhare, had been diſcovered and diſappointed long before. The duke of Wharton, in a long ſpeech, ſummed up the whole evidence, which had been produced againſt the biſhop of Rocheſter, and endeavoured to ſhew the inſufficiency of it to prove the charge; concluding, 'that, let the conſequences be what they would, he would not have ſuch a helliſh ſtain ſully the luſtre and glory of that illuſtrious houſe, as to condemn a man without the leaſt evidence;' and therefore was for rejecting the bill. He was ſtrongly ſupported by lord Bathurſt, who in the firſt place, took notice of the ungracious diſtinctions that were fixed upon the members of that noble and illuſtrious aſſembly, who differed in opinion from thoſe who happened to have the majority. That, for his own part, as he had nothing in view but truth and juſtice, the good of his country, the honour of that houſe, and the diſcharging of his own conſcience, he would freely ſpeak his thoughts, notwithſtanding all diſcouragements: that he would not complain of the ſiniſter arts that had been uſed of late to render ſome perſons obnoxious, and under pretence of their being ſo, to open their letters about their minuteſt domeſtic affairs. For theſe ſmall grievances he could eaſily bear, but when he ſaw things go ſo far, as to condemn a perſon of the higheſt dignity in the church, in ſuch an unprecedented manner, and without any legal evidence, he thought it his duty to oppoſe a proceeding ſo unjuſt and unwarrantable in itſelf, and ſo dangerous and diſmal in its conſequences. To this purpoſe he begged leave to tell their lordſhips a ſtory he had from ſeveral officers of undoubted credit, who had ſerved in Flanders in the late war. A Frenchman, it ſeems, had invented a machine, which would not only kill more men at once than any yet in uſe, but alſo diſable for ever any man who ſhould be wounded by it. Big with hopes of a great reward, he applied himſelf to one of the miniſters, who laid the project before the late French king; but the monarch conſidering, that ſo deſtructive an engine might ſoon be turned againſt his own men, did not think proper to encourage it: whereupon the inventor came over into England, and offered his ſervice to ſome of our generals, who likewiſe rejected the propoſal with indignation. The uſe and application of this ſtory is very obvious; for, if this way of proceeding be admitted, it will certainly prove a very dangerous engine. No man's life, liberty or property will be ſafe. And if thoſe, who were in the adminiſtration ſome years ago, and who had as great a ſhare in the affections of the people, as any that came after them, had made uſe of ſuch a political machine, ſome of thoſe noble perſons who now appear ſo zealous promoters of this bill, would not be in a capacity to ſerve his majeſty at this time. He added, that, if ſuch extraordinary proceedings went on, he ſaw nothing remaining from him and others to do, but to retire to their country houſes, and there, if poſſible, quietly enjoy their eſtates within their own families, ſince the leaſt correſpondence, the leaſt intercepted letter, might be made criminal. To this purpoſe he quoted a paſſage out of cardinal de Retz's memoirs, relating to that wicked politician, cardinal Mazarine, who boaſted, that, if he had but two lines of any man's writing, with a few circumſtances atteſted by witneſſes, he could cut off his head when he pleaſed. He likewiſe animadverted on the majority of the venerable bench, towards which turning himſelf, he ſaid he could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice ſome perſons bore the learned and ingenious biſhop of Rocheſter, unleſs it was, that they were intoxicated with the infatuation of ſome of the wild Indians, who fondly believe they inherit not only the ſpoils, but even the abilities of any great enemy they kill.'

The earl of Strafford ſpoke on the ſame ſide as did alſo the lord Trevor, who, among other arguments againſt the bill, urged, that, if men were in this unprecedented manner proceeded againſt without legal proof, in a ſhort time men would be tried as they were liked by miniſters: that, for his own part, he believed he ſtood but indifferently in the opinion and liking of ſome perſons, and therefore he had reaſon to think himſelf more in danger, becauſe at preſent they wanted the protection of the law (meaning the ſuſpenſion of the habeas corpus act;) and as in a ſhort time they were like to be ſo unhappy, as to be deprived of his majeſty's perſonal protection, and were ſtill liable to be confined upon ſuſpicion, which he took to be no more than will and pleaſure, they were conſequenly at the will and pleaſure of the miniſters. That however no apprehenſion of what he might ſuffer ſhould deter him from doing what he thought his duty: that, conſonant to that principle, he had all along, and ſtill oppoſed theſe extraordinary proceeding, which tended to lodge an exorbitant power in their fellow-ſubjects. That if he were to loſe his liberty, he had rather give it up to one ſingle tyrant, than to many; for a tyrant, if a man of common underſtanding, would, for his own ſake, be tender of the lives of his ſubjects; whereas many tyrants would endeavour to deſtroy one another, to get one another's preferments. The lord Trevor having done ſpeaking, the earl of Seafield endeavoured to ſhew, that the evidence which had been produced before them, being ſufficient to convince any reaſonable man, that there had been a deteſtable conſpiracy, and that the biſhop of Rocheſter had a great ſhare in it, was likewiſe ſufficient to juſtify this extraordinary proceeding againſt him, eſpecially ſince they inflicted on him ſo light a puniſhment, conſidering the heinouſneſs of the crime. The duke of Argyle purſued the ſame argument; run through and confuted the moſt eſſential parts of the biſhop's defence; and aggravated his offence, by which he had debaſed his holy function and chraracter, and acted contrary to the ſolemn repeated oaths he had taken. The lord Gower ſpoke afterwards againſt the bill; but what ſurprized moſt people, the lord Lechmere, who, on ſeveral occaſions, had expreſſed his diſlike of theſe extraordinary proceedings, declared it as his opinion, that there was ſufficient evidence to ſupport the charge. He was anſwered by earl Cowper in a long ſpeech, importing in ſubſtance, that the ſtrongeſt argument which had been urged for this bill, was neceſſity; but that, for his part, he ſaw no neceſſity that could juſtify ſo unprecedented and ſo dangerous a proceeding. That, as already had been ſuggeſted, the conſpiracy had above a twelvemonth before been happily diſcovered, and the effects of it conſequently prevented. That, beſides the intrinſic weight and ſtrength of the government, by numerous offices and employments, civil and military, and the wealth and intereſt of well-affected to his majeſty's perſon and the preſent happy eſtabliſhment the hands of thoſe at the helm had ſtill been fortified by the ſuſpenſion of the habeas corpus act and the additional troops; ſo that, in his opinion, there could be no danger to the government if Plunket and Kelly were not priſoners for life, nor the biſhop of Rocheſter ſent into baniſhment. That, on the contrary, if that prelate's talent and genius lay in contriving and carrying on ſtate intrigues, he thought him leſs dangerous at home than abroad: that the other reaſons alledged to ſupport this extraordinary proceeding had no more weight in them than the firſt: that the known rules of evidence, as laid down a

[s] The ſpeakers for and againſt the bill were as follow:

Againſt the bill.	For the bill.
1. Earl Powlet,	2. Lord biſhop of Saliſbury,
3. Lord biſhop of Cheſter,	4. Lord biſhop of London,
5. Duke of Wharton,	9. Earl of Findlater and Seafield,
6. Lord Bathurſt,	10. Duke of Argyle,
7. Earl of Strafford,	12. Lord Lechmere,
8. Lord Trevor,	14. Earl of Peterborough,
11. Lord Gower,	15. Earl of Cholmondley.
13. Earl Cowper,	

firſt and eſtabliſhed by the law of the land, were the birthright of every ſubject of this nation, and ought to be conſtantly obſerved, not only in the inferior courts of judicature, but alſo in both houſes of parliament, till altered by the legiſlature: that much had been ſaid of the power of parliaments, which he owned was very great; but that, in his opinion, their abſolute power conſiſted only in making and repealing laws, and, till ſuch time as a law was repealed, every ſubject had a right to it. That the admitting of the precarious and uncertain evidence of the clerks of the poſt-office was a very dangerous precedent: that in former times it was thought very grievious, that, in capital caſes, a man ſhould be affected by ſimilitude of hands: but here the caſe was much worſe, ſince it was allowed, that the clerks of the poſt-office could carry the ſimilitude of hands, four months in their minds. That theſe men might be honeſt, and ſwear to the beſt of their knowledge; but he was ſure, they were at leaſt very willing and forward evidence: for as he aſked one of them, how he knew ſuch a paper to be mr. Kelly's hand? he readily anſwered, 'he had ſeen the ſame four months before, and he was ſure it could be no other:' whereas any man, who has never ſo little been converſant in the world, knows, that hands may be ſo well counterfeited, as not to be diſtinguiſhed. After this, he commended the biſhop of Rocheſter's noble and brave carriage in not anſwering before the houſe of commons, whoſe proceeding in this unprecedented manner againſt a lord of parliament was ſuch an incroachment on the prerogative of the peerage, that, if ſubmitted to by paſſing this bill, they might well be ſaid to be the laſt of lords. 'Ultimus Romanorum, my lords (ſaid he in the concluſion) was a character of honour and praiſe: but to be the laſt of Britiſh peers, by giving up our ancient privileges, will never, I doubt, admit of ſuch conſtruction; and therefore I am for rejecting this bill.' Little was ſaid of any great weight after this ſpeech; and, about half an hour paſt nine the queſtion being put, it was reſolved in the affirmative, that the bill ſhould paſs, by a majority of 83 voices againſt 43; upon which ſeveral lords entered their proteſt.

By this act the biſhop, from the 1ſt day of June, 1723, was to be deprived of all offices, dignities, promotions, and benefices eccleſiaſtical, and incapable of holding any for the future. He was alſo baniſhed the realm, and, in caſe he returned, he was to ſuffer death, as well as all perſons that correſponded with him.

When the report and the other papers were communicated to the lords by the commons, the earls of Scarſdale, Strafford and Cowper, the lords Craven, Gower, Bathurſt and Bingley complained, that, in the examinations, it is ſet forth, that John Plunket told Layer, that they were of a club or meeting, called, in Plunket's letters, Burford's club.[t] Theſe lords ſeverally declared the ſame to be falſe and groundleſs; and earl Cowper in particular made a long ſpeech, complaining of being mentioned in the report, on the bare hearſay of an infamous perſon, which was enough to give an air of fiction to the whole conſpiracy; and then moved, that Plunket ſhould be ſent for and examined. The lord Townſhend anſwered, 'that he was much ſurprized to find that a noble peer, whoſe abilities and merits had juſtly ſo great weight in that illuſtrious aſſembly, ſhould, upon a trivial circumſtance, ridicule, as a fiction, a horrid execrable conſpiracy, ſupported by ſo many concurring proofs, and from a falſe trifling particular infer, that no part of it was true.' As the debate was like to grow warm, ſome members called for the queſtion, and earl Cowper's motion was rejected by 81 againſt 26. The earl and mr. Hutchinſon publiſhed declarations againſt the falſe information of their being of the club, wherein they ſtrongly aſſerted their innocence.

The lords had alſo choſen by ballot a committee of nine, to whom the report and original papers were referred, to prepare what might be fit to be offered to the commons, by way of anſwer to what was delivered, at a conference relating to the papers. When the duke of Dorſet's report from the lords committees was taken into conſideration, it was reſolved, that a deteſtable conſpiracy had been formed for raiſing a rebellion, and laying violent hands on the king and prince: after which, the committee was thanked by the lord-chancellor, for having diſcharged their truſt with great exactneſs, fidelity, and candor.

Dr Friend, the phyſician, who had exerted himſelf very zealouſly for the biſhop of Rocheſter, was ſoon after taken into cuſtody; for, on the 15th of March, mr. Walpole acquainted the commons, 'that his majeſty, having had juſt reaſon to apprehend dr. John Friend (a member of this houſe) for high-treaſon, deſired the conſent of the houſe to his being committed and detained; and then he moved for an addreſs to that purpoſe.' This motion was oppoſed by mr. Shippen and mr. Bromley, who ſaid, they could not ſee any reaſon for that houſe giving leave for detaining any member, unleſs the ſpecies of treaſon was declared, and that the information was upon oath. Sir Joſeph Jekyll and mr. Walpole replied, that, by the late act for ſuſpending the habeas corpus, the king was impowered to take up any perſon he had reaſon to ſuſpect: that therefore the government was not obliged to ſay, whether the information was upon oath or not. But mr. Walpole added, he did not doubt but dr. Friend was charged upon oath; and privately declared to ſeveral members, that they had a poſitive oath of his being guilty of the blackeſt and baſeſt treaſon. Mr Shippen then ſuggeſting, that the doctor's having ſpoke ſo warmly the Monday before in mr. Kelly and the biſhop of Rocheſter's behalf, was, in his opinion, the reaſon of his being taken up the next day himſelf, and at that rate there was an end of the liberty of ſpeech, which every member of that houſe had a right to. Mr Walpole replied, he wondered any gentleman could think any miniſtry capable of ſo baſe a thing, as to take up any gentleman for what he ſaid in that houſe, without any other cauſe, when they knew themſelves to be accountable as well as others for their actions: adding, that they, who made ſuch inſinuations, might more eaſily be proved to be jacobites, than they could make out ſuch an allegation againſt the miniſtry. Mr Pulteney ſpoke on the ſame ſide; and, in relation to dr. Friend's having ſpoken in Kelly's behalf, obſerved, that it was uſual, in all conſpiracies, for one traitor to endeavour to excuſe another. Mr Shippen animadverted with ſome warmth upon this reflection, ſaying, it was not to be endured, to have a member of that houſe called a traitor, before he was convicted as ſuch. But, mr. Pulteney having explained himſelf, that matter ended, and then the motion for an addreſs was carried without a diviſion.

The affair which occaſioned the moſt talk, next to the plot, was the Harburgh lottery, which was brought before the parliament this ſeſſion. The lottery took its name from the place where it was to be drawn, the town and port of Harburgh on the river Elbe, within the king's German dominions, where the projector was to ſettle a trade for the woolen manufacture between England and Germany. The houſe of commons having appointed a committee to enquire into this and other lotteries, then carrying on in London, it was repreſented in their report, 'that the ſcheme propoſed, that 1,500,000l. ſterling, or 16,500,000 guilders, ſhould be ſubſcribed; and that it was to be drawn at Harburgh in five claſſes, 100,000 tickets to be drawn in each claſs at 3l. per ticket; and that every perſon ſubſcribing was to pay 12s. or ſix guilders for each ticket, before the drawing each claſs of the lottery. That 200,000l. of 300,000l. in each claſs was to be divided into lots, to the fortunate adventurers, which amounts to 1,000,000l. to be deducted out of the whole ſum, which was to be paid the fortunate adventurers. That a ſum of 1,000,000l. was ſubſcribed for, to carry on a trade between Great-Britain and his majeſty's German dominions; and that 2 per cent. was only paid in upon the ſtoc ſo ſubſcribed; of which a ſum of 13,000l. or more was actually paid in money, and 7000l. or more was ſecured by notes; 400,000l. whereof was ſubſcribed. At firſt, 100,000l. ſtoc was ſold at 15l. 3s. per cent. of which 2 per cent. was only paid into the company, and the reſt diſpoſed of as follows; 13l. 3s. per cent. which amounted to 13,150l. 10,000l. of which was given to mr. Nicolai; and 3,150l. to mr. Benjamin Joules, for their ſervices: and as to 13,000l. paid in money, and 7,000l. in notes, the committee could get no account what was become of it, not being able to ſee their books; nor c...

[t] Layer being aſked, if Plunket ever explained to him who were meant by Burford's club? Plunket told him, it was an appellation made uſe of by the pretender and his agents, to denote a club of tory lords and others, of which club lord Orrery was chairman, and conſiſted of the following members:

Lord Strafford,	Mr Hutchinſon,
Sir Henry Goring,	Biſhop of Rocheſter,
Lord Cowper,	Sir Conſtantine Phipps,
General Webb,	Mr Shippen,
Lord Bingley,	Lord Scarſdale,
Mr Dawkins,	Lord Bathurſt,
Lord Craven,	Lord Gower.

The committee thought it juſtice due to ſeveral of the perſons named by Layer, to obſerve, that the matters, aſſerted of Burford's club in Plunket's letters to Dillon, ſeemed utterly inconſiſtent with the known characters of ſome of thoſe perſons. See Report,

the committee learn what number of tickets had been delivered out, or what money thereupon had been received, or what was become of what they had received. That with regard to the diſpoſition of the other 500,000l. 5 per cent. upon 1,500,000l. which amounts to 75,000l. was to be deducted for management; which being taken out of the ſaid 500,000l. leaves 425,000l. which ſum was to be incorporated into the ſtoc of the firſt company, and to make a part of a capital of 1,500,000l. as the committee apprehended, of which they could get no poſitive information. But whether the former capital was intended to be ſo great, or only to conſiſt of this 425,000l. and the 1,000,000l. which was before ſubſcribed, it appeared to the committee, that a plain fraud was intended in joining this real ſum with an imaginary ſubſcription; of which 2 per cent. only was paid in or ſecured, and that probably embezzled.' The truſtees of this lottery were twenty; ſome of whom were in Germany; the reſt, who were in England, were the lord Barrington, ſir John Hartop, Charles Frederick Krenbergh, John London, Fiennes Harriſon, Peter Hartop, William Squire, Edward Richier, John Caſwal, William Sterling, Benjamin Smith, Benjamin Burroughs, John Thompſon, Henry Bendiſh, —— Foſter, Benjamin Joules, and John Manley. But ſeveral of them reſigned their truſt immediately, being diſſatisfied with the ſcheme; for, when ſir Thomas Webſter, ſir Charles Wager, and lord Barrington waited upon lord Townſhend, lord Carteret, and mr. Walpole, they were told, that an Engliſh charter for the advantage of the lottery could not be granted, becauſe it was illegal and impracticable. Upon reading the report, the houſe came to the following reſolutions:

1. That the project, called the Harburgh lottery, carried on in the city of London, is an infamous fraudulent undertaking, whereby ſeveral unwary perſons have been drawn in to their great loſs; and that the manner of carrying the ſame on hath been a manifeſt violation of the laws of this kingdom.

2. That it appears to this houſe, that the managers of, and agents of the ſaid lottery, did frequently, without any authority for ſo doing, make uſe of his majeſty's royal name, thereby to give countenance to the infamous project, and induce his majeſty's ſubjects to engage, or be concerned therein. After which a bill was ordered to be brought in to ſuppreſs the lottery, and to prevent any foreign lotteries from being carried on in this kingdom; and to oblige the perſons concerned, in the management of the Harburgh lottery, to make reſtitution and ſatisfaction for the money they have received from the contributors. And it was alſo reſolved, nemine contradicente, That it appeared to this houſe, that John lord viſcount Barrington, of the kingdom of Ireland, a member of this houſe, has been notoriouſly guilty of promoting, abetting, and carrying on the fradulent undertaking, called the Harburgh lottery; and for that offence he be expelled the houſe.'

In December 1722, the emperor of Germany granted a patent for eſtabliſhing an Eaſt-India company in the Auſtrian Netherlands, the ſubſtance of which was, that they were impowered to open books of ſubſcription, wherein the ſubjects of any nation were admitted to ſubſcribe. The company was to be called the imperial company of commerce eſtabliſhed in Flanders. The fund conſiſted of eight millions of florins, and directors to be choſen annually. The nobility had the privilege of entering into this company, without derogation in the leaſt from their nobility: thoſe of any nation, who ſubſcribed 20,000 florins, were to be naturalized from that ſubſcription: and any perſon had the privilege to ſubſcribe what ſum he pleaſed above 1000 florins, but nothing leſs, to prevent confuſion in their accounts. The ſettlement of this company was ſaid to be chiefly owing to mr. Colebrooke, an Engliſh merchant.

Notwithſtanding the oppoſition they met with from the Engliſh, French, and Dutch, they opened their books, and had a full ſubſcription in a very few days, owing chiefly to the clandeſtine negotiations of their agents in England, France, and Holland, where great numbers of merchants ſubſcribed to that ſtoc, and maſters of Eaſt-India ſhips and ſupercargoes went to Oſtend, to enter into their ſervice, and put them in a way to eſtabliſh and carry on their tade, which they did effectually, to the great damage of the Engliſh, French, and Dutch companies. Monſieur de Fonſeca, the emperor's miniſter at Paris, ſignified to the duke of Orleans, then at the head of affairs there, that the emperor was much ſurprized at the moſt chriſtian king's forbidding his ſubjects to be any ways concerned in the Oſtend company. He was anſwered, 'that repreſentations had been made to the emperor, that he was engaged by treaty not to encourage any ſuch commerce; that, nevertheleſs, his imperial majeſty, without any regard to the ſaid repreſentations, had thought fit to grant a charter in favour thereof. That the moſt chriſtian king was maſter of his own kingdom, and not obliged to give an account of his actions, and therefore the emperor could not take amiſs the prohibition to his ſubjects, not to have any concern in the company ſet up at Oſtend.'

A memorial of the Dutch Eaſt-India company (which had been delivered to the ſtates in March) having been preſented to the commons this ſeſſion, together with an extract of another memorial ſent by the ſtates to the court of Vienna, concerning the Oſtend company, ſir Nathaniel Gould repreſented to the houſe the great damage the Eaſt-India company had already received, and was like farther to receive by the Oſtend company; it was unanimouſly reſolved, 'that for the ſubjects of this kingdom to ſubſcribe, or be concerned in encouraging any ſubſcription, to promote an Eaſt-India company, now erecting in the Auſtrian Netherlands, is a high-crime and miſdemeanor.' Accordingly a bill paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent, to prevent the king's ſubjects from ſubſcribing or being concerned in the Oſtend Eaſt-India company.

There had been ſeveral general courts held by the South-ſea company about transferring two millions of their ſtoc to the Bank of England, which was at laſt agreed on by the two companies. A petition had likewiſe been preſented to the commons for the reviving the two millions that had been annihilated. Accordingly an act paſſed this ſeſſion, whereby it was enacted, that the two millions ſhould be revived, and added to the capital ſtoc, and divided among the proprietors. By the ſame act, the whole capital, computed at 33,802,483l. 14s. was to be divided into two equal parts, one of which amounting to 16,901,241l. 17s. was to be called 'the joint ſtoc of South-ſea annuities,' attended with annuities payable out of the South-ſea company's funds in lieu of all dividends, viz. at 5l. per cent. till June 27, 1727, and from thence at 4l. per cent. till redeemed. The other moiety was to remain in the company as a joint-ſtoc, attended with the reſidue of the yearly funds, payable at the Exchequer, till redemption, and alſo attended with the ſeveral ſums for charges of management, and with all benefits of trade, &c. And, as concerning the moiety ſo converted into South-ſea annuities, every proprietor ſhould be intitled to annuities at 5l. per cent. till June 24, 1727, and from thence at 4l. per cent. and the company ſhould receive at the Exchequer, out of the duties charged with their whole annuities yearly, the intereſt of the ſame moiety, till redemption, in truſt for the proprietors: and all powers in force were to be continued for ſecuring the joint ſtoc of South-ſea annuities, and the yearly funds to attend the ſame. The annuities were payable half-yearly, at Lady-day and Michaelmas.

An act paſſed this ſeſſion for the more effectual execution of juſtice, in a pretended privileged place in the pariſh of St. George, commonly called the Mint, where great numbers of debtors had taken ſanctuary.

On the 27th of May, the king put an end to the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I am perſuaded, notwithſtanding the unuſual length of this ſeſſion, you will not think your time has been miſemployed in conſulting the neceſſary means for preſerving the peace and quiet of the kingdom; and bringing to juſtice ſome of the chief promoters of that confuſion which lately threatened the nation.

'The prudent meaſures you have taken for our common ſecurity, and your enabling me to defend my kingdom againſt any deſigns or attempts of our enemies, are the moſt convincing teſtimonies of your fidelity and affection to me, and of your concern for the liberties of my people. Be aſſured, the confidence you have repoſed in me ſhall never be made uſe of but for their ſafety and defence.

'The papers, which have been laid before you, for your information, and have been ſince publiſhed for the ſatisfaction of the world, evidently ſhew that the conſpirators had brought their wicked arts and practices to ſuch perfection, that they confidently carried on their traiterous projects in defiance of the law, from aſſurances of their being able to elude it. The reſpect and reverence due to the law had been loſt, and the tranquility of my people endangered, had not you interpoſed. This made it neceſſary for the legiſlature to exert itſelf, in puniſhing ſuch offenders, whoſe gilt is too certain to leave the leaſt room for doubt, and whoſe crimes are too heinous to admit of any aggravation.

'And yet it is with pleaſure I reflect, that the juſtice of parliament has been ſo tempered with mercy, that even thoſe who are reſolved to be diſſatisfied, muſt acknowledge the lenity of your proceedings, and will be at a loſs for any pretence to complain, ſo few examples having been made, and the penalties inflicted by bill falling ſo much ſhort of the puniſhments due for the ſame crimes, by the common courſe of law.

'The firmneſs you have ſhewn, muſt convince all the world, how much they were miſtaken, whoſe chief hopes were founded on the diſaffection of my people. It gave me great ſatisfaction to ſee as general a concurrence in full parliament upon this occaſion, as has been known on any former: and it is to be hoped, our enemies will ceaſe to flatter themſelves with the vain imagination of being able to ſubvert our religion and preſent eſtabliſhment.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

'I muſt acknowledge, in a particular manner, the great readineſs you have ſhewn in raiſing the neceſſary ſupplies for the enſuing year. It is an unexpected felicity, that you have been able ſo far to diſappoint the hopes of our enemies, as to avoid laying any new burthen upon my people; and that ſo ſoon after that great ſhoc and convulſion in all the public funds, and in the midſt of inteſtine alarms and diſturbances, the credit of the nation ſhould ſo far revive and flouriſh, that not only the ſupplies of the year ſhould be raiſed at a much lower intereſt, than was ever known in the moſt quiet times, and part of the national debt ſhould be reduced from an intereſt of 5 to 3 per cent. and put in a courſe of being ſoon diſcharged.

My Lords and Gentleman,

'I return you my moſt ſincere thanks for the indefatigable pains you have taken in the ſervice of the public. I earneſtly recommend it to you, in your ſeveral ſtations and countries, to perſevere in your endeavours, for preſerving the peace of the kingdom; by juſtice and reſolution to ſubdue the reſtleſs ſpirit of faction and ſedition; and by prudence and temper to reconcile the miſled.

'Some extraordinary affairs calling me abroad this ſummer, I doubt not but that the wiſdom and vigilance of my good ſubjects will prevent our enemies from taking any advantage of my abſence. To gain the hearts and affections of my people ſhall always be my firſt and principal care. On their duty and loyalty I will entirely depend. They may as ſurely depend on my protection, in the full enjoyment of their religion, liberty, and property.'

The king, whom the conſpiracy had detained in England the laſt year, had no ſooner put an end to the ſeſſion, but he ſet out for his German dominions. He embarked for Holland the 3d of June, and after ſtaying two days with his brother the biſhop of Oſnabrug, arrived the 11th at Herenhauſen. He appointed lords-juſtices in his abſence as uſual, the prince being ſtill excluded, who was now in his forty-firſt year. The lord Harcourt, formerly ſo ſtrictly united with the earl of Oxford and queen Anne's other miniſters, and who had defended them with ſo much zeal, was one of the lords-juſtices. Mr Walpole was likewiſe of the number, and acted as ſecretary of ſtate, in the abſence of the lords Townſhend and Carteret, who were with the king. It was intended to advance him to the peerage, but he choſe rather to have that honour conferred on his ſon, who was made baron Walpole, of Walpole, in the county of Norfolk.[x] About the ſame time mr. Pulteney, chairman of the late committee of ſecrecy, was made cofferer of the houſehold; and Philip, lord Stanhope, captain of the yeomen of the guard; dr. Gibſon was tranſlated from Lincoln to London, dr. Reynolds from Bangor to Lincoln, and dr. Bradford from Carliſle to Rocheſter; dr. Waugh was promoted to Carliſle, and dr. Willis, on the death of dr. Trimnel, to Wincheſter; dr. Hoadley was tranſlated from Hereford to Saliſbury; dr. Green, on the death of dr. Fleetwood, from Norwich to Ely; dr. Leng was made biſhop of Norwich, and dr. Egerton, brother to the duke of Bridgwater, of Hereford.

The king, before his departure, ſhewed his clemency to thoſe who had been taken up on account of the plot. The earl of Orrery was releaſed from his confinement, and admitted to bail, as were alſo the duke of Norfolk, the lord North and Grey, Dennis Kelly, Thomas Cochran, and Swathfogger, and the earl of Orrery's ſecretary. On the 20th of June, dr. Friend was admitted to bail; and, two days after, dr. Atterbury embarked on board the Aldborough, a ſmall man of war, which had orders to land him in France. He was put on ſhore at Calais, accompanied with his daughter, mrs. Morrice, and her huſband, who was high-bailiff of Weſtminſter. At Calais he was told, that the lord Bolingbroke, having obtained his pardon, was juſt arrived there in his way to England: upon which the biſhop merrily ſaid, 'then I am exchanged.' The king had granted the lord Bolingbroke a pardon the day after the parliament broke up, of which one of his friends inſtantly ſet out for France to bring him word. He immediately returned to England to plead his pardon, in expectation that a new parliament would repeal his attainder. The lord Harcourt had prevailed with the king to ſhew him this favour; though mr. Walpole had oppoſed it at the council-board with unanſwerable arguments: he was againſt looſening the hands of one, who (as he ſaid) he foreſaw, from his former conduct and ambition, and the natural reſtleſneſs of his temper, would go any lengths to poiſon the minds of the ſubjects, in order to diſturb the national tranquility, that he himſelf might the eaſier arrive at power. But, notwithſtanding his diſapprobation, he was forced to give way.[y]

Before the king left England, it was agreed in council, that the troops ſhould be incamped as they had been the laſt ſummer, and that the horſe-guards ſhould be quartered round Hyde-park, in order to be ready to aſſemble, if there ſhould be occaſion.

Theſe meaſures kept all things quiet in Great-Britain, during the king's ſeven months abſence. The ſame reaſons which had required his preſence abroad, detained him perhaps longer than he intended. He was received in his dominions in the moſt agreeable manner, and was complimented by at leaſt twelve foreign miniſters. The king and queen of Pruſſia waited likewiſe upon him, by which means his court was as ſplendid, and as much the ſcene of affairs, as ever the court of Great-Britain had been.

Affairs were then at a ſort of criſis: the uſeleſneſs of the congreſs of Cambray and of Brunſwick, where little had been done, having worn out the patience of the princes, whoſe intereſts were to be determined there, they entered into ſeparate negotiations, and ſought the means of coming to an agreement. The czar and king of Sweden were going to conclude a treaty favourable to the duke of Holſtein's pretenſions to Sleſwick, of which king George had guaranteed the poſſeſſion to the king of Denmark: it was to be feared, that this treaty might affect even Bremen and Verden, lately annexed to the electorate of Hanover.

On the other hand, France and Spain ſeemed to be ſincerely reconciled, and willing to unite againſt the emperor. The regent had projected a marriage between the king of France and the infanta of Spain, then three years old, and had married his ſecond daughter, Mademoiſelle de Montpenſier to the prince of Aſturias, and a year after, another daughter, to Don Carlos, eldeſt ſon of Philip V. by his ſecond wife. Theſe two powers endeavoured to draw the czar to their ſide; they offered new treaties to England, more advantageous than the former, in regard to trade, but ſtrongly inſiſted upon the reſtitution of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon; and it was wiſhed, that court would not be concerned in the affairs of Italy, and would declare openly againſt the Oſtend company.

This ſituation of ſo oppoſite intereſts was full of difficulties. The emperor, preſſed too much, might declare for the czar and the Swede: Poland, confined between theſe

[x] The lord Townſhend's eldeſt ſon was called up to the houſe of peers, by the title of baron Townſhend of Lynn-Regis, and made one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, in the room of lord Tynham, who ſome days before ſhot himſelf, and died an hour after.

The preample to the lord Walpole began thus:

Our moſt beloved and moſt faithful counſellor Robert Walpole, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, with the aſſiſtance of other ſelect perſons, and chancellor of our exchequer, having highly recommended himſelf to our royal favour by his many ſervices to us, to our houſe, and to his own country, we did not think him unworthy to be advanced to the rank of the peers of our realm. But, though he rather chuſes to merit the higheſt titles than to wear them, we have however thought fit, in order to enoble his family, to confer on the ſon the honour due to the father, and to raiſe to the peerage Robert Walpole, junior, eſq. &c.

[y] Mr Walpole's conduct, with regard to this tranſaction, and many more was not unlike the lord Clarendon's, who ſays of himſelf, 'that he had often, as believing himſelf obliged in duty, argued in the Senate in favour of many points, which he had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed at the Council-Table.' The reaſons on which miniſters found their conduct on ſuch occaſions, are obvious to every man of common penetration.

It is obſerved from the lord Bolingbroke's pardon, that mr. Walpole held not then the firſt rank, either in power or confidence, but that the direction of affairs, particularly the foreign, after the death of the earls Stanhope and Sunderland, was chiefly conducted by the lord Townſhend and baron Bothmar.

three powers, could not help taking part with them: almoſt all Italy exclaimed againſt the treaty of London: the pope had proteſted againſt any deciſions at Cambray to the prejudice of his right: the king of Sardinia, the dukes of Tuſcany, Parma and Modena, had preſented memorials equivalent to ſo many proteſtations: France and Spain were inclined to ſupport them: war was every where on the point of breaking out: England, engaged by ſo many treaties, and her own intereſts, muſt have been concerned: for king George to declare againſt the emperor was expoſing his German dominions, and helping to ſtrengthen two powers already very formidable to the reſt of Europe: to take part with the emperor was ſupporting the new eſtabliſhment at Oſtend, and aiming againſt himſelf France, Spain, and perhaps Ruſſia and Sweden.

King George overcame all theſe difficulties, or at leaſt ſuſpended their ill conſequences. He entered into ſtricter alliances with the kings of Pruſſia and Denmark: he uſed his endeavours to prevail with the emperor to be more ready to end his differences with Spain, and to deſiſt from the affair of Oſtend, againſt which his ſubjects in particular, and his faithful allies, the ſtates-general, were extremely incenſed. In England, as hath been related, the commons had voted againſt it.

One of the king's principal deſigns, when he came to Hanover, was to perſuade the court of Vienna to deſiſt from erecting the Oſtend India company: he laboured conſtantly at it, but the ſucceſs did not anſwer his good intentions: that court promiſed, in general, not to do any thing contrary to treaties, and the rights of others, but avoided to enter into any diſcuſſion, and diſregarded the repreſentations that were made from all parts.

It was the ſame with reſpect to the czar. So that the king's journey proved fruitleſs, and the negotiations might have been as well carried on at London as at Hanover. Something was alſo done for the proteſtants, whoſe complaints continued, becauſe they were ſtill oppreſſed, and new grievances were added to the old. The king of Pruſſia readily entered into the deſign to procure them eaſe and tranquility.

This union put a ſtop at leaſt to greater calamities; and appeared to be very cordial. King George ſpent four or five days at Berlin, where he was received and treated with reſpect and magnificence. The two ſecretaries of ſtate, the lords Townſhend and Carteret, who attended him, had frequent conferences with the king of Pruſſia's miniſters, in order to conclude ſome alliance to prevent the czar's deſigns in favour of the duke of Holſtein; the propoſals were neither rejected nor received, and aſſurance was given that no engagement ſhould be made contrary to what had been agreed.

All was quiet in England: however there appeared now and then ſome ſparks of diviſion, which ſhewed the parties ſtill ſubſiſted, and had not altered their ſentiments. At the election of the ſheriffs this year, the rabble was ſpirited up at London, by the oppoſition which the new ſheriffs, ſir Richard Hopkins and mr. Feaſt, met with from the old ones, mr. Humphrey Parſons and mr. Child, who endeavoured to have the election fall upon ſir John Williams and mr. Lockwood. Hopkins and Feaſt were declared duly elected by the lord-mayor and aldermen; notwithſtanding Parſons and Child had made a contrary declaration in favour of Williams and Lockwood, but the lord-mayor having diſſolved the common-hall, after the court had declared Hopkins and Feaſt duly choſen, the old ſheriffs could not meet them after the laſt adjournment, as they intended to have done, but were prevented by the lord-mayor and aldermen's prior declaration. Feaſt oppoſed Williams in the election of an alderman for Cripplegate-ward, which being alſo conteſted, was decided by the court of aldermen in favour of Williams, upon which the rabble broke the windows of the well-affected in that ward, and committed ſeveral outrages, for which ſome of the ring-leaders were taken, and committed to Newgate.

Purſuant to an act of parliament lately paſt, requiring all perſons to take the oaths before the 25th of December, or to regiſter their eſtates, the ſeſſions, held by the juſtices of the peace over all the kingdom, were crowded with perſons of all ſexes and condition for that purpoſe.

The king, having been informed that his ſubjects in Ireland were in want of ſmall money, made a contract with William Wood to furniſh that kingdom with copper halfpence and farthings. The copper was to be of ſuch fineneſs, and the money of ſuch a weight, as agreed upon in the patent granted for that purpoſe. When this money came to be circulated in Ireland, great clamour was raiſed againſt it, and the parliament which met on the 5th of September, came to theſe reſolutions:

That the importing and uttering of copper halfpence and farthings, by virtue of Wood's patent, would be prejudicial to the revenue, deſtructive of trade, and of dangerous conſequence to the rights of the ſubject: that the ſtate of the nation had been miſrepreſented to the king, in order to obtain the patent: that the halfpence wanted weight: and, though the terms of the patent had been complied with, there would have been a loſs to the nation of 150l. per cent. That it had been always highly prejudicial to the kingdom to grant the power of coinage to private perſons, and would at all times be of dangerous conſequence.

Addreſſes from both houſes, agreeable to theſe reſolutions, were tranſmitted to the king, who, in anſwer to the commons, ſaid, 'he was very much concerned, that his granting the patent for coining of halfpence and farthings, agreeable to the practice of his royal predeceſſors, had given ſo much uneaſineſs to the houſe of commons; and if there had been any abuſes committed by the patentee, his majeſty would give the neceſſary orders for enquiring into, and puniſhing thoſe abuſes, and do every thing, that was in his power, for the ſatisfaction of his people.'

Purſuant to this anſwer (for which the commons returned an addreſs of thanks) the affair was referred to the lords of the privy-council in England, by whom a report of it was drawn up in July the next year. In this report they juſtified the conduct of the patentee, and obſerved, that his majeſty having ordered, that an aſſay ſhould be made of the fineneſs, value, and weight of mr. Wood's copper money, and the goodneſs thereof, compared with the former coinages of copper money for Ireland, and the copper money coined in his mint in England, it had been accordingly referred to ſir Iſaac Newton, mr. Southwell, and mr. Scroope, to make the aſſay and trial; and it appeared, 'that the pix of the copper monies coined at Briſtol by mr. Wood for Ireland, containing the trial pieces, which was ſealed and locked up at the time of coining, was opened at his majeſty's mint at the Tower: that the comptroller's account of the halfpence and farthings coined agreed with mr. Wood's account, amounting to 59 tons, 3 hundred, 1 quarter, 11 pounds, and 4 ounces: that by the ſpecimens of this coinage, which had from time to time been taken from the ſeveral parcels coined, and ſealed up in papers, and put into the pix, 60 halfpence weighed 14 ounces troy, and 18 penny-weights, which is about a quarter of an ounce above one pound weight averdupois; and 30 farthings weighed 3 ounces and 3 quarters of an ounce troy, and 46 grains; which is alſo above the weight required by the patent: that both halfpence and farthings, when heated red hot, ſpread thin under the hammer, without cracking: that the copper, of which mr. Wood's coinage is made, is of the ſame goodneſs and value with the copper of which the copper money is coined in his majeſty's mint for England, and worth in the market about 13 pence per pound weight averdupois: that a pound of copper wrought into bars and fillets, and made fit for coinage, before brought into the mint at the Tower of London, is worth 18 pence per pound, and always coſt as much, and is coined into 23 pence of copper money by tale for England. That the halfpence and farthings coined by mr. Wood, when compared with the copper money coined for Ireland in the reigns of king Charles II. king James II. and kind William and queen Mary, conſiderably exceeds them all in goodneſs, fineneſs, and value of the copper, none of them bearing the fire ſo well, not being milleable, waſting very much in the fire, and great part of them burning into a cinder of little or no value at all.' The fact being thus proved to be on the ſide of mr. Wood, the lords committees ſhew, that his majeſty's royal predeceſſors always exerciſed the undoubted prerogative of granting patents for copper coinage in Ireland to private perſons, none of which patents were equally beneficial to that kingdom, nor ſo well guarded with proper covenants and condition for the due execution of the powers thereby granted, as this of mr. Wood, though the validity of theſe patents, and a due compliance with them, was never in any one inſtance till this time diſputed or controverted. They then prove, that mr. Wood's patent was not, as had been ſuggeſted in Ireland, obtained clandeſtinely, in an unprecedented manner, but after a reference to the attorney and ſollicitor-general, and after ſir Iſaac Newton had been conſulted in all the ſteps of ſettling it. In the laſt place they made it plainly appear by a cloud of witneſſes, that there was a real want of ſmall money in Ireland, to make ſmall payments. But, mr. Wood having, in compliance with the clamour induſtriouſly raiſed againſt his coinage, produced to reduce his

coinage from 100,000l. to 40,000l. value it was thought fit to accept of it, and to ſend directions to Ireland accordingly. [z]

The parliament of Ireland paſſed ſeveral acts, and particularly one for accepting the quakers affirmation inſtead of an oath; and granted 340,000l. ſupply toward paying off the debt of the nation, which was about 660,000l. and for the ſupport of the eſtabliſhment for two years.

On the 10th of October died earl Cowper, eminent for his integrity in the diſcharge of the office of lord-chancellor, which he had twice filled. There may have been chancellors of more extenſive learning, but none of more knowledge in the laws of England. His judgment was quic, and yet ſolid. His eloquence manly, but flowing. His manner graceful and noble. [a]

The king was ſtill at Hanover when he heard of the duke of Orlean's death, who, under the title of prime-miniſter, governed France as abſolutely as he had done during the minority of Lewis XV. King George was much concerned at the news: the mutual eſteem they had for each other, their circumſtances and intereſts which were not unlike, begot a firm friendſhip between them, whereof they gave on all occaſions the moſt effectual proofs. The duke died of an apoplexy, in the 50th year of his age, and according to his deſire, before his deceaſe, the duke of Bourbon was nominated prime-miniſter.

As the death of the duke of Orleans might occaſion great alterations, and as it was uncertain whether the new miniſter would enter into the views of his predeceſſor, the king haſtened his return to England. Being detained by contrary winds ſome days in Holland, he received their aſſurances, from the part of France, of good diſpoſition of that court, to cultivate, and even improve, the union eſtabliſhed by the late duke of Orleans, between the two ſtates.

[1723-24] The king came to London the 19th of December, and on the 9th of January the parliament met, and was opened by the following ſpeech delivered as uſual by the lord-chancellor:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I cannot open this ſeſſion without congratulating you upon the ſucceſs of your endeavours laſt year for the ſafety, intereſt, and honour of the kingdom. The riſe of the public credit, the flouriſhing condition of our trade and manufactures, and the general tranquility of my people, are the happy conſequences of your prudent reſolutions. It is to be hoped, that the few examples, which were made of ſome notorious offenders, will be ſufficient to deter the moſt diſaffected from engaging in the like deſperate and wicked practices. The augmentation you thought fit to make to our national forces, by ſea and land, has not only ſecured the general quiet of the kingdom againſt any ſudden attempts or inſurrections, but has alſo given me ſuch weight and credit in all foreign negotiations, as greatly contribute towards the preſervation of the peace of Europe.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

'I will order the proper officers to lay before you the eſtimates for the ſervice of the current year. I deſire ſuch ſupplies only, as you ſhall find abſolutely neceſſary for preſerving the peace of the kingdom, and for the ſecurity of my people; and thoſe, I hope, may be raiſed without laying any additional charge or burden on my ſubjects.

'I muſt in a particular manner, recommend to your care the public debts of the kingdom, as the moſt national concern you can poſſibly take into your conſideration. I am perſuaded, it muſt be a very great ſatisfaction to all my faithful ſubjects, to ſee the ſinking fund improved and augmented, and the debt of the nation thereby put into a method of being ſo much the ſooner gradually reduced and paid off. It would be a work truly worthy of a Britiſh parliament to begin this commendable undertaking, and to make ſuch a progreſs therein, as, with a ſtrict regard to public faith and private property, may pave the way to this great and deſirable end.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'In the preſent happy ſituation of our affairs, I have nothing more to recommend to you, than that you would make uſe of the opportunity, which your own good conduct has put into your hands, in conſidering of ſuch farther laws, as may be wanting for the eaſe and encouragement of trade and navigation, for the employment of the poor, and for the exciting and encouraging a ſpirit of induſtry in the nation.

'I am fully ſatisfied, that the trade and wealth of my people are the happy effects of the liberties they enjoy; and that the grandeur of the crown conſiſts in their proſperity: and I am as fully perſuaded, that all who wiſh well to their country, muſt agree, with me, that it is the vaineſt of all deluſions to imagine, that the religion, laws, and liberties of this kingdom can ever be ſecured, but by ſupporting the preſent eſtabliſhment, and maintaining the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line. Let us therefore heartily join in every thing, that may tend to promote our mutual happineſs, and to extinguiſh the hopes of thoſe, who long have been, and are ſtill reſtleſs in their endeavours to ſubject this nation to the whole train of miſeries, that are inſeparable from popery and arbitrary power.'

This ſpeech drew from both houſes addreſſes of thanks, with aſſurances of maintaining the preſent happy eſtabliſhment, and the ſucceſſion in his majeſty's family, as the only ſolid foundation of quietly enjoying their religion, laws, and liberties.

The commons, according to cuſtom, proceeded to raiſe the ſupplies, which were granted according to the eſtimate laid before them by the court. Ten thouſand ſeamen at 4l. a month each, were voted for the ſea-ſervice, and the army was continued on the ſame foot as laſt year. The affair of the army occaſioned a warm debate, chiefly about the four thouſand additional troops raiſed the year before, which the oppoſers inſiſted to have diſbanded; but it was carried againſt them, and reſolved that the number of effective men, for the year 1724 (including 1815 invalids) ſhould be 18264. A land-tax of two ſhillings in the pound, with the malt-tax, was granted towards defraying the expences of the enſuing year.

As the king had particularly recommended to their care the public debts of the nation, the commons took the ſame into conſideration, and came to the following reſolutions:

[z] Notwithſtanding this deciſion of the privy-council of England, dean Swift, in his paper, called, 'the draper of Dublin,' repreſented this affair in the blackeſt colours, and is ſuppoſed to be the author of a lampoon upon it, beginning with theſe words:

Now, altho' to draw water is not very good,
Yet we all ſhould rejoice to be hewers of Wood.

[a] In September this year, four Engliſh gentlemen were barbarouſly murdered in France. Mr Seabright and mr. Monpeſſon, accompanied by mr. Davis, paſſing over to Calais in their way to Paris, ſet out from thence for that city the 12th of September, mr. Seabright and mr. Davis in one chaiſe, mr. Monpeſſon and Richard Spindelow, mr. Seabright's man, in another, and mr. Monpeſſon's ſervant on horſe bac. About ſeven miles from Calais they were attacked by ſix ruffians well mounted, who ſtopped the poſtilions, came up to the chaiſes, and demanded their money, which the gentlemen readily ſurrendered, they having no fire-arms to make reſiſtance, and even their ſwords were taken from them. The robbers then, taking them out of the chaiſes, commanded them to lie down upon their faces, and the poſtilions to do the ſame. After which the villains rifled their pockets, and ſearched them very narrowly; which done, they ordered Spindelow to get up and open the portmanteaus, which as he was doing, he ſaw one of the rogues pull the dead body of mr. Locke out of a chaiſe in which he had been killed in his return from Paris, at ſome ſmall diſtance from that place; mr. Locke's ſervant, a Swiſs, was ſpared, but made to lie on his face. When they had done with mr. Seabright's portmanteau, they ordered mr. Monpeſſon to open his, and he deſired mr. Seabright to tell them in French, his ſervant was gone before, and had the key with him. This man they had ſhot in the bac, but not being dead, he was commanded to lie down on his face, and now they fetched him to open his maſter's portmanteau; when they had finiſhed their ſearch, they cried, 'Tuez, kill!' they firſt ſhot mr. Seabright through the heart, mr. Davis was ſhot and ſtabbed in ſeveral places, and his ſkull cleft; they ſtabbed Spindelow in five places in his body, and left him for dead, mr. Monpeſſon at the ſame time received a ſhot which had laid him ſprawling on the ground. A peaſant of the neighbourhood, was going to Calais for a licence to marry, unfortunately paſſing that way, was alſo murdered, and mr. Monpeſſon, who had lain as if he had been dead, lifting up his head before the murderers were gone, one of them came bac to him and cut his throat; but he and Spindelow made a ſhift, with the help of ſome of the country people, to get bac to Calais, where mr. Monpeſſon died 36 hours after, and Spindelow recovering his wounds, returned to England. The dead bodies of the four Engliſh gentlemen were brought to England, and landed at Tower-wharf, four days after, where they were received by their friends, who gave them decent interment; and George Turville, eſq. of the Middle Temple, who happened to paſs by the place where theſe gentlemen were murdered, a few hours after the ſaid murder was committed, while the dead bodies, ſtripped naked by the country people, yet lay on the high road, gave orders for erecting a monument of blac marble, in form of a pyramid, on the ſpot where the murder happened, by permiſſion of the duke de Humiers, governor of the Bolougnois, and the biſhop of Bologne. Theſe robbers and aſſaſſins robbed the Liſle ſtage coach, ſeven miles from Peronne, two months afterwards, and killed Poulart and Heunelet, two perſons that accompanied the coach; two of the rogues, Joſeph Bizean, a jeweller of Liege, and Peter le Fehvre, another jeweller, being taken, were tried and condemned at Paris in July following, by this moſt dreadful ſentence: 'to be put to the rac, to have their arms, legs, and thighs broken on a ſcaffold, and to have their bodies put upon wheels, there to remain with their faces towards the ſky as long as they had life, and Bizean's dead body to be carried and remain expoſed on a wheel upon the high road to Calais, and le Fehvre's on the high road to Peronne,' which ſentence was executed to the full.

That, towards leſſening the public debt, the annuities of 5l. per cent. charged on the general fund, by a clauſe in the act of the 5th of his majeſty's reign, except ſuch as had been ſubſcribed into the South-ſea, ſhould be paid off at Lady-day 1724, as alſo the unſubſcribed blanks of the lottery of 1714. That all theſe ſhould be diſcharged, with the money ariſing from the ſinking fund, as well as the two annuities, which by the act, entitled, 'an act for redeeming certain annuities, payable by the caſhier of the Bank at 5l. per cent. were enacted to be redeemed at Lady-day, 1724.' Purſuant to theſe reſolutions, a bill was brought in, which, paſſing both houſes, received the royal aſſent.

Protections from foreign miniſters, peers, and members of parliament, having long been the ſubject of complaint, a liſt of the names of the perſons protected by written certificates was laid before the commons, and it was reſolved, 'that all protections and written certificates of the members of this houſe be declared void in law, and be forthwith withdrawn and called in; and that none be granted for the future; and that, if any ſhall be granted by any member, ſuch member ſhall make ſatisfaction to the party injured, and ſhall be liable to the cenſure of the houſe.' This order was to be printed and ſet up in the courts of juſtice, and diſtributed by the ſheriffs in their ſeveral counties.

The ſame grievance being taken into conſideration by the lords, after ſome debate, the following declaration was made, 'that all the written protections are null and void; and all other protections, which ſhall be at any time hereafter given, ſhall be taken to be null and void.' But this order is not to extend to menial ſervants, nor thoſe employed neceſſarily and properly about the eſtates of peers, or any who are really their ſervants.

In this ſeſſion, the inland duty was laid on coffee, tea, and chocolate, which has been a conſiderable increaſe to the public revenue.

The affair of the army cauſed the greateſt debate in the houſe of lords. There had been the laſt year an addition of four thouſand men on account of the conſpiracy, which was now propoſed to be continued. The commons had agreed to it, and paſſed the bill; but the continuance of theſe additional troops met with great oppoſition in the houſe of lords. The two moſt remarkable ſpeeches were the lord Trevor's againſt it, and the lord Townſhend's for it. [b] It was obſerved, that the lord North and Grey, the earl of Orrery, the lord Barthurſt, and others of that party, appeared very zealous for the reduction of the army, which cauſed the duke of Argyle to ſay in his ſpeech, 'that, if he ſaw the nation unanimous in opinion, that our laws, liberties, properties, and holy religion, entirely depend on the preſent happy ſettlement, and on the proteſtant ſucceſſion in his majeſty's royal family, he would readily give his vote for reducing the army. But he was very much afraid, that ſome people ſo ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on the diſbanding of the additional troops, with no other deſign than to weaken

[b] As theſe ſpeeches contain the chief arguments on both ſides, they are here inſerted at large:

The lord Trevor ſaid, 'That, the conſpiracy mentioned in the king's ſpeech at the opening of the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, which was the occaſion of this augmentation, of the land-forces, being now happily extinguiſhed, and thereby the cauſe of raiſing that aditional number being perfectly removed there was not the leaſt reaſon or pretence for continuing that number. That the keeping on foot a greater army in time of peace, than was abſolutely neceſſary for the ſecurity of the king's perſon and government, was very dangerous to our happy conſtitution: and, conſidering the great tranquility we enjoy both at home and abroad, he could not but apprehend, the number of regular forces allowed by this bill to be much greater than was neceſſary for that end. That, if ſo great an army was allowed to be continued in our preſent happy circumſtances, a ſtanding army would thereby become an eſſential part of our conſtitution, ſince the reaſons for keeping it up in perpetuity would grow ſtronger every year, and in every ſucceeding reign. For on the one hand it cannot, with any probability, be foreſeen or expected, that in any future time there will be leſs reaſon to be given, than at preſent, for juſtifying the neceſſity of keeping up ſo great an army, there being now as little danger to our preſent happy eſtabliſhment to be feared either from inſurrections at home, or by any diſturbance or invaſions from abroad, as the nature and inſtability of human affairs will allow of. And on the other hand, if ſo numerous an army be at preſent allowed of in parliament, no argument can hereafter be urged for the reducing the number in any future reign, but what will ſeem to carry with it too great a diſtruſt of the prince then on the throne, and will be conſtrued to imply, that the ſame confidence is not to be repoſed in him, as in his predeceſſors.' His lordſhip added, 'That it was not out of any diſtruſt he entertained either of his majeſty or his miniſters, that he was for reducing part of the army. That, on the contrary, he was fully convinced, his majeſty will never make an ill uſe of his power, of which they had a ſure earneſt in the equity and moderation, with which his majeſty had governed hitherto: but, that as they could not promiſe themſelves, nor expect, that ſo good and ſo juſt a king ſhould always fill the throne, it was prudence early to prevent the inconveniences and dangers, to which our excellent conſtitution and liberties would be expoſed, in caſe, in any ſucceeding reign, an ambitious prince and ill miniſters ſhould have ſo great a number of troops at their diſpoſal. That it was notorious, that all the ſtates of Europe, that have loſt their liberties, have been inſlaved by their own armies, whoſe officers and commanders, growing every day in power, do, at laſt, turn it againſt thoſe, from whom they had at firſt their commiſſions; of which we had a fatal example in England ſtill freſh in our memories in the perſon of Oliver Cromwell. That, beſides the four thouſand additional men, the regular forces were double the number of thoſe kept on foot after the peace of Ryſwick, in the reign of king William of glorious memory; and more numerous by one-third than in the late queen's reign, after the peace of Utrecht: that therefore they are more than ſufficient to ſecure the government againſt any ſudden inteſtine commotion, which is the leſs to be apprehended, by reaſon of the general affection, which the people had lately ſhewn in taking the oaths, though many of them that took them, were not required to do it, by the act paſſed the laſt ſeſſion; and he was confident, that, except a few perſons of deſperate principles and fortunes, who might hope to fiſh in troubled waters, there was no body in England, that had any thing to loſe, who wiſhed for a revolution. That, if we looked abroad, it appeared, that by the happy influence of his majeſty's wiſe counſels, and the good alliances that had been entered into and concerted, all Europe enjoyed a profound peace, which, in all probability, would be laſting: but that, in caſe of a rupture with any neighbouring prince, our fleet, which was certainly the moſt numerous, and the beſt in all Chriſtendom, would defend us againſt any foreign invaſion or inſult. That the pay of the four thouſand additional men amounted to a good ſum of money. That indeed, at another juncture, that expence might eaſily be borne; but that in the preſent circumſtances, when the nation is involved in ſo great a debt, and groans under the load of heavy taxes, this additional charge is very conſiderable. That, his majeſty, in his gracious ſpeech at the opening of this ſeſſion of parliament, having, in a particular manner, recommended to the houſe of commons the putting the national debt in a method of being gradually reduced and paid, it was with the greateſt ſatisfaction he took notice, that ſome progreſs had already been made in that great and important undertaking; and that, in order to improve that good beginning, not only the pay of theſe additional forces, but alſo all other needleſs expences ought, in his opinion, to be applied to the increaſe of the ſinking fund.' His lordſhip concluded, as he had began, with the moſt earneſt profeſſions of his ſincere and entire affection for his majeſty's ſacred perſon and government, and for his royal family, on whoſe proſperity, under God, abſolutely depend both our preſent felicity, and the preſervation of our laws, liberties, properties, and holy religion.

The lord Townſhend anſwered the lord Trevor, and ſaid, 'That he agreed with that noble lord in ſome parts of his ſpeech, but was ſorry he differed from him in others. That he was thoroughly perſuaded of his entire affection to his majeſty's perſon, and the preſent happy ſettlement; nor did he in the leaſt doubt, but he ſaw with pleaſure the progreſs, that had been already made towards reducing the national debt: but that, at the ſame time, they ought to conſider, that, as the happy tranquility, we at preſent enjoy, is in ſome meaſure owing to the ſtrength of the government, ſo it was prudence not to weaken that ſtrength, becauſe the ſame might affect public credit, which being founded on the ſecurity of the government, if that ſecurity was rendered precarious, they would ſoon ſee the funds and ſtocs fall to or 12 per cent. which would render the reduction of the national debt altogether impracticable, ſince it was impoſſible to reduce that debt, otherwiſe than by public credit. That it was notorious, that, before the laſt augmentation of regular forces, the government could not form and march a body of three or four thouſand men againſt any ſudden attempt, either at home, or from abroad, whithout leaving the king's perſon, the royal family, the capital of the kingdom, and the fortified places expoſed; and therefore the ſaid augmentation was become abſolutely neceſſary to prevent theſe dangers and inconveniences. That the number of the troops now on foot was not ſo great as to afford any juſt ground of jealouſy, ſince the preſent forces are much inferior to thoſe the crown had formerly. That, by the ancient and Gothic conſtitution of the government, the king had at his diſpoſal the militia of the realm, which chiefly conſiſted in archers, who were kept in conſtant diſcipline and exerciſe, the memory of which is ſtill preſerved, there being almoſt in every village a place called But-lane. That the invention of fire-arms had made a great alteration in the ancient conſtitution; and, inſtead of archers, the crown raiſed as many regular troops, as were thought neceſſary upon any emergency. That queen Elizabeth, who had many enemies, both at home and abroad, conſtantly kept a conſiderable body of troops in the Netherlands, without any contradiction from her parliaments, and thereby maintained herſelf on the throne, and overcame all her enemies. That, if king Charles I. had ſteered the ſame courſe, he might in all probability have preſerved both his crown and his life, ſince he loſt both only for want of a ſufficient force to ſuppreſs faction, which was the principal ſource of all the calamities and enormities, in which the nation was afterwards involved. That upon the reſtoration of king Charles II. they, who at that time had the management of affairs, did not think it proper to keep up a great number of regular troops, and therefore choſe to reſtore to the crown its ancient power over the militia of the kingdom; but that there was a ſecret in that. That king James II. not truſting the militia, had an army of 20,000 men, which would have ſecured him the crown, had he not given a general diſguſt to his people, by violating the fundamental laws, and endeavouring to ſubvert the conſtitution in church and ſtate. That in the reign of king William, of glorious memory, when ſome leading men in the parliament thought fit to diſband the army, after the peace of Ryſwick, they fell upon a project to ſecure the government, which was to raiſe and diſcipline the militia; but that they ſoon after perceived the unprofitableneſs of that ſcheme, the militia proving a great burthen to the people, and of no ſervice to the government. That the reduction of the army had then a double ill effect; for, on the one hand, it obliged king William, and his miniſters, to enter into a treaty of partition; and, on the other hand, it very probably encouraged France to break that treaty, which occaſioned a ſecond war, and was the ſource of two-thirds of that heavy debt, under which the nation labours at this day. That the diſbanding of the army had almoſt the ſame ill effect in the reign of the late queen, having encouraged Lewis XIV. to furniſh the pretender with a land-force and a fleet to invade theſe kingdoms. That, if at preſent they weakened the hands of the government, we ſhould be expoſed to the like inſults and attempts. That, if our enemies may be credited in an affair, in which it is their intereſt to ſpeak truth, they ſeemed confidently aſſured of ſucceſs in their deſign of overturning the government, provided they had only an aſſiſtance of three or four thouſand men from abroad; and that, conſidering the method now practiſed in embarkations, how good, and how ſtrong ſoever our fleet may be, it was impoſſible to hinder a foreign prince, who ſhould have a mind to undertake it, to throw ſuch a number of men upon England.' His lordſhip concluded, 'that the conſtant tenour of his majeſty's adminiſtration, ſince the happy acceſſion to the throne, ought to convince every body, that, by the continuing the number of regular forces now on foot, his majeſty and miniſters have nothing in view but the public ſafety and ſecurity, and thereby to give the people an opportunity to improve trade, and encourage induſtry, as the only means to retrieve their former loſſes.'

ken the goverment, and thereby have an opportunity of involving their native country in new troubles. And therefore these noble lords, who had ſpoke for the reduction of the army, would do well, when they went down into their ſeveral countries, to aſſure the people, with whom, no doubt, their reaſons would not fail of having great weight, that their liberties and properties were entirely ſafe under his majeſty's government.' After a long debate, the motion againſt the additional troops was rejected, and the bill paſſed, as ſent up by the commons.

[1724] The buſineſs of the ſeſſion being over, the king came to the houſe of Peers the 24th of April, and, paſſing the bills, delivered the following ſpeech by the mouth of the chancellor:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'The unanimity, chearfulneſs, and diſpatch with which you have now finiſhed every thing I recommended to you, at the opening of this ſeſſion, are freſh inſtances of your affection to my perſon and government, and cannot fail of contributing, with the bleſſings of God on our endeavours, towards the eſtabliſhment of that happy tranquility we now enjoy both at home and abroad.

'Your continuing the like national force by ſea and land this year, as was judged neceſſary by parliament for the ſervice of the laſt, gives me great ſatisfaction. You have hereby wiſely provided againſt the miſchiefs from any ſudden ſhocks to the public credit; you have provided for the ſafety of the kingdom, and have enabled this nation to hold, among the powers of Europe, the rank and figure due to her honour and dignity. Nothing could have been more acceptable to me, than your having been able to make that proviſion, without laying any new or additional burthens on my people.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

'I return you my thanks for the care and pains you have taken towards augumenting the ſinking fund, and improving the public revenues, by putting them under a ſtricter management. I make no doubt, but that the happy beginning you have made will be attended with ſuch immediate good conſequences, as will encourage you to purſue the way you have now opened for a gradual reduction of the debt, and for putting the trade and navigation of Great-Britain on ſuch a foot, as may not only in ſome meaſure diſcourage the unjuſtifiable incroachments they labour under from ſome of our neighbours, but at the ſame time extend her exportations beyond what has been known in former ages.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'As the early receſs, which your diligence and unanimity has procured you, affords you the opportunity of a longer retirement into the country, than the buſineſs of former ſeſſions has uſually allowed of, I aſſure myſelf, that you will carry with you thither the ſame zeal for the public good, with which you have been animated in parliament; and that you will make it your buſineſs to diſcountenance any remains there may be yet left of ſedition and diſaffection, and to promote that perfect harmony and confidence between me and my people, which I moſt earneſtly deſire, and on which our mutual happineſs entirely depends.'

A little before the end of the ſeſſion, the king had appointed the duke of Newcaſtle to be ſecretary of ſtate in the room of the lord Carteret, who was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The duke of Grafton was appointed lord chamberlain, the lord Falmouth and mr. Edgecombe vice-treaſurers of Ireland, mr. Yonge commiſſioner of the treaſury, and mr. Pelham ſecretay at war. Sir Robert Raymond being made judge of the King's-bench, ſir Phillip York ſucceeded him as attorney-general. And ſir Clement Wearg was made ſollicitor-general. About the middle of May, Horatio Walpole was appointed ambaſſador extraordinary at the court of France.

On the 16th of May the king ſent the following circular letter to the univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge: 'We being greatly deſirous to favour and encourage thoſe ancient and laudable nurſeries of piety and learning, and to enable them more effectually to anſwer the end of their inſtitution, by ſending forth conſtant ſupplies of learned and able men, to ſerve the public both in church and ſtate; and having obſerved, that no encouragement or proviſion has hitherto been made in either of the univerſities, for the ſtudy of modern hiſtory, or modern languages, the knowledge of which is highly neceſſary towards compleatly qualifying the youth committed to their care for ſeveral ſtations both in church and ſtate, to which they may be called; and having ſeriouſly weighed the prejudice, that has accrued to the univerſities from this defect, perſons of foreign nations being often employed in the education and tuition of youth, both at home and in their travels, and great numbers of the young nobility and gentry being either ſent directly abroad from ſchools, or taken away from the univerſities before the courſe of their ſtudies can be there compleated, and opportunities frequently loſt to the crown, employing and encouraging members of the two univerſities, by conferring on them ſuch employments both at home and abroad as neceſſarily require a competent ſkill in writing and ſpeaking the modern languages; in order therefore to remedy theſe and the like inconveniences, we have determined to appoint two perſons of ſober converſation and prudent conduct, of the degree of maſter of arts, or batchelor of laws, or of ſome higher degree, in one of the univerſities, ſkilled in modern hiſtory, and in the knowledge of modern languages, to be nominated by us to be our profeſſors of modern hiſtory, one for the univerſity of Cambridge, and the other for that of Oxford, who ſhall be obliged to read lectures in the public ſchools, at ſuch times as ſhall hereafter be appointed. And we have further determined, that each of the profeſſors ſhall have a ſtipend of four hundred pounds per annum, and out of the ſtipend ſhall be obliged to maintain with ſufficient ſalaries, in the univerſity where he ſhall be eſtabliſhed, two perſons at leaſt, well qualified to teach and inſtruct in writing and ſpeaking the languages, which teachers ſhall be under the direction of the profeſſors reſpectively, and ſhall be obliged to learn two at leaſt of the languages; both the profeſſors and teachers taking eſpecial care, that the times and hours for the inſtructing and teaching the ſcholars be ſo ordered, as not to interfere with thoſe appointed for their accademical ſtudies; which profeſſors and teachers ſhall be obliged, once every year, to tranſmit an atteſted account of the progreſs made by each ſcholar committed to their care, to our principal ſecretaries of ſtate, to be laid before us, that we may encourage the diligence and application of ſuch amongſt them as ſhall have qualified themſelves for our ſervice, by giving them ſuitable employments either at home or abroad, as occaſion ſhall offer.'

The two firſt profeſſors were mr. Gregory, of Chriſt-church, Oxford; and mr. Samuel Harris, fellow of Peterhouſe, Cambridge.

For a farther encouragement to the univerſities, the king ordered that his almoner ſhould chuſe out of the members of Oxford and Cambridge, twenty-four preachers to officiate alternately in the chapel at Whitehall, with a ſalary of thirty pounds a year each.

The inoculation of the ſmall-pox had now begun to be practiſed in England, and ſucceeded very well with the two

'The moſt material particulars, beſides what relates to his family and circumſtances, are as follow:

By his ſtrict conjunction with the Foleys and Winningtons, his relations and their friends, he gained at laſt ſuch an extenſive intereſt, as to be choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons. When the queen thought fit to lay aſide the earl of Nottingham, principal ſecretary of ſtate, mr. Robert Harley was pitched upon to ſucceed him as her favorite and prime miniſter, ſuppoſing he would be moſt agreeable to the whigs, from his education among the diſſenters. The duke of Marlborough and the earl of Godolphin's main deſign, in advancing him, was to ſecure his intereſt in the houſe of commons, and they fondly imagined, that, as to the grand affairs, either he would not intermeddle, or would blindly follow their directions; but they ſoon after found, that a perſon of his ambitious ſpirit would not be contented to act an under part.

They who extol his liberality and munificence to learned men, are no more to be depended upon, than when they tell us, that he diſcharged the office of ſecretary to king William with great addreſs; for, as it is certain on the one hand, that he never ſerved king William in that capacity, it is no leſs true on the other hand, that the only perſon on whom he beſtowed any public mark of favour, was dr. Jonathan Swift, the famous author of the Tale of a Tub, whom he employed, with ſome other obſcure writers, to banter and ridicule all that oppoſed his meaſures. He was the reverſe of his predeceſſor in the treaſury, the earl of Godolphin, who never kept ſuitors unprofitable in ſuſpence, nor promiſed any thing that he was not reſolved to perform. The earl of Oxford, on the contrary, kept them, who had any pretenſions, in perpetual dependance, by feeding them with hopes. This maxim he practiſed in a moſt barbarous manner with mr. Rowe, author of the tragedy of Tamerlane; the ſtory is too well known to be repeated. They who commend him for being a kind friend, and generous enemy, have forgot with what an unrelenting fury he purſued his benefactor, the immortal duke of Marlborough, and mr. Stephens, the miniſter, whom he cauſed to be proſecuted to the pillory, and that ignominious puniſhment was not remitted, till he was brought to the place of execution. His prodigious riſe and greatneſs was more owing to his cunning in finding out the weakneſſes of thoſe he had to deal with, than to his own bright parts. For he neither was maſter of eloquence in ſpeech, nor of ſtile in writing, but in both puzzled and intricate: his conſtant deſign being to diſcover other people's thoughts, and conceal his own. But he had at laſt the fate, which all ambidexters deſerve, to be diſtruſted and diſregarded by all parties; of which he was ſo ſenſible, that, for ſeveral years before his death, he ſeldom came to parliament, but lived in a country retirement, endeavouring to drown his melancholy thoughts in wine, which at laſt dozed his ſpirits, and certainly abridged his life.

princeſſes, Amelia and Carolina, and had the ſame good effect on prince Frederick, the duke of Bedford, and the lady Mary Ruſſel, his ſiſter. But others are ſaid to ſuffer under it, particularly the earl of Sunderland's ſon, who died in the operation, upon which dr. Jurin, ſecretary to the royal ſociety, publiſhed a treatiſe in favour of inoculating.

The 21ſt of May died Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, and earl Mortimer, whoſe life and character is given at large, by the author of the Political State[c], (May 1724.)

On the 15th of June died dr. Henry Sacheverel. Though he had taken the oaths to the government, his will ſhewed he perſevered to the end in the ſame ſentiments; for, amongſt his legacies, he left five hundred pounds to the late biſhop of Rocheſter. It does not appear, that he was any way concerned in the plot.

As to foreign affairs, one of the moſt remarkable events this year, was the abdication of Philip V. king of Spain. Having taken the reſolution to renounce his crown, and retire with the queen to the monaſtery of St. Ildefonſo, he ſent from thence, the 15th of January 1723-24, the marquis de Grimaldo, principal ſecretary of ſtate, with a packet for the prince of Auſtrias, his ſon, who the day before returned from St. Ildefonſo to the eſcurial. The marquis being arrived there, and having acquainted the prince with his meſſage, his highneſs ſent for the infantes to come to his apartment; and alſo ordered the count de Altamaria, the marquis de Valero, the duke de San Pedro, the count de Salazar, the marquis de Magney, the count de Safeteli, and the prior of San Lorenzo, to attend there, and be witneſſes of what ſhould paſs; who being all preſent, the marquis delivered the packet to the prince of Aſturias, who returned it to him opened, that he might read what was in it, which was the inſtrument of his father's renunciation of the crown, accompanied with a letter of advice to direct the new king's conduct. The renunciation was alſo ſent to the preſident of the council of Caſtile, and ordered to be publiſhed throughout the kingdom.[d] Upon this it was reſolved in the council of Caſtile, that king Lewis might immediately take the government upon him without aſſembling the Cortes, as having been already ſworn to and acknowledged prince of Spain. The penſion which their catholic majeſties reſerved to themſelves, was about 100,000 piſtoles, and they likewiſe reſerved about 25,000 for each of the infantes.

The king of France, at the perſuaſion of the biſhop of Frejus, and contrary to the ſentiments of the duke of Bourbon, publiſhed a ſevere edict this year againſt his proteſtant ſubjects: whoever performed any exerciſe of the reformed religion, if a man, was to be ſent to the gallies; if a woman, to be ſhaved and confined where the judges thought fit: the proteſtant preachers to be put to death; and thoſe who had any communication directly or indirectly with ſuch miniſters, condemned to the gallies: to give their children foreign education, to be puniſhed with a fine of 6000 livres: the memory of thoſe who died in the profeſſion of the proteſtant religion, to be proſecuted: all concealed proteſtants, who diſſuaded ſic perſons from dying catholics, to be ſent to the gallies, if men, and if women, as before: to conſent that children ſhould marry abroad without licence, to be puniſhed with the gallies; and baptiſm and ſchooling were forbidden to proteſtants, under the like pains and penalties. To put a ſtop to theſe ſeverities, mr. Horace Walpole had orders to ſollicit the French court in behalf of the proteſtants; but he could obtain no other anſwer, than that the king's edicts muſt be obeyed.

However, the court of France declared, that the edict againſt the proteſtants ſhould not affect the inhabitants of Alſatia, their religious rights being founded on treaties of peace. This was done to prevent the Alſatians, terrified with this edict, from putting themſelves under the protection of Germany.

The proteſtants at Thorn, in royal Pruſſia, belonging to Poland, were likewiſe treated with great cruelty, on account of a pretended riot in July, which was really begun by a ſtudent of the Jeſuits College, and for which the preſident and vice-preſident of that city, with thirteen others, were condemned to be beheaded, and others quartered and burnt, and the proteſtant councellors at Thorn to be removed from the magiſtracy, and papiſts put in their places; and the church of St. Mary to be taken from the proteſtants, and given to the Franciſcan friars. Mr Finch, the Britiſh miniſter at Dreſden, had orders to go to Poland, and inſiſt upon ſatisfaction for the proteſtants of Thorn, and other places in that kingdom, oppreſſed by the papiſts; but the Poles could not be prevailed upon to do the proteſtants juſtice. [e]

A ſet of enthuſiaſtical levellers roſe in the weſt of Scotland, who, under pretence of eſtabliſhing equality among chriſtians, pulled down incloſures, and committed great ravages and depredations. But the royal regiment of Scots fuzileers being ordered to march againſt them, about the latter end of June, and three other regiments of foot landing at Galloway at the ſame time, they ſoon ſuppreſſed thoſe diſorders.

The parliament met again the 12th of November, when his majeſty made the following ſpeech by the mouth of the lord-chancellor.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am perſuaded you ſhare with me in the ſatisfaction I feel at the proſperous ſituation of affairs: peace with all powers abroad; at home perfect tranquility, plenty, and uninterrupted enjoyment of all civil and religious rights, are moſt diſtinguiſhing marks of the favour and protection of the divine providence: and theſe, with all their happy conſequences, will, I doubt not, by the bleſſing of God upon our joint endeavours, be long continued to my people.

'The ſame proviſion by ſea and land, for the defence and ſafety of the nation, will continue to make us reſpected abroad, and conſequently ſecure at home. The ſame attention to the improvement of the public revenues, and to the eaſe and encouragement of trade and navigation, will

[d] The renunciation was as follows:

Having theſe four years conſidered with due reflection, and maturely, the miſeries of this life, through the infirmities, wars, and troubles, with which God has been pleaſed to viſit me during the twenty-three years of my reign; and having likewiſe conſidered, that my eldeſt ſon, don Lewis, ſworn prince of Spain, is of ſufficient age, is married, and has capacity, judgment, and the qualities fit for ruling and governing juſtly and happily this Monarchy; I have determined abſolutely to quit the poſſeſſion and adminiſtration of it, renoun cing the ſame, with all its dominions, kingdoms, and lordſhips, in favour of the ſaid prince don Lewis, my eldeſt ſon; and to retire with the queen, in whom I have found a ready diſpoſition and voluntary inclination, to accompany me to this place and ſeat of St. Ildefonſo, here to ſerve God, diſengaged from all other cares to meditate on death, and to ſeek my ſalvation. This I communicate to the council for their information, to be notified to the proper perſons, that my reſolution may be made known to all.

His letter to his ſon was remarkable neither for ſtile nor ſentiments: amongſt his inſtructions, he ſays: 'preſerve ever a great devotion to the moſt Holy Virgin, and put yourſelf, as well as your kingdoms, under her protection, ſeeing you cannot, by any other means, better obtain what may be needful for you, and for them. Be always, as you ought, obedient to the holy ſee, and to the pope, as the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt. Protect and defend ever the tribunal of the holy inquiſition, which may be called the bulwark of the faith, and to which it owes its preſervation in all its purity in the dominions of Spain; ſo that the hereſies which have afflicted the other parts of Chriſtendom, and produced ſuch horrid and deplorable ravages in them, could never be able to get footing here.'

[e] The affair of Thorn was thus: on the 16th of July, the ordinary proceſſion at Thorn being arrived at St. James's Church-yard, a great number of the citizens children reſorted thither to ſee it, with their hats under their arms, according to cuſtom; but a ſtudent of the Jeſuits college, not ſatisfied with that mark of civility and reſpect, would needs have them kneel down, and gave them bad language and blows. About two hours after the proceſſion was over, this ſame ſtudent, with ſome of his comrades, inſulted ſeveral young people, without the leaſt provocation on their part; but, in the end, this troubleſome young fellow was ſeized by the ſoldiers of the garriſon, and brought to the guard, after he had wounded ſeveral citizens with ſtones. Next day the Jeſuits ſtudents got together again, and meeting one of the citizens, whom they had abuſed the day before, they would oblige him to get their comrade ſet at liberty; but the citizen had the good fortune to get out of their hands, and ran to his own houſe for ſafety, whither they purſued him ſword in hand. In the mean time the preſident of the city had given order for ſetting him at liberty, at the the requeſt of the rector of the Jeſuits college; but another ſtudent being likewiſe carried to the guard-room, his comrades would oblige the preſident to ſet him at liberty alſo, which he refuſed to do, till he had ſpoke to the rector. Upon this the Jeſuits ſtudents ran furiouſly to the guard-room to reſcue their comrade, but, being repulſed, they thought to revenge themſelves upon a townſman, whom they purſued with drawn ſwords to the Burgrave's houſe, where he took ſhelter. They then attacked a Lutheran ſtudent, who was in his night-gown at the door of his lodgings. They dragged him by the hair as far as their own college, threw him into the canal, and beat him unmercifully; which being done, they ſallied again into the city, and wounded ſeveral people with their ſabres, who were coming to the aſſiſtance of the Lutheran ſtudent. But the preſident having ſent thither the town-guard, they were obliged to betake themſelves to their college, where they kept the Lutheran ſtudent, till the Jeſuit ſtudent was firſt ſet at liberty. While this exchange was making, ſome of the trained-bands of the town were ordered to poſt themſelves before the Jeſuits college, to protect them from the enraged populace. But the ſtudents throwing ſtones at them, and firing upon them, it was not poſſible to reſtrain the people, who forced open the gate, and were doing what they could to revenge the cruelty of the Jeſuits ſtudents, when, in that very inſtant, the town-clerk, who had got the Lutheran releaſed, came and obliged them to retire. The riot was then thought to be over, but the guards that were poſted before the college were ſcarce marched off, when the Jeſuits ſtudents from within fired again, and threw ſtones at the people, who again forced open the gate, plundered the college, and committed great diſorders, till a detachment of the garriſon and trained-bands came to the Jeſuits aſſiſtance, and diſperſed the people.

The bloody decree (notwithſtanding the interpoſition of ſeveral proteſtant princes and ſtates) was put in execution, only the vice-preſident was reprieved. As many were exorbitantly fined, with the money riſing from thence, a ſtone pillar with the Virgin Mary's ſtatue was erected where her picture was burnt.

eſtabliſh credit upon the ſtrongeſt baſis, and raiſe ſuch a ſpirit of induſtry, as will not only enable us gradually to diſcharge the national debt, but will likewiſe greatly increaſe the wealth, power, and influence, of this kingdom.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

'I have ordered the proper officers to prepare and lay before you eſtimates of the expences for the ſervice of the enſuing year; and, as they do not exceed what has been found by experience to be abſolutely neceſſary for the ſecurity of the kingdom. I make no queſtion, but I ſhall have your ready concurrence in raiſing the ſupplies in ſuch manner, as ſhall be moſt eaſy to my people.

'There is one thing, that I cannot but mention to you, as deſerving your particular conſideration. It is too manifeſt, that the funds eſtabliſhed for the finiſhing the works at Greenwich hoſpital, and providing for a competent number of ſeamen there, cannot, in time of peace, be ſufficient to anſwer the expences of this great and neceſſary work. It is therefore very much to be wiſhed, that ſome method could be found out to make a farther proviſion for a comfortable ſupport to our ſeamen, worn out in the ſervice of their country, and labouring under old age and infirmities.

My Lords and Gentleman,

'You muſt all be ſenſible how much our preſent happineſs is owing to your union and ſteady conduct. It is therefore wholly unneceſſary to recommend to you unanimity and diſpatch in all your deliberations. The zeal and abilities you have on all occaſions ſhewn in ſupporting the intereſt of your country, even under the greateſt difficulties, leave me no room to doubt of my having your entire effectual concurrence in every thing, that can tend to the ſervice of the public, and to the good of my people.'

After the addreſſes of thanks from both houſes, the commons proceeded upon the ſupplies for the next year. This brought on a debate about the land-forces, particularly the additional four thouſand men; but at length it was voted, that the number ſhould be as the laſt year 18,264 effective men, and the ſum of 654,488l. 17s. 8d. was granted for their maintenance. For raiſing this and the other ſupplies, two ſhillings in the pound on land and the malt-tax were voted.

Great part of this ſeſſion was taken up in the trial of the earl of Macclesfield, and the repeal of the late lord Bolingbroke's attainder. There had been for ſome time a murmuring againſt the inſufficiency of the maſters in chancery to anſwer the great ſums lodged in their hands by the ſuitors in that court; and it was ſuſpected, that the large ſums, which they paid for admiſſion into their places, made their way more eaſy than it ought to have been, and very much leſſened the enquiry into their qualifications. This abuſe had indeed been long growing up to this degree; and there was ſcarce any thing bought and ſold more freely and openly than a maſter in chancery's place. The ſuitors money, for which the maſters paid no intereſt, brought them in great intereſt from the funds; and the profits of the place being conſequently doubled or trebled to what they had been before, there was ſuch an opportunity to inrich themſelves by the advantages they made of the money they had in their hands, that it is not ſurprizing, the lord-keepers and lord-chancellor doubled and trebled the prices, which the maſters were to pay for admittance. But the complaints againſt this practice growing ſtrong and public, and the lord-chancellor Macclesfield finding it impracticable for him to put a ſtop to thoſe complaints, or keep the great ſeal under them, he reſigned it the beginning of January, 1724-25; and it was committed to the cuſtody of ſir Joſeph Jekyll maſter of the rolls, ſir Jeffery Gilbert, and ſir Robert Raymond, who having in council taken the oath as lords-commiſſioners of the great ſeal, the king ſaid to them as follows:

'I have had ſuch experience of of your integrity and ability that it is with pleaſure I now put the great ſeal into your hands. You are fully informed of the ſtate of the accounts of the maſters in chancery. I earneſtly recommmed to you the taking effectual care, that entire ſatisfaction be made to the ſuitors of the court; and that they be not expoſed to any dangers for the future; and I have ſuch confidence in the faithful diſcharge of the truſt I now repoſe in you, that I am perſuaded you will look narrowly to the behaviour of all the officers under your juriſdiction, and will ſee that they act with the ſtricteſt regard to juſtice, and to the eaſe of my ſubjects.'

[1724-25] On the 9th of Feburary, mr. comptroller delivered the following meſſage to the houſe of commons:

George R.

'His majeſty having reaſon to apprehend, that the ſuitors of the court of Chancery were in danger of looſing a conſiderable ſum of money from the inſufficiency of ſome of the maſters, thought himſelf obliged, in juſtice and compaſſion to the ſaid ſuitors, to take the moſt ſpeedy and proper method the law would allow, for enquiring into the ſtate of the maſters accounts, and ſecuring their effects for the benefit of the ſuitors: and his majeſty having had ſeveral reports laid before him in purſuance of the directions he had given, has ordered the reports to be communicated to the houſe, that they may have as full and as perfect a view of the important affair, as the ſhortneſs of the time, and the circumſtances and nature of the proceedings, would admit of.'

Theſe reports, and the papers referred to in them, being taken into conſideration by the commons, ſir George Oxenden roſe up, and ſaid, 'that it manifeſtly appeared by theſe reports, which after the ſtricteſt enquiry, and upon the matureſt deliberation, had been drawn up by perſons of the greateſt weight and authority for their abilities, experience, high ſtations, and integrity, that enormous abuſes had crept into the High-Court of Chancery, chiefly occaſioned by the magiſtrate, who was at the head of that court, and whoſe duty conſequently it was to prevent the ſame. That the crimes and miſdemeanors of the late lord-chancellor were many, and of various natures, but might be reduced to theſe three heads: 1. That he had taken into his own hands the eſtates and effects of many widows, orphans, and lunatics, and either had diſpoſed of part of them arbitrarily to his own profit, or connived at the officers under him, making advantage of the ſame. 2. That he had raiſed to an exorbitant price the offices and places of the maſters in chancery, and in order to enable them to pay to him thoſe high prices and gratuites for their admiſſion, had truſted in their hands large ſums of money belonging to ſuitors in chancery. 3. That in ſeveral caſes he had made divers irregular orders. So that, in his opinion, that firſt magiſtrate in the kingdom was fallen from the height of the dignities and honours, to which he had been raiſed by the king's royal bounty and favour, to the depth of infamy and diſgrace. And therefore he moved, that Thomas earl of Macclesfield be impeached of high crimes and miſdemeanors.' This motion was ſeconded by mr. Srickland, and ſupported by mr. Doddington, one of the lords of the treaſury, who failed not to aggravate the earl's miſdemeanors, which, they ſaid were of the greateſt and moſt dangerous conſequence, ſince moſt of the eſtates in England, once in thirty years, paſs through the court of Chancery. Mr Pulteney, who ſpoke next, ſaid, 'that it was far from his thoughts to endeavour to abate the juſt reſentment, which the gentlemen, who ſpoke laſt, ſhewed againſt the great abuſes that had been committed in the court of Chancery: but that in his opinion, they went a little too faſt in ſo weighty and important an affair, by which means they might looſe the very end they aimed at, the effectual puniſhing the perſon, by whoſe neglect at leaſt thoſe abuſes had been committed. That whatever deferrence they ought to pay, on this occaſion, to the capacity, experience, integrity and authority of the perſons, who had drawn up the reports that had been laid before them; yet it little became the dignity, and was even derogatary to the prerogative of that houſe, which is the grand inqueſt of the nation, to found an impeachment upon thoſe reports, without a previous enquiry and examination into the proofs that were to ſupport it. And therefore he moved, that this affair might be referred to the conſideration of a ſelect committee.' Sir William Wynham urged, 'that, by proceeding by way of impeachment upon reports laid before them from above, the commons would make a dangerous precedent, and ſeem to give up the moſt valuable of their privileges, the inqueſt after ſtate-criminals.' Theſe reaſons had great weight with ſeveral members, particularly on ſir Wilfred Lawſon and ſir Thomas Pengelly, who ſupported mr. Pulteney's motion. But mr. Yonge and and ſir Clement Wearg having anſwered thoſe objections, the queſtion was put, and it was carried by a majority of 273 againſt 164, that Thomas earl of Macclesfield ſhould be impeached of high crimes and miſdemeanors; and ſir George Oxenden was ordered to go up to the lords, and at their bar to impeach him in the name of the houſe of commons. This being done, a committee was appointed to draw up the articles. Then a bill was ordered to be brought in, to indemnify the maſters in chancery from the penalties of the act of the 5th and 6th years of king Edward the ſixth

(againſt buying and ſelling of offices) upon their diſcovering what conſideration, price, or gratuity they paid, or agreed to pay, for the purchaſe of, or for their admiſſion to their reſpective offices; which bill paſſed both houſes, and had the royal aſſent.

The earl of Macclefield's trial laſted twenty days. The eight firſt articles againſt him were, for taking large ſums of the maſters in Chancery for admiſſion or purchaſe. By the other articles, he was accuſed of admitting perſons of ſmall ſubſtance, and of ſuffering an unjuſt and fraudulent practice to continue, of paying for their places out of the ſuitors money, by means of which great deficiencies happened: of neglecting to ſecure Fleetwood Dormer's perſon or effects, who by diſpoſing ſuitors money to his own uſe, had cauſed a deficiency of 24,000l. of neglecting to prevent the like abuſes for the future, by not taking ſecurity upon admiſſion: of borrowing money of the maſters out of the ſuitors caſh, and making uſe of the ſame ſo long as he pleaſed. Upon theſe and other accounts, ſentence was paſſed upon him by the mouth of ſir Peter King, ſpeaker of the houſe of lords: that he ſhould be fined 30,000l. and impriſoned in the Tower till the ſum was paid.

After the trial, it was moved that the earl ſhould be for ever rendered uncapable of any office in the ſtate; but the motion was rejected, as well as another for his not ſitting in parliament, or coming within the verge of the court. The earl was carried to the Tower, and confined in the ſame apartment as was formerly the earl of Oxford's; and three days after, the king in council ordered his name to be ſtruc out of the liſt of privy-counſellors. The earl paid his fine about ſix weeks after, and was diſcharged from his confinement. Sir Peter King, being created baron of Oakham, in Surry, ſucceeded him in the chancellorſhip.[f]

The debts of the civil liſt being increaſed to above 500,000l. the king, on the 8th of April, ſent by mr. Walpole the following meſſage to the commons:

'The neceſſities of his majeſty's government having rendered it impracticable for his majeſty to make any conſiderable retrenchments in the expences of his civil liſt; and having engaged his majeſty in ſome extraordinary expences, which he is perſuaded his royal commons will believe have been employed, not only for the honour and dignity of the crown, but for the intereſt and proſperity of his people, his majeſty hopes, from the known zeal and affection of his parliament to his perſon and government, that he may be enabled to make uſe of the funds, lately ſettled for the payment of the civil liſt annuities, and for replacing the ſame to his majeſty in the moſt advantageous manner, and upon the credit thereof, to raiſe a ſum of money ſufficient to redeem thoſe annuities, and to diſcharge the preſent debts contracted in his civil government.' Mr Pulteney, cofferer of the houſehold, who about this time began to be diſſatisfied, moved for an addreſs, that an account ſhould be laid before the houſe of all monies paid for ſecret ſervice, penſions, bounties, &c. from the 25th of March, 1721, to the 25th of March, 1725. This addreſs being voted, a motion was made for the houſe to go into a grand committee, to conſider of the king's meſſage; but mr. Pulteney repreſented, 'that, the houſe having ordered an addreſs for ſeveral papers relating to the civil liſts and other expences, they ought, in his opinion, to put off the conſideration of the meſſage, till thoſe papers were laid before the houſe; it being natural to enquire into the cauſes of a diſeaſe before any one applies remedies to it.' This being oppoſed by mr. Walpole, mr. Pulteney replied, 'that he wondered how ſo great a debt could be contracted in three years time, but was not ſurprized ſome perſons were ſo eager to have the deficiencies of the civil liſt made good, ſince they and their friends had ſo great a ſhare in it; and deſired to know, whether this was all that was due, or whether they were to expect another reckoning?' To this it was anſwered in general, 'that there was indeed a heavy debt on the civil liſt, and a great many penſions; but that moſt of theſe had been granted in king William and queen Anne's reigns, ſome by king Charles the ſecond, and very few by his preſent majeſty. That, ſince the civil liſt was firſt ſettled for his majeſty, an expence of above 90,000l. per annum had happened, which could not then be foreſeen, and therefore was left unprovided for. That, upon examination of the account of the civil liſt debts, it would appear, the moſt of thoſe expences were either for the neceſſary ſupport of the dignity of the crown and government, or for the public good. That there was indeed a penſion of 5,000l. of another nature, upon the account of the cofferer's place, but which could not well be avoided; for both lord Godolphin, who was in that office, and his father, had ſo well deſerved it of the government, that they could not handſomely remove him without a gratuity, and therefore they gave him a penſion of 5,000l. to make room for the worthy gentleman, who now enjoys the poſt.' Then the commons in a grand committee, took the meſſage into conſideration, and a motion was made, 'that, for the redeeming the annuities of 25,000l. per annum charged on the civil liſt revenues by an act of parliament of the 7th year of his majeſty, and for diſcharging the debts and arrears due from his majeſty to his ſervants, tradeſmen, and others, his majeſty be enabled to raiſe any ſum not exceeding one million, by Exchequer bills, loans, or otherwiſe, on the credit of the deductions of ſix-pence per pound, directed by that act, and of the civil liſt revenues, at an intereſt not exceeding 3l. per cent. till repayment of the principal.' This motion, after ſome farther debate, being carried by a majority of 239 againſt 119, a bill paſſed for that purpoſe, and received the royal aſſent the 20th of April.

The ſame day a petition was preſented to the houſe of commons in behalf of Henry St. John, late viſcount Bolingbroke, attainted for high-treaſon. The purport of the petition was to ſuſpend the execution of the law, with reſpect to his forfeitures, as a pardon ſuſpended it, with reſpect to his life. After the petition had been offered to the houſe by the lord Finch, mr. Walpole acquainted the houſe, that he had received his majeſty's commands to inform them, that the petitioner had ſeven years ſince made his humble application and ſubmiſſion to the king, with aſſurances of duty, allegiance, and fidelity, which his majeſty ſo far accepted, as to give him encouragement to hope for ſome future marks of his grace and goodneſs; and that his majeſty is ſatisfied, that the petitioner's behaviour has been ſuch, as convinces him, that he is an object of his mercy; and his majeſty conſents, that this petition be preſented to this houſe. Then the petition was read, ſetting forth, that the petitioner is truly concerned for his offence, in not having ſurrendered himſelf, purſuant to the act (whereby the petitioner was attainted of high-treaſon, and forfeited all his real and perſonal eſtate) and by reaſon thereof, hath ſuffered very great loſſes. That upon the petitioner's marriage in 1700, ſir Walter St. John, bart. and the right honourable the lord viſcount St. John (the petitioner's grandfather and father) together with the petitioner, made a ſettlement of the family-eſtates in the counties of Wilts, Surry and Middleſex, all which premiſes (except a very ſmall part thereof) are now in the poſſeſſion of the petitioner's father, and the petitioner cannot become intitled thereto for his life, until after his father's deceaſe: that the petitioner hath, in a moſt humble and dutiful manner, made his ſubmiſſion to his majeſty, and given him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his inviolable fidelity, and of his zeal for his ſervice, and for the ſupport of the preſent happy eſtabliſhment, which his majeſty hath been moſt graciouſly pleaſed to accept; and praying, that leave may be given to bring in a bill for enabling the petitioner, and the heirs-male of his body (notwithſtanding his attainder) to take and enjoy the ſettled eſtate, according to the limitations of the ſettlement, or other aſſurances therein mentioned, and for enabling the petitioner to hold and enjoy any perſonal eſtate or effects, whereof he now is, or hereafter ſhall be poſſeſſed, and to inveſt the ſame in the purchaſe of any real or perſonal eſtate within this kingdom. After the reading of this petition, the lord Finch moved for a bill, which was ſeconded by mr. Walpole, who having repeated part of what he had before laid before the houſe by the king's command, added, 'he was fully ſatisfied, that the petitioner had ſufficiently attoned for his paſt offences, and therefore deſerved the favour of that houſe, ſo far as to enable him to enjoy the family inheritance, that was ſettled upon him; which, according to the opinion of the beſt of lawyers, he could not do by virtue of his majeſty's pardon, without an act of parliament.' This was confirmed by the attorney and ſollicitor-general. But after a ſhort diſpute among the lawyers about the validity of ſuch a pardon in the pre-

[f] This great lawyer was deſigned by his father to follow his own trade, that of a ſalter, or grocer, in the city of Exeter; and did actually ſerve ſeveral years, as (or in the nature of) an apprentice to it; but his genius to learning, breaking through the diſadvantages of education, diſcovered itſelf in two or three very learned treatiſes, of the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, of the creed, and primitive chriſtianity, which he wrote even while he was breeding up in the trade of his father; who, being related to the famous philoſopher mr. Locke, did, doubtleſs, by the advice of that great man, enter his ſon in the Temple, where he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſtudy and practice of the law. His father was a native of Glaſtonbury in Somerſetſhire; and when the charter of that ancient corporation was revived, in the year 1705, ſir Peter King was appointed their recorder by it, and continued ſo to his death.

ſent caſe, mr. Methuen, comptroller of the houſehold, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed to the lord Finch's motion, and ſaid, 'that, as he had the honour to be one of the king's immediate ſervants, it might perhaps, by ſome, be thought unbecoming his ſtation to appear againſt a petition, to the preſenting of which his majeſty, in his royal clemency and goodneſs, hath graciouſly been pleaſed to give his conſent. But that, being at liberty to follow the dictates of his conſcience in this matter, he would freely declare his opinion, that the public crimes, for which the petitioner ſtood attainted, were ſo henious, ſo flagrant, and of ſo deep a dye, as not to admit of any expiation or atonement; and whatever he might have done to deſerve his majeſty's private grace and pardon, yet he thought him altogether unworthy of any national favour.' Then he went through the late lord Bolingbroke's conduct, while he had a ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs in queen Anne's reign: 'how he was the principal adviſer of, and actor in the wicked meaſures, that were then purſued; his clandeſtine negotiation of peace, without the privity of the queen's allies, contrary to the expreſs tenor of the grand alliance; his inſolent behaviour towards all the confederates in general, and the Dutch in particular; his ſacrificing the intereſt of the whole confederacy, and the honour of his own country, particularly in the baſe abandoning of the poor and brave Catalans; a tranſaction, with which he had an opportunity to be intimately acquainted, as having had the honour, at that juncture, to ſerve the nation as the queen's miniſter in Portugal: and, to ſum up all his crimes in one, his traiterous deſign of defeating the proteſtant ſucceſſion, the foundation of both our preſent and future happineſs; and of advancing a popiſh pretender to the throne, which would have involved his native country in endleſs miſery.' Though this ſpeech made a great impreſſion on the aſſembly, and ſeveral other eminent members ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe, particularly mr. Onſlow and lord William Pawlet, the motion for a bill was carried by 231 againſt 113. When the bill was brought in, it was moved, that a clauſe ſhould be inſerted, to diſable him to ſit in parliament, or enjoy any place under the king; but, upon mr. Walpole's oppoſing it, the clauſe was rejected, and the bill paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent.

The moſt material acts paſſed this ſeſſion, beſides what have been mentioned, were theſe: An act for diſarming the Highlands, and ſecuring the peace of Scotland. A proteſt was entered againſt this act in the houſe of lords, alledging, that the diſorders in the preamble were not proved: too great power was given to the lord-lieutenants and juſtices of the peace, and that the behaviour of the Highlanders had of late been inoffenſive.

Another act paſſed for regulating elections within the city of London, and for preſerving the peace, good order, and government of the city. This law, which is now the rule for all elections in the city, raiſed ſo great a ferment in London, that a printed ſummons was diſperſed, inviting the citizens to aſſemble at Guildhall to conſider of it. This attempt being reſented by the lord-mayor and aldermen, the gates of Guildhall were ordered to be ſhut, and the government was acquainted with what had paſſed. Upon this the guards were doubled at St. James's, Leiceſter-houſe, and Somerſet-houſe, and ſuch precautions taken as kept all things quiet. This ſpirit was ſuppoſed to have been raiſed by that majority of the common-council, who had voted thanks to mr. Francis Child and mr. John Barnard, for ſtrenuouſly oppoſing the bill. By a clauſe of this act, the right of elections of aldermen and common-councilmen belongs to freemen, being houſeholders, paying ſcot and lot to the amount of 30s. provided they had been in houſes of 10l. a year, twelve calender months. This and ſome other particulars, occaſioned a petition from the freemen of London againſt the bill, whilſt it was depending.

A motion was made in the houſe of commons for inſerting a clauſe in a bill about the 50 new churches, to diſable bodies corporate to purchaſe advowſons or other eccleſiaſtical preferments. This motion made by mr. Arthur Onſlow was chiefly intended to reſtrain the univerſities from purchaſing advowſons, but it was rejected.

Thomas Guy, formerly a bookſeller in London, and afterwards member of parliament for Tamworth, dying in the 80th year of his age, left a benefaction of 200,000l. to an hoſpital for incurables erected by himſelf, and near finiſhed in his life-time, beſides many other charities. In order to the better management and diſpoſition of his charities, an act paſſed the 24th of March, for incorporating the executors of the laſt will and teſtament of mr. Thomas Guy.

Two acts likewiſe paſſed to diſſolve the marriages of William Yonge with Mary Heathcote, and of Francis Anneſly with Elizabeth Sutton.

The princeſs of Wales was delivered on the 5th of December of a princeſs at Leiceſter-houſe, who was afterwards chriſtened by the name of Louiſa, and is now married to the prince of Denmark.

The king put an end to the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I am come to put an end to this ſeſſion of parliament, which, though it has been extended to an unexpected length, has been ſo well employed for the ſervice and intereſt of the public, that I aſſure myſelf it will be to the general ſatisfaction of the nation.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

'The prudent uſe you have made of the preſent flouriſhing ſtate of credit, by a certain reduction of more than three millions ſeven hundred thouſand pounds to an intereſt of four per cent. and by a wiſe proviſion for the redemption thereof by parliament, without further notice, on payment of ſuch ſums, as the circumſtances of the government will from time to time admit, has ſecured a conſiderable addition to the ſinking fund, not ſubject to the hazard of future events. [g]

'You have not only raiſed the ſupply for the ſervice of the current year at the loweſt rate of intereſt, that has been ever known, but, without laying any new burden on my people, you have enabled me to diſcharge the debts of my civil government; debts contracted by neceſſary and unavoidable expences, and in ſupport of ſuch meaſures of government, as have greatly encreaſed the happineſs of my people. You have thereby ſhewn your juſt regard to my honour, and dignity of the crown.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'As all our public bleſſings are the happy effects of the general tranquility we now enjoy, I cannot but expreſs my ſatisfaction in the proviſion you have made for ſuppreſſing and preventing diſturbances and commotions in thoſe parts, where the peace of the kingdom might have been moſt indangered.

'Nothing more remains neceſſary, than to tell you, that I intirely depend on the faithful diſcharge of your duties in your ſeveral ſtations, and on your conſtant care, in your reſpective countries, to preſerve the peace and quiet of the public. But I know not how to part you without firſt returning you my very hearty thanks for the many repeated inſtances you have, in this ſeſſion, given me of your duty and affection. All ſuch returns may be expected from me, as can be made by the moſt indulgent prince to an affectionate and loyal people.'

Preſently after the end of the ſeſſion, the king revived the order of knights of the Bath, of whom prince William was the firſt, and the duke of Montague was appointed grand-maſter, among the knights were ſir Robert Walpole, and his ſon the lord Walpole. The whole number was 38, including the ſovereign. Several promotions were likewiſe made. Mr Methuen was appointed treaſurer of the houſehold, and the earl of Lincoln, cofferer in the room of mr. Pulteney. William Bateman was created baron of Calmore, in Ireland, and viſcount Bateman. Soon after ſir Robert Walpole was made knight of the garter. [h]

[g] And act paſſed this ſeſſion, for continuing to the bank the ſeveral annuities of 80,754l. 7s. 10½d. and of 100,000l. until Midſummer, 1727, and from thence for reducing the ſame to 71,000l. 2s. 3¾d. and 80,000l. redeemable by parliament (that is, from 5l. per cent. to 4l. per cent.)

[h] Lords of the Treaſury.
Sir Robert Walpole,
Sir Charles Turner,
Sir William Yonge,
George Doddington, eſq.
Sir William Strickland.

Lords of the Admiralty.

James earl of Berkeley
Sir John Jennings,
John Cockburn, eſq.
William Chetwynd, eſq.
Sir John Norris,
Sir Charles Wager,
Sir George Oxenden.

The king having ſettled his affairs in England, and appointed the lords-juſtices, ſet out for Hanover the 3d June, and arrived the 14th at Herenhauſen.

The Scots, ever ſince the union, had very unwillingly paid any of the taxes that had been laid on the united kingdom; and had behaved on all ſuch occaſions, as if they thought themſelves injured, when they were obliged to contribute any thing towards the public expence. The enemies to the government failed not to feed this ill humour, and, under colour of zeal for the old conſtitution, to ſet the people againſt that, which was now eſtabliſhed. The malt-tax was moſt clamoured againſt; and it was foreſeen, that it would not be collected without peril to the officers. At Edinburgh indeed, the exciſemen were ſuffered to take an account of the maltſter's ſtoc in hand; but thoſe at Glaſgow were obliged to apply to the commiſſioners of the exciſe at Edinburgh for protection and aſſiſtance, their lives being threatened, if they offered to viſit the malt-houſes. The commiſſioners applied to major-general Wade, commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, who, on the 23d of June, ſent captain Buſhel, with two companies of ſoldiers to Glaſgow, where they arrived the next day in the evening. At their entrance into the town, they found a great mob of men, women, and boys, who gave them abuſive language, and threw ſtones at them, as they marched along the ſtreets, crying aloud, No malt-tax! The officer deſired them to forbear, for he meant them no harm. The provoſt gave him billets for quartering his men, but told him, he could not put him in poſſeſſion of the guard-room, becauſe the rabble had locked it up, and carried away the key, as ſoon as they heard the ſoldiers were coming. The officer, unwilling to exaſperate them, by forcing open the door, ordered the guard to be kept in a public houſe, which they hired for that purpoſe. About eleven o'clock, that night, ſeveral thouſand of the mob got together about the houſe of mr. Daniel Campbel, repreſentative in parliament for Glaſgow, threatning to plunder it. Upon which captain Buſhel ſent an officer to the provoſt, letting him know the miſchief they deſigned to commit; and that he was ready with his men to aſſiſt him in preventing it. But his anſwer was, 'he thought the number of his ſoldiers too few, and therefore he would make no uſe of them.' Thus the rabble, finding no oppoſition, nor even the appearence of a magiſtrate to reſtrain their fury, with hatchets and other inſtruments forced into the houſe, and turned out two or three of mr. Campbel's ſervants (he, with his wife, having the day before retired to his country-houſe) and fell to plundering every thing they could carry away, and deſtroying what was not portable. This riot continued till nine the next morning, when ſeveral of the mob were lying drunk in the houſe, with the wine and liquors they found in the cellars, but the magiſtrates did not get any of them ſecured. The officers of the exciſe hid themſelves as well as they could: ſome of them fell into the hands of the mob, and with great difficulty eſcaped with their lives, after having been unmercifully beaten. The rabble were then pretty quiet, till about four in the afternoon, when they began to meet again; women, or men in women's cloaths, beating drums about the ſtreets to call them together. Captain Buſhel, not knowing what their deſigns might be, ordered the ſoldiers to be near the guard-room, which the provoſt had now cauſed to be opened: but the mob did not long keep their ſecret; for they advanced towards the guard, crying, 'Drive the dogs out of town: we will cut them to pieces.' The officer ſaid again, 'We mean you no hurt, but, if you continue to provoke the ſoldiers, we ſhall not be able to reſtrain them from firing at you.' The rabble anſwered, 'You dare not fire with ball;' and continued throwing ſtones in ſuch quantities, and ſo large, that they broke ſome of the locks of the ſoldiers pieces, and their bayonets, and wounded ſeveral men. Upon which they were ordered to fire over the heads of the mob to frighten them; but they advanced ſtill upon the ſoldiers, and, throwing ſtones in greater quantities, the ſoldiers at laſt fired on them, and killed or wounded three or four, which made them retire to ſome diſtance. In this ſhort interval, the provoſt ſent to captain Buſhel, deſiring him to ſave himſelf and his men, by retreating out of the town; for the rioters were collecting all the arms they could; and, if he did not march away, there would be more blood ſhed. The captain, taking his advice, marched immediately for Dunbarton, being followed by great numbers of the mob, and that ſo cloſely, that he was forced to fire now and then to ſecure his retreat out of the town. Three or four hundred of them followed him ſix miles, but they durſt not come up with him. He ſent an officer from Dunbarton to Edinburgh, to give general Wade an account of what had happened; and, on the 8th of July, the general, accompanied by Duncan Forbes, lord-advocate, ſet out from Edinburgh, and at noon, the next day, joined a body of forces, that had been ordered to draw together on a moor within two miles of Glaſgow, conſiſting of four troops of horſe, and a detachment of colonel Campbel's dragoons; eight companies of the earl of Deloraine's regiment of foot; the earl of Stair's regiment, and one of the new-raiſed Highland companies. The general wrote a letter to the magiſtrates to let them know he was coming; and the next day, about two o'clock in the afternoon, entered the town; the troops advancing with ſilence and good order; and they were diſtributed into quarters without any diſturbance. The two following days the exciſemen were ſet to take an account of the malſters ſtoc in hand, and had quiet admittance. The rioters having endeavoured by circular letters to every town of any note to excite tumults, the mob roſe July the 9th, at Elgin, attacked in the night-time three ſoldiers, who were poſted centinels at a ſhop, wherein was lodged a quantity of brandy, that had been ſeized by the cuſtom-houſe officers, and obliged the ſoldiers to fire in their own defence, by which one of the rabble was killed. The ſoldiers being overpowered were put in priſon by the magiſtrates; and the mob immediately carried off the brandy. The malſters at at Glaſgow complied with the terms of the act of parliament. Many of the rioters were ſeized; moſt of them mean perſons. Near an hundred witneſſes were examined, but little or nothing were found againſt any of them: it was all laid on thoſe, who fled, and on ſtrangers. The general and the lord-advocate, having ſtaid a week at Glaſgow, returned to Edinburgh. The lord-advocate committed ſeventeen men and boys, and four women, to priſon. The provoſt, baliffs, dean of Guild, and deacon Conveener, were alſo apprehended, and the next day, under a ſtrong guard of dragoons, ſent to Edinburgh. When they came near the city, there was a vaſt concourſe of people at ſuch an unuſual and unexpected ſight, beſides a great many merchants and men of note on horſeback, who went to meet them, and accompanied them to the priſon-doors, the Glaſgow magiſtrates being in coaches. They did not continue long under confinement; for, this affair being brought before the lords-juſticiary, they were unanimous in their opinions, that they were innocent; upon which they were immediately ſet at liberty. It was reported, that the whole royal boroughs of Scotland had come to a reſolution to ſtand out againſt payment of the malt-tax. But they were ſo far from doing it, that, the convention being aſſembled at Edinburgh on the 7th of July, they reſolved to write a circular letter to each of the royal boroughs, to be ſent by expreſs, teſtifying the falſhood of that report, and their abhorrence of the thought of reſiſting or not paying due obedience to the law, which has enacted the levying of that tax, exhorting the magiſtrates and governors of each royal borough, to concur vigorouſly with the officers of the revenue, in the execution of the laws relating thereto, and in ſuppreſſing of all mobs, riots, and tumultuous aſſemblies; and requiring them every where to uſe all diligence for the diſcovery of the authors of ſuch malicious reports and ſeditious practices; and to acquaint the annual committee of the convention therewith, that the offenders might be proſecuted, and brought to deſerved puniſhment at the ſuit of the convention, as diſturbers of the public peace. The rioters at Glaſgow were brought to their trial before the court of juſticiary, of which the earl of Ilay was chief; and, Walter Buchanon, William Hamilton, George Macfarlane, Patrick Mitchel, and Janet Balleny being found guilty of the riot, the four men were, the next day, ſentenced to be tranſported, after they had been ſcourged at Glaſgow by the common hangman; and Balleny, the woman, was ſentenced to ſtand twice in the pillory there; ſo that no capital puniſhment was inflicted on any of theſe offenders.

General Wade did likewiſe another very important ſervice to the public, by diſarming, purſuant to the act of parliament, the Highlanders, Mackenzies, Macdonals, Grants of Glenmoriſton, Macleods, Chiſholms, Stewarts, Camerons, Macphersons, Mackintoſhes, Macgrogors, Gordons, Farquharſons, Macfarlans, and other clans, their tribes and followers; as alſo the inhabitants of the iſles of Sky and Mull; the arms amounting to between two and three thouſand. The companies of the ſoldiers left in the Highlands were ſo poſted, that they poſſeſſed all the conſiderable paſſes, and thereby prevented the ſtealing of cattle.

As to foreign affairs, there were great alterations abroad

this year. Mention has been made of the marriage of Lewis, prince of Aſturias with the duke of Orlean's ſecond daughter, and of king Philip's reſignation of the crown to his ſon. It has alſo related, how Lewis XV. of France was married to the infanta of Spain; and madamoiſelle de Beaujolois, another of the duke of Orlean's daughters, to don Carlos, infanta of Spain by king Philip's ſecond wife. The firſt marriage was conſummated, but ſoon after diſſolved by the death of Lewis king of Spain. Upon his deceaſe, his father, king Philip, reſumed the crown. In the beginning of March 1724-25, the French king, who could never gain upon himſelf to be tolerably civil to the young infanta, declared his reſolution to ſend her bac into Spain.[i] This was ſo highly reſented by the court of Spain, particularly by the queen that it was reſolved to ſend bac to France madamoiſelle de Beaujolois, whoſe mariage with don Carlos was yet unconſummated; which was acccordingly done, and at the ſame time the infanta was ſent to Madrid, the Spaniſh miniſters, the marquis de Monteleone, and Patrick Lawleſs (the pretender's agent in England in queen Anne's reign) returning with her.

The queen of Spain's reſentment did not end here. She reſolved the French ſhould meddle no more in the Spaniſh affairs, and offered to adjuſt her differences with the emperor (for which the congreſs of Cambray had been appointed) under the ſole mediation of Great-Britain. This offer was refuſed by king George upon many accounts. The emperor was ſo far from ſeeking the ſole mediation with the ſame warmth as Spain, that he ſhewed ſuch a coolneſs on the occaſion, as not only indicated a jealouſy, but foretold an unſucceſsful iſſue in caſe it was aſſumed. Beſides, the accepting it, in order to gratify the paſſions of the queen of Spain, muſt have diſobliged France, with whom ever ſince, the death of Lewis XIV. the Britiſh court had contracted the ſtricteſt friendſhip. The ſame motive ſtill ſubſiſted, that had induced king George to enter into a reciprocal confidence with that crown, the title of the houſe of Orleans to that monarchy in virtue of the treaty of Utrecht. The young king was as yet a minor, and unmarried, and the duke of Bourbon prime-miniſter of France, who ſolely guided the helm, was next in reverſion to the crown, after the young duke of Orleans, then unmarried, and of a weak conſtitution. The coolneſs therefore of the emperor, the engagement with France, and the proſpect of diſuniting for ever the houſe of Bourbon, by means of the branches of Orleans and Condé, induced king George not to accept the ſole mediation at the hazard of loſing France, without any appearance of gaining, or, if gained, of keeping Spain one moment fixed to his intereſt or alliance. Upon the king's refuſal of the ſole mediation, the emperor and queen of Spain reſolved to adjuſt their differences by a private negotiation. This was managed on the part of Spain by the baron de Ripperda, a Dutchman, who had abandoned the proteſtant religion, and entered into the Spaniſh ſervice. The firſt treaty of Vienna was ſoon concluded, and ſigned the 30th of April, and the next treaty of commerce was alſo ſigned. It was urged, that the mediators having for ſeveral years in vain endeavoured to reconcile the emperor and king of Spain, they reſolved to do it by themſelves without the intervention of any other power, eſpecially ſince France had affronted Spain, by ſending bac the infanta, and England had refuſed to continue her mediation at Cambray without France.[k]

By theſe treaties the emperor acknowledges Philip V. as lawful king of Spain and the Indies and promiſes not to moleſt him in the poſſeſſion of the dominions ſecured to him by the treaty of Utrecht, nor to appropriate to himſelf any right to them. King Philip, on his part, renounces all his pretenſions to the dominions in Italy and the Netherlands, adjudged to the emperor by the treaty of London in July 1722. The emperor grants (without the conſent of the empire) the inveſtiture of the dukedoms of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, to the queen of Spain's eldeſt ſon, in caſe theſe dukedoms ſhould be vacant for want of heirs, the determination of king George and the regent of France in the treaty of London, that they are maſculine fiefs of the empire, being taken for granted. Spain agreed to guarantee the ſucceſſion of the Auſtrian dominions according to the Pragmatic ſanction.[l] By the treaty of commerce the emperor's ſubjects were to have commercial advantages in Spain, to which no others were entitled: Spain was to guarantee the Oſtend trade to the Eaſt-Indies, and pay an annual ſubſidy of about four millions of pieces of eight.

The treaty of peace was not liable to any great objection, though the article, by which Spain agreed to guarantee the ſucceſſon of the Auſtrian dominions, according to the Pragmatic ſanction, gave ſome room to ſuſpect, it was to operate in favour of Spain. And therefore it did not alarm the other ſtates, but it was not the ſame with the treaty of commerce, which was ſo much to the diſadvantage of England and Holland, particularly with regard to the privileges granted to the Oſtend India company.

But, beſides theſe treaties, king George had reaſon to ſuſpect that another, much more repugnant to the intereſt of Great-Britain, was alſo concluded. This ſuſpicion was afterwards confirmed, not only by ſome indiſcreet expreſſions of Ripperda, but by the moſt poſſitive intelligence from different perſons, all capable of knowing the truth, and all concurring in the moſt material facts. By this third treaty, which was carefully concealed, it was declared, that the Spaniſh miniſter having repreſented that the king of Great-Britain had promiſed the reſtitution of Gibralter and Port-Mahon, and that the king of Spain did inſiſt upon it, the emperor would concur in employing force for reſtoring Gibraltar to Spain, if it could not be amicably effected. King George had moreover cauſe to believe, that ſeveral other points of ſtill more dangerous conſequence were ſettled between the emperor and Spain, particularly that the two archduchеſſes ſhould be married to the infants of Spain, and that means ſhould be taken for placing the pretender on the throne. This laſt article the king was informed of by a perſon of great rank, veracity, and credit, though the emperor himſelf ordered his miniſters to give, in his name, the moſt ſolemn denial of the fact. It muſt indeed be owned, that the duke of Bavaria received likewiſe aſſurances equally ſtrong from the miniſters of Vienna, that nothing had been tranſacted between the emperor and the court of Madrid, relating to the marriage of an archduchеſs to a prince of Spain, though it was afterwards owned by the imperial miniſters, and the execution of it openly demanded by thoſe of Spain. And it may here be obſerved, that, if thoſe marriages had taken place, and the French king and the prince of Aſturias at that time, both princes of weak conſtitutions, had died without iſſue, it would have laid the foundation for the moſt formidable power ever known in Europe, by uniting together in one ſovereign all the dominions belonging to the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon.

In conſequence of theſe treaties between the emperor and Spain, great ſums, amounting to about a million ſterling, were remitted in ſix months, from the ſigning of them by Spain, to Vienna. The court of Vienna gave immediately the neceſſary orders for an augmentation of their own forces, with thirty thouſand men, and took immediately into their pay thirty thouſand more. Negotiations were ſet on foot for engaging other powers in ſupport of their cauſe; and particularly Ruſſia, by her acceſſion, was to furniſh thirty thouſand men.

King George, juſtly alarmed at theſe proceedings, reſolved to taken ſuch precautions, as were likely to defeat the pernicious deſigns of the new allies. The court of Vienna had behaved with uncommon coolneſs towards the court of London, ever ſince the acceſſion of king George. The em-

[i] The French king being taken very ill, and in great danger of his life, by a fever, in February 1725, N. S. it alarmed the whole French nation, and made them cry aloud for his marrying immediately after his recovery, to prevent the fatal conſequences of a civil war, in caſe of his dying without iſſue. It was thereupon ſuddenly reſolved in council to ſend bac the infanta. Upon this unexpected turn the court of Spain propoſed the ſole mediation to mr. Stanhope, the Engliſh miniſter at Madrid, which, as will be ſeen, was refuſed.

[k] It appears by ſtating and comparing the dates of theſe tranſactions, that the ſending bac the infanta, or the refuſal of the ſole mediatation, could have no ſhare in the motives negotiating. The courier, diſpatched from France to ſignify the reſolution of ſending bac the infanta, March 13, 1725, did not arrive at Madrid till the 19th, and king George's anſwer, declining the ſole mediation, came to Spain the 24th of April, 1724, N. S. Ripperda's full powers were ſigned in November, 1724; and the court of Madrid received advice from him in March, 1725, that the principal articles were then agreed at Vienna. In conſequence of this agreement, the treaty of peace and friendſhip between the emperor and Spain was ſigned at Vienna the laſt of April, and that of commerce the firſt of May, 1725. Now could the reſolution of ſending bac the infanta, which was not thought of in France till March, 1725, nor known at Madrid till the 19th of that month, be the occaſion of negotiating at Vienna treaties of ſuch importance and long diſcuſſion, the principal articles of which were the very ſame month of March known at Madrid to have been agreed upon at Vienna? Or could the king's refuſal of the ſole mediation, which was not known at Madrid till the 24th of April, 1725, N. S. have poſſibly occaſioned the ſigning of treaties at Vienna the laſt of April and firſt of May 1725? To this it may be added, that the acceptance of the ſole mediation to accommodate the difference between the two courts, were already agreed in every reſpect, who would have been as rediculous and abſurd, as it is to imagine, that the declining of it could poſſibly be a motive for ſigning of treaties ſo injurious to the ſtates-general, as well as to Great-Britain, when neither of them had given the leaſt reaſon for ſuch treatment.

[l] By the pragmatic ſanction the order of ſucceſſion to the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria is ſettled on the emperor's heirs and ſucceſſors of either ſex, and declared to be a perpetual, indiviſible, and inſeparable feoffment of the primogeniture. This pragmatic ſanction or perpetual law was publiſhed at Vienna, December 5, 1724.

peror, whether out of ſome old perſonal enmity to the king, or from his jealouſy of ſeeing a proteſtant of Germany become ſovereign of a powerful nation, behaved with great indifference, and in a very contradictory manner, towards him on many occaſions. He refuſed to guarantee the ſucceſſion in his line, and denied him the inveſtiture of the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which he had a right to demand and expect, as a purchaſer and member of the empire. To this may be added, the late erection and ſupport of the Oſtend India company in violation of treaties, which greatly affected the Britiſh commerce to the Eaſt-Indies, and againſt which the whole nation made loud complaints. Led by theſe motives, the treaty of Hanover was projected by king George, to chec the ambitious views of the emperor and king (or rather queen) of Spain, who, from being irreconcileable enemies, ran into each other's arms voluntarily, tying themſelves down by treaty to the cloſeſt and ſtricteſt friendſhip. The king ſucceeded in his deſign, and a treaty was concluded in September between England, France, and Pruſſia, in the uſual forms of a defenſive alliance, with a mutual guarantee to protect the reſpective countries rights and privileges, thoſe of commerce in particular, which the parties enjoyed or ought to enjoy, as well out of as in Europe; which had a view to the Oſtend company. There was nothing in the treaty that reflected directly or implicitly upon the conduct of any other power: nor was there any expreſſion to be found in it, nor inferrence from it, or from the conſequent meaſures, to ſhew it was projected to increaſe the dominions and claims of the electorate of Hanover, or to involve Great-Britain in the quarrels of that electorate, or could give offence to any but thoſe who intended to offend. The treaty was to laſt fifteen years. There were three ſeparate articles: the firſt related to the affair of Thorn, and was an engagement to procure ſatisfaction for what had been done contrary to the treaty of Oliva. By the ſecond, the two kings electors, engaged, in caſe the emperor declared war againſt France, not only not to furniſh their quota of troops, but to act in concert with his moſt chriſtian majeſty. By the third, France conſented that, if the empire declared againſt her, the two electors kings might furniſh their quota, provided they furniſhed no more and fulfilled their engagements to his moſt chriſtian majeſty.

Thus was concluded the treaty of Hanover, which has been painted in more invidious colours, than any tranſaction during the reign of king George.

In the mean time the duke of Bourbon was removed from the adminiſtration of affairs in France; having received, as he was preparing to follow the king to Rambouillet, an order to go to Chantilli, his country ſeat, and there to ſtay till further orders. Preſently after, the count de St. Florentine, ſecretary of ſtate, went to acquaint him, that the king had reſolved to take the government into his own hands; which he did on the 10th of June, in a council of ſtate at Verſailles, to whom he made a ſpeech ſuitable to the occaſion. This revolution in the miniſtry of France was generally ſuppoſed to be owing to the intrigues of the court of Spain, who could never forgive the ſending bac the infanta, which they imputed to the influence of the duke of Bourbon on the counſels of France. The biſhop of Frejus, the young king's preceptor, and afterwards cardinal, had a great hand in this meaſure, in order to aſſume the poſt of prime-miniſter himſelf; but he aſſured mr. Horace Walpole, the Britiſh ambaſſador at the court of France, 'that the alterations in the court of France, inſtead of making any in the meaſures taken with the king of Great-Britain, purſuant to the treaty of Hanover, would rather tend to the execution of that treaty.'

The king of France ſoon after married the princeſs Mary, daughter of Staniſlaus, once king of Poland; the contract for the marriage being ſigned by proxy in July.

The duke of Wharton, who had acted with great extravagance and licentiouſneſs of all kinds in England, and ruined his eſtate there, having left his country, went to Vienna, whence he proceeded to Rome, where he was introduced by the Spaniſh miniſter to the pretender, in whoſe houſe he was concealed for ſix days, and then poſted away to Madrid, where the baron de Riperda, his great and intimate friend, was now in high credit and favour. Thither he came with credentials from the pretender; and, as a public mark of confidence in him, adorned with a garter, and the title of Northumberland. King George being informed of theſe proceedings, ſent a letter under the privy ſeal to the duke, commanding him, upon his allegiance, to return forthwith to great-Britain. This letter being carried to Madrid by mr. Crew, the meſſenger, it was delivered, on the 31ſt of June, to the duke in a coach, as he was paſſing through one of the ſtreets of the town; but, as ſoon as he was told the contents of it, he threw the letter out of the coach, and made great clamour at the executing a ſummons upon him by a Britiſh officer of juſtice, even in the ſight of his catholic majeſty's palace. He likewiſe gave out, that he would preſent a memorial upon it to the king of Spain, and demand juſtice againſt the king's meſſenger, who brought him the letter. Colonel Stanhope, the Britiſh miniſter at Madrid, hearing of this, ſent his ſecretary to the marquiſs de Paz, to acquaint him with it. The marquiſs promiſed to repreſent the matter to his catholic majeſty, and deſired the ſecretary to return to him the next morning, when he aſſured him, that the king of Spain knew nothing of the memorial, but had been informed of what had paſſed with relation to the delivery of the letter of privy ſeal, and would not in any manner interpoſe his authority in oppoſition to that proceeding. The duke, about that time, openly profeſſed himſelf a Roman catholic, by making his public abjuration of the proteſtant religion; and, on the 23d of July, N. S. married one of the ladies of the queen of Spain's bed-chamber, by whoſe intereſt he obtained the pay of a lieutenant-colonel.

[1725-26] The king, having ſettled affairs abroad, ſet out from Hanover on the 18th of December, O. S. and came to Helvoet-Sluyce, where ſir John Norris waited with the convoy and yachts, and where he embarked on board the Carolina yacht on New Year's Day, about one in the afternoon. Towards ſeven that evening there aroſe a moſt violent ſtorm with rain and hail, which ſeparated the ſhips one from another, except one man of war, commanded by captain Dancey, who kept company with the king's yacht, on board which was ſir John Norris. The tempeſt continued ſo high, and the ſea ſo boiſterous, for thirty-ſix hours, that the whole fleet was in the utmoſt danger. On the 3d of January, the yachts and men of war were near Dover; and one of the yachts, with ſome of the king's attendants, entered the river; but it was thought more adviſeable, that the king ſhould land at Rye, where he arrived about noon. The king went immediately into a ſmall boat, the tide being down; and as ſoon as he could reach a horſe, which captain Pigram had brought him, he mounted it, rode by the wall, and over the new bridge. The mayor, mr. Lambe, and the jurats, in their formalties with the neighbouring gentlemen, attended the king, who alighted at the mayor's houſe, being ſaluted all the way with loud huzzas and acclamations. He was extremely fatigued, having eat nothing ſince the day he embarked. The lord Townſhend and his lady, who were in the Mary yacht, kept company with the king, and with ſome difficulty landed at the ſame place. On the 4th of January, a meſſenger, diſpatched by the lord Townſhend, arrived at the Cock-pit, with the agreeable news of the king's ſafe landing at Rye, from whence he intended to have ſet out for London on the 6th; but, the roads in that part of the country being unſafe from the fall of ſnow, it was found neceſſary to give orders for the clearing of the ways; which done, the king began his journey the next day, and having croſſed the water from Rye, at a place called the Point, lay that night at Hythe, the next at Sittingburne; and on the 9th arrived in good health at St. James's.

On the 20th of January the parliament met, when the king made the following ſpeech to both houſes by the mouth of the lord-chancellor:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I have had ſuch frequent experience of the wiſdom and zeal of this parliament on many important occaſions, that it is with pleaſure I now meet you again; and I make no doubt, but that your endeavours for the good and ſervice of your country will be as ſucceſsful, as they have hitherto been.

'The diſtreſſed condition of ſome of our proteſtant brethren abroad, and the negotiations and engagements entered into by ſome foreign powers, which ſeem to have laid the foundation of new troubles and diſturbances in Europe, and to threaten my ſubjects with the loſs of ſeveral of the moſt advantageous branches of their trade, obliged me, without any loſs of time, to concert with other powers ſuch meaſures, as might give a chec to the ambitious views of thoſe, who are endeavouring to render themſelves formidable, and put a ſtop to the farther progreſs of ſuch dangerous deſigns. For theſe ends I have entered into a defenſive alliance with the moſt chriſtian king and the king of Pruſſia, to which ſeveral other powers, and particularly the ſtates-general, have been invited to accede; and I have not the leaſt reaſon to doubt of their concurrence. This

treaty ſhall in a ſhort time be laid before you. By theſe means, and by your ſupport and aſſiſtance, I truſt in God, I ſhall be able not only to ſecure to my own ſubjects the enjoyment of many valuable rights and privileges long ſince acquired for them by the moſt ſolemn treaties, but effectually to preſerve the peace and balance of Europe, the only view and end of all my endeavours.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

'I have ordered the eſtimates for the ſervice of this year to be prepared and laid before you, which, from an unwillingneſs I always have to put my ſubjects to an extraordinary expence by any unneceſſary precautions, are formed upon the foot of employing no greater number of forces, than was thought neceſſary the laſt year; for which, if the ſupplies you give, ſhall be fully and effectually raiſed, I ſhall be enabled to have a ſtrong fleet at ſea early in the ſpring. If the poſture of affairs ſhall at any time make it neceſſary to augment our maritime force, I confide ſo intirely in the zeal and affection of my parliament, that I aſſure myſelf you will enable me to make ſuch an addition to the number of ſeamen, as ſhall be found requiſite.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'It is not to be doubted, but the enemies to my government will conceive hopes, that ſome favourable opportunity for renewing their attempts may offer from the proſpect of new troubles and commotions. They are already very buſy by their inſtruments and emiſſaries in thoſe courts, whoſe meaſures ſeem moſt to favour their purpoſes, in ſoliciting and promoting the cauſe of the pretender. But I perſuade myſelf, notwithſtanding the countenance and encouragement they may have received, or flatter themſelves with, the proviſion you ſhall make for the ſafety and defence of the kingdom, will effectually ſecure us from any attempts from abroad, and render all ſuch projects vain and abortive.

'When the world ſhall ſee, that you will not ſuffer the Britiſh crown and nation to be menaced and inſulted, thoſe who moſt envy the preſent happineſs and tranquility of this kingdom, and are endeavouring to make us ſubſervient to their ambition, will conſider their own intereſt and circumſtances, before they make any attempt upon ſo brave a people, ſtrengthened and ſupported by prudent and powerful alliances, and though deſirous to preſerve the peace, able and ready to defend themſelves againſt the efforts of all aggreſſors. Such reſolutions, and ſuch meaſures, timely taken, I am ſatisfied, are the moſt effectual means of preventing a war, and continuing to us the bleſſings of peace and proſperity.'

Addreſſes ſuitable to the ſpeech were preſented by both houſes, and the commons proceeded to conſider of the ſupply. The reduction of the four thouſand additional troops was again inſiſted on, and particularly by mr. Pulteney, who now ſet himſelf up to oppoſe every motion of the court; but, after a warm debate, the ſame number of land-forces, 18,264 men, and the ſame proviſion for them, were voted. A motion by mr. Pulteney for a committee to ſtate the public debts, from the year 1714 to 1725, was rejected by 262 againſt 89. It was obſerved that moſt of the tories then in the houſe were againſt it.

The treaties of Hanover and of Vienna being laid before the commons, they were debated by a full houſe of 420 members. No ſtranger was admitted except the earl of Marchmont, who had been a plenipotentary at Cambray. Mr Horace Walpole, ambaſſador at the court of France, opened the debate with a long ſpeech, ſetting forth the ſtate of affairs in Europe from the peace of Utrecht to the preſent time. He took notice, 'that, ſince his majeſty's acceſſion to the throne, his conſtant care and endeavours had been to ſettle the balance of power on a ſolid foundation, and to preſerve and ſecure the tranquility of Chriſtendom; to protect and defend the proteſtant cauſe, and promote the honour and intereſt of his Britiſh ſubjects. That with theſe great views, his majeſty was become mediator and guarantee, both of the Barrier treaty, concluded in 1715, and of the convention made in 1718, for the execution of that treaty, between the emperor and the ſtates-general of the united provinces. In the year 1716, his majeſty concluded a defenſive alliance with the emperor; and, in 1717, another with the moſt chriſtian king and the ſtates-general; the genuine deſign of both which treaties was only to preſerve the public repoſe of Chriſtendom, eſtabliſhed by the peace of Utrecht, to guarantee the ſucceſſion to the crown of Great-Britain in the proteſtant line. In order to fortify all theſe treaties, and to extinguiſh the war, the Spaniards had kindled in Italy, his majeſty, in 1718, made a convention with the moſt chriſtian king, for propoſing ultimate conditions of peace between the emperor and the king of Spain, and between his imperial majeſty and the (then) king of Sicily. This convention was, a few days after, followed by a treaty of alliance between the emperor, the king of Great-Britain, and the moſt chriſtian king, which, by their miniſters, was concluded at London, and ſigned on the 22d of July, 1718, and in which the ſtates-general were named as one of the contracting parties (upon a ſuppoſition that they would come into it) from whence this treaty was named the Quadruple Alliance. A few months after the king of Sicily was admitted into this treaty; and at length the king of Spain himſelf was forced to accede to it, which was mainly owing to the generous aſſiſtance, which his Britannic majeſty gave the emperor in the Mediterranean. There remaining ſome points ſtill controverted between the emperor and king of Spain, the ſame was referred to be amicably determined in a congreſs, which was afterwards opened at Cambray, under the mediation of his Britannic majeſty and the moſt chriſtian king. By reaſon of ſeveral difficulties induſtriouſly raiſed by the courts of Vienna and Madrid, the great pains taken for three years by the miniſters mediators proved unſucceſsful, and at laſt the congreſs was ſuddenly diſſolved, upon advice, that the emperor and the king of Spain had ſecretly adjuſted the differences between them, and concluded a treaty of peace at Vienna. This unexpected event occaſioned no ſmall ſurprize, and raiſed jealouſies, which appeared to be better grounded, when it was known, that the treaty of peace was ſoon followed by a treaty of commerce, the main deſign of which was to ſupport and countenance the Eaſt-India company, ſome years before eſtabliſhed at Oſtend, by granting to the inhabitants of the Auſtrian Netherlands greater privileges, both in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, than were ever granted either to the Engliſh or Dutch, which viſibly tended the intire ruin of many valuable branches of our trade, and was contrary to ſeveral ſolemn treaties ſtill in force. His majeſty, ever watchful for the intereſt of his Britiſh ſubjects, had cauſed lively repreſentations to be made againſt the treaty of commerce, both to the emperor and king of Spain. At the court of Madrid, theſe complaints were received with coldneſs; and that at Vienna, with ſtiffneſs and haughtineſs, even to ſuch a degree, that the imperial miniſters did not ſtic to inſinuate, that, if his Britannic majeſty perſiſted in this reſolution to take meaſures in oppoſition to the treaties of Vienna, his imperial majeſty would not only think himſelf diſengaged from the guarantee of the proteſtant ſucceſſion to the crown of Great-Britain, but that the ſame might be attended with conſequences in relation to his majeſty's dominions in Germany. Theſe inſulting menaces made no impreſſion on his majeſty's firmneſs, nor deterred him from his fixed reſolution of concerting with other powers ſuch meaſures, as might give a chec to the ambitious views of thoſe, who endeavoured to render themſelves formidable. Theſe meaſures ſeemed to be more neceſſary, becauſe there were juſt grounds to believe, that the unforeſeen reconciliation of the emperor and king of Spain was owing to the conſtant view of the houſe of Auſtria, of rendering the imperial dignity hereditary in their family. In order to that, it might reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that the treaties of Vienna were to be cemented by a match between the emperor's eldeſt daughter and the infant don Carlos. It was eaſy to foreſee the conſequences of ſuch a marriage. For the iſſue male, that might come from it, might, in time, be poſſeſſed not only of all the hereditary dominions belonging to the houſe of Auſtria, and of the imperial dignity, but alſo of all the dominions of the Spaniſh monarchy; which would intirely overthrow the balance of power, and render the liberties of all the reſt of Europe very precarious. This ſuppoſition would appear more than probable to any one, who conſidered that there was ſcarce any other way of accounting either for the king of Spain's breaking through ſolemn treaties with Great-Britain, in favour of the emperor's ſubjects in the Netherlands; or for the emperors's forgeting ſo far the obligations he had to Great-Britain and Holland, as to enter into engagements to aſſiſt Spain towards the recovery of Gibralter and Minorca, and to perſiſt in ſupporting and countenancing the Oſtend company, eſtabliſhed with no other view, than to deprive the ſubjects of the maritime powers of ſeveral of the moſt advantageous branches of their trade. In order to give a timely chec to the further progreſs of ſuch dangerous deſigns, his majeſty, in his great wiſdom, had entered into a defenſive

alliance with the moſt chriſtian king, and the king of Pruſſia to which ſeveral other powers, and particular the ſtates-general, had been invited to accede. The ſtates of Holland had already done it: and it was not to be doubted, but their example would ſoon be followed by the other united provinces. The main view of this alliance was to maintain and preſerve the public repoſe and tranquility of Chriſtendom, and to ſecure to each contracting party the poſſeſſion of their reſpective dominions and territories, with the rights, immunities, and advantages, particularly thoſe relating to trade, which their ſubjects enjoyed, or ought, by treaties, to enjoy. And, as his majeſty ever had a particular concern for the proteſtant intereſt, ſo, out of his royal and tender compaſſion for the diſtreſſed condition of ſome of our proteſtant brethren in Poland, his majeſty had not only interpoſed his good offices in the moſt preſſing manner in their favour, but had taken the occaſion of the defenſive alliance made at Hanover, to engage, by a ſeparate article, the moſt chriſtian king and the king of Pruſſia, who, together with his majeſty, are guarantees of the treaty of Oliva, to ſee it maintained and obſerved in its full extent, and to cauſe reparation to be made for what may have been done at Thorn, contrary to that treaty. He concluded with an encomium upon his majeſty's wiſdom, care, vigilance, ſteadineſs, and reſolution in the conduct of all theſe weighty and important affairs.'

Mr Walpole's ſpeech occaſioned a great debate. A member having ſuggeſted, that it was to be ſuppoſed, the king of Spain did not ſeem to grant any further privileges to the emperor's ſubjects in the Netherlands, than what had been granted to the Engliſh, and other moſt favoured nations; he was anſwered by colonel Bladen, who pointed to the ſecond article of the treaty of commerce of Vienna, whereby it was expreſsly ſtipulated, 'that the ſhips of war, and merchant-ſhips belonging to the contracting parties, or their ſubjects, ſhould be allowed full liberty to frequent the harbours, coaſts, and provinces of each other;' naming particularly the Eaſt-Indies, and without any exception as to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, or any reſtraint on the ſhips of war and merchant-ſhips, than not 'to buy any thing beſides victuals and materials for repairing of ſhips;' which implied a permiſſion to vend their merchandizes for ready money; ſo it was manifeſt, that the ſubjects of the Auſtrian Low-countries were allowed more extenſive privileges than ever had been granted to any other nation, contrary to ſeveral treaties in force between the crowns of Great-Britain and Spain

Colonel Bladen having cleared this important point, mr. Daniel Pulteney made a long ſpeech, wherein having made his obſervations on moſt of the points mentioned by mr. Horace Walpole, he inſinuated, that the ſubject matter of this day's debate was of the greateſt importance, and therefore they ought maturely to conſider of it, before they came to any reſolution upon it. He was ſupported by mr. Shippen, who raiſed the main objection to the treaty of Hanover, that it would engage the Britiſh nation in a war for the defence of his majeſty's dominions in Germany, contrary to an expreſs proviſion made for the ſecuring our religion, laws, and liberties, in the act for further limitation and ſucceſſion of the crown in the proteſtant line: which being the baſis and foundation of the preſent ſettlement, was become part of our conſtitution, and therefore ought to be ſacred and inviolable. They were anſwered by mr. Pelham, who urged, that the true meaning and intent of that limitation was not wholly and for ever to deprive his majeſty's foreign dominions of any aſſiſtance from this nation; for, if ſo, his majeſty, in that reſpect, would be in a worſe condition upon his acceſſion to the Britiſh throne than he was before; but only to reſtrain the ſovereign, for the future, from engaging the nation, at his pleaſure, in a war for the defence of any dominions not belonging to the crown of England, without the conſent of parliament; to whom the legiſlature wiſely left to judge and determine, whether ſuch war was juſt and neceſſary or no? concluding, that, for his own part, he was fully of opinion, that, if, in the preſent juncture and circumſtances of affairs, his majeſty's foreign dominions ſhould be attacked or inſulted, this nation ought to ſtand by and ſupport his majeſty againſt all his enemies whatſoever. And therefore he moved, 'that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, to return his majeſty the thanks of this houſe for the great goodneſs in communicating the treaties of peace and commerce concluded between the emperor and the king of Spain, and the defenſive alliance between his majeſty, the moſt chriſtian king, and the king of Pruſſia. To expreſs our juſt ſenſe of his majeſty's concern for the balance of power in Europe, and of the proteſtant religion; and above all our unfeigned gratitude for his earneſt and ſeaſonable care of the particular intereſts of his Britiſh ſubjects, by forming and entering into the defenſive alliance with the moſt chriſtian king, and the king of Pruſſia, in order to obviate and diſappoint the dangerous views and conſequences of the treaty of peace betwixt the emperor and the king of Spain; and to preſerve the many valuable rights and privileges of this nation againſt the fatal tendency of the ſaid treaty of commerce, calculated for the entire deſtruction of the Britiſh trade, in breach of ſeveral ſolemn treaties now in force. To acknowledge his majeſty's prudence and reſolution, in not letting any attempts or inſinuations whatſoever divert his majeſty from conſulting and ſteadily purſuing the true intereſt of theſe his kingdoms; and to aſſure his majeſty, that, in juſtice and vindication of the honour and dignity of the Britiſh crown, this houſe will effectually ſtand by and ſupport his majeſty againſt all inſults and attacks, that any prince, or power, in reſentment of the juſt meaſures, which his majeſty has ſo wiſely taken, ſhall make upon any of his majeſty's territories and dominions, though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain.' [m]

This motion being at laſt approved by a majority of 285 againſt 107, the addreſs was preſented on the 19th of February, to which the king returned this anſwer:

Gentlemen,

'I return you my thanks for this particular mark of your duty, affection, and confidence in me. Your aſſurances not to ſuffer my foreign dominions to be expoſed or inſulted, on account of the meaſures I have taken for the intereſt of theſe kingdoms, will, I hope, be a means to preſerve the peace and tranquility of Europe. I have no views of ambition to gratify; I have no thought of aggrandizing myſelf, or extending any part of my dominions at the hazard and expence of the other; and, as my honour is the common cauſe and concern of my ſubjects, their particular intereſts, ſhall, upon all occaſions, be my conſtant care.'

The lords took likewiſe into conſideration the three treaties, which had been laid before them: the lord Townſhend opened the debate, and concluded with a motion much to the ſame purpoſe with that of mr. Pelham in the houſe of commons. He was ſeconded by the duke of Newcaſtle, who acquainted the houſe with a remarkable paſſage out of a letter from mr. Stanhope, his majeſty's miniſter in Spain, 'that, in a private converſation, the duke of Ripperda had not ſcrupled to own, that, beſides what had already been communicated to him about the late treaties in Vienna, there were ſtill ſome other ſecret articles, which in due time ſhould be made public, whereby the contracting parties mutually engaged to aſſiſt each other with a certain number of troops, in order to ſupport the Oſtend company, and to recover Gibraltar.' The duke being aſked, Whether he would produce that letter? he ſaid, he had not the king's commands for it, but was only left at liberty to take notice of what he had mentioned. Upon this the lord Lechmere obſerved, that no ſtreſs could be laid on an information, that did not come regularly and in form before the houſe: that beſides it was uſual with miniſters of ſtate ſometimes to drop things, that have no reality, in common converſation, only to ſound thoſe, with whom they negotiate. That, the treaties, that had been communicated to them, being a matter of the greateſt importance, they ought to proceed in it with the utmoſt caution and matureſt deliberation; and therefore he was of opinion, they ought to take ſome time to conſider of it, and adjourn the debate to another day. He was anſwered by the earl of Scarborough; and the queſtion being put upon the motion for an addreſs, it was carried in the affirmative, by a majority of one.

After this the lord Lechmere ſtood up, and declared, 'that he would go as far as any member of that illuſtrious aſſembly, in vindicating the honour and dignity of the Britiſh crown, and in ſupporting and defending his majeſty's perſon and government. That, as their preſent and future happineſs depended, next under God, on the ſettlement of the crown of theſe realms on his majeſty and his royal iſſue, they ought to be extremely cautious of any the leaſt

[m] Mr Pulteney ſpoke againſt this motion, and among other things, ſaid, 'that the imperial court's backwardneſs in granting the inveſtiture for Bremen and Verden, might have been one of the motives to ſome late meaſures.' Upon this ſir Robert Walpole aſſured the houſe, that the king might long ago have had the inveſtiture, if he would have paid the exorbitant fees that were demanded for it.

derogation from the act of parliament, by which that happy ſettlement was made; and therefore he was of opinion, and moved, that to the reſolution for an addreſs the following words be added:

'This houſe not doubting but your majeſty, in your great wiſdom and juſtice to theſe your kingdoms, will always preſerve to them the full and intire benefit of the proviſion made for the further ſecuring our religion, laws and liberties, by an act paſſed in the 12th and 13th years of the reign of his late majeſty king William III. of glorious memory, whereby it is enacted, That, in caſe the crown and imperial dignity of this realm ſhall hereafter come to any perſon, not being a native of this kingdom of England, this nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories, which do not belong to the crown of England, without the conſent of parliament.' But this motion was rejected.

The addreſs, in ſubſtance the ſame with that of the commons, was preſented by the houſe of lords in a body, on the 18th of February, and received the like anſwer.

On the 2d of March, a petition from Richard Hampden, late treaſurer of the navy, and knight of the ſhire for the county of Bucks, was preſented to the commons by ſir William Yonge, for leave to bring in a bill, to impower the commiſſioners of the treaſury to compound with the petitioner for his debt to the crown.[n] Sir Robert Walpole having acquainted the houſe, that the king had given his conſent that they might do as they thought fit, the petition was taken into conſideration. It was ſaid by mr. Onſlow, the ſpeaker, and ſome others, 'that out of regard to his ancient family, and, in particular, in conſideration of his great-grandfather, John Hampden, who made a moſt noble and courageous ſtand againſt arbitrary power, in oppoſing ſhip-money, and fell the firſt victim in the glorious cauſe of liberty, they were for having ſomething done for his relations.' His wife and brother preſented petitions, ſetting forth the diſtreſs they would be reduced to, by the deficiency mr. Hampden was charged, without relief from the houſe. Theſe petitions occaſioning a debate, ſir William Yonge took notice, 'that mr. Hampden's deficiency had, in ſome meaſure, been occaſioned by a general calamity: that he had already done all that lay in his power to make it up; that, however, ſince neither his lady, nor his brother, had any ways been acceſſary to his misfortunes, it was unreaſonable and unjuſt to involve them in his offence and its puniſhment: that his real and patrimonal eſtate amounted to about 2200l. a year, one full half of which was ſettled for a jointure to his wife, who brought him near 11,000l. in marriage, beſides an annuity of 200l. per annum during her life, for her ſeparate uſe; all which ſettlements ought to be ſecured to her; that either mr. Richard Hampden, or his brother, may have iſſue male; and in conſideration of the ſignal ſervices, at divers times performed by their illuſtrious anceſtors, ſome proviſion ſhould be made for their poſterity out of the family eſtate.' And therefore he moved, that a bill be brought in for 'veſting the real and perſonal eſtates of Richard Hampden in truſtees, for making ſome proviſion for his wife and family, and for the better ſecuring the debt due from him to the crown.' But mr. Clayton and ſome other gentlemen repreſented, that, if this affair went through the uſual tedious courſe of extents in the Exchequer, great part of mr. Hampden's eſtate would be conſumed in law expences, ſo that the crown would not get 200l. a year out of it. And therefore they propoſed, that the eſtate ſhould be divided into two equal parts, one of which ſhould be allotted as a proviſion for his wife and family, and the other half immediately ſold off, towards ſatisfying the debt due from him to the crown. Many members ſhewed their approbation of this propoſal; but the majority were for ſir William Yonge's motion; and a bill was ordered to be brought in, which afterwards paſſed into a law.

Upon the petition of Daniel Campbel, member of parliament for Glaſgow, for ſatisfaction for his damages, by the rioters into that city, a bill paſſed in his favour; and the ſatisfaction given him was laid upon the place, where the crime was committed, by an act for an impoſition of two pennies Scots, upon all the ale and beer brewed in the city of Glaſgow. However the malt-tax was thought ſo great a grievance in Scotland, that the convention of the royal boroughs preſented an addreſs by John Campbel, member for Edinburgh, in which, though they diſavowed the conduct of the Glaſgow men, they remonſtrated againſt that tax, as a burthen too heavy for their country to bear; and afterwards petitioned the commons concerning it; as did likewiſe the ſhires of Renfrew, Banff, &c.

On the 24th of March, ſir Paul Methuen, knight of the Bath, delivered the following meſſage from the king to the houſe of commons:

'His majeſty having nothing more at heart, than an earneſt deſire to ſecure to his own ſubjects the full and free enjoyment of their trade and navigation, and in the beſt manner to prevent and fruſtrate ſuch deſigns, as have been formed againſt the particular intereſt of this nation, and the general peace of Europe, has found it neceſſary, not only to augment his maritime force, but to concert ſuch other meaſures, as may moſt effectually conduce to theſe deſirable ends: and, as theſe ſervices will require ſome extraordinary expences, his majeſty hopes he ſhall be enabled, by the aſſiſtance of parliament, to increaſe the number of ſeamen already voted and granted for the ſervice of this year, and to enter into, and make good ſuch engagements, as the circumſtances and exigencies of affairs may require.'

This meſſage occaſioned a debate of ſix hours; but it was at laſt agreed to comply with it, by a majority of 270 againſt 89, and an addreſs to that purpoſe was preſented to the king.

[1725] This meſſage had not been communicated to the houſe of lords, though the king ſaid in it, that he hoped he ſhould be enabled, by the aſſiſtance of his parliament, to increaſe the number of ſeamen already voted. Notice was taken of it, and the earl of Strafford aſſerted, 'that the meſſage was unprecedented, and ſtruc at the ancient privileges of the houſe of peers, who are the grand ſtanding council of the ſovereign, the hereditary and perpetual guardians of the liberties and properties of the people, and, next the king, the principal part of the legiſlature, and who therefore have a right to be conſulted in all matters of public concern.' He moved, therefore, 'that an addreſs be preſented to know, who adviſed his majeſty not to ſend the ſame meſſage to the houſe of peees, as was ſent to the houſe of commons.' The lord Trevor (who had been made lord privy-ſeal on the 6th of March, in the room of the duke of Kingſton) moved, that the further conſideration of that matter might be adjourned for a month. But the lord Lechmere repreſented, 'that the ſubject-matter of this debate was of ſo great conſequence to his majeſty's ſervice, to the honour of that noble and illuſtrious aſſembly, to the ancient conſtitution of parliament, and to the proſperity and welfare of the kingdom, that it ought not to be poſtponed at all, much leſs for ſuch a length of time, as amounted to a laying it entirely aſide. That it muſt be for the ſervice and ſupport of the crown, upon all occaſions, to have the advice of both houſes of parliament; and as the meſſage in queſtion was only ſent to the houſe of commons, and there had not yet been any communication with their lordſhips upon it, though it contained matters of the higheſt importance, it tended to undermine the very foundation of the houſe of peers, and of the ancient conſtitution of the kingdom. That the rights of the people of England were, in ſome meaſure invaded, whenever they were deprived of the aſſiſtance of that houſe of parliament, without whom no aid can be given to the crown, nor any taxes laid upon the ſubjects. And therefore, if this debate ſhould be adjourned to ſo long a day, it might be inferred from ſuch a dilatory proceeding, that their lordſhips were not as jealous of their own privileges, and of their rights and properties of the people, at this time, and as much determined to ſupport and defend them both, as any of their anceſtors and predeceſſors had formerly been. That it was the undoubted, inherent and fundamental right of the houſe of peers to alter and amend all money-bills, which came from the commons; and, though in ſome laſt inſtances the commons had diſputed that right, yet the lords had never failed to maintain and aſſert it. That, according to ancient uſage, all demands of ſupply ſhould come from the throne in the houſe of peers; and therefore all other methods are unparliamentary, new, and dangerous to the conſtitution.' All theſe aſſertions were corroborated with ſeveral precedents upon record, which he cauſed to be read. He was anſwered by the lords Onſlow and Townſhend; who were replied to by the lord Bathurſt, who took notice, 'that the appellation of parliament being given to the commons, and ſeparately from the lords, was entirely new and unprece-

[n] His debt was at firſt 95,256l. but he had delivered in, by South-ſea ſtoc, ſubſcriptions and other ſecurities, about half the debt, ſo the remainder was about 48,000l. His paternal eſtate was about 2000l. a year.

dented. That this was ſo far from being the language of former times, that, though of late the commons took upon them to begin all money-bills, yet there was a time, when they were ſo inconſiderable, as to apply to the lords, to deſire them to provide money for the public ſervice. That, if, at this time, the lords ſuffered themſelves to be overlooked in this manner, they might come at laſt to be voted uſeleſs, as they had formerly been. And therefore, leſt any miſtake of this kind ſhould be attended with ſuch ill conſequence as to encourage evil miniſters hereafter to a total neglect of the houſe of peers, he was of opinion, that proper notice ſhould be taken of it immediately, inſtead of deferring the further conſideration of it for a month.' The earl of Scarborough ſaid, 'he did not deny, that the peers have a right to be adviſed with in all matters of importance, and to give their conſent to money-bills. But, in the caſe before them, it ſeemed needleſs to ſend the meſſage in queſtion to their houſe, becauſe their lordſhips had implicitly given their conſent to the augmenting the number of ſeamen, in their addreſs of thanks, wherein the augmentation was hinted at. As to what had been ſuggeſted, that formerly the commons applied to the lords to provide money for the public ſervice, the reaſon of it was, becauſe, at that time, none had any money to give but the lords, moſt of the lands being then in their hands; whereas ſince the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. the caſe is very much altered; and therefore they ought not to conſider, how things were formerly, but how they are at preſent, and ſo act as they find them.' After ſeveral other ſpeeches the affair was put off for a month, by 69 voices againſt 31. When the month was expired, it was again adjourned for a fortnight, and the houſe was moved, 'that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, repreſenting the fatal conſequences which muſt happen to this kingdom, when any advice ſhall be given to the crown, whereby the counſel and aſſiſtance of this houſe ſhall not be aſked, at the ſame time that the counſel and aſſiſtance of the houſe of commons ſhall be aſked, in matters which concern the peace and ſafety of this kingdom; and moſt earneſtly to beſeech his majeſty, that he will for the future diſcourage all ſuch counſels as ſhall tend, in ſo unwarrantable and dangerous a manner, to the deſtruction of the rights of this houſe.' But this addreſs was rejected.

Among the bills paſſed this ſeſſions were theſe two: an act for building a bridge over the Thames, from the town of Fulham in Middleſex, to the town of Putney in Surry.

An act for preventing frivolous and vexatious arreſts. By this act, no perſon ſhall be held to ſpecial bail on any proceſs from a ſuperior court where the cauſe of action ſhall not amount to 10l. nor from any inferior court under 40s. In ſuch caſes the plantiff ſhall not arreſt the body of the defendant, but ſhall ſerve him perſonally with a copy of the proceſs.

The buſineſs of the ſeſſion being over, the king diſmiſſed the parliament with the following ſpeech:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I cannot in juſtice put an end to this ſeſſion, without returning you my hearty thanks for the many inſtances you have given me of your duty and affection to my perſon and government, and of your zeal to maintain the honour and true intereſt of this kingdom.

'The ſpirit and reſolution you have ſhewn on this important occaſion, when our moſt valuable rights and privileges have been ſtruc at, are highly becoming the weight and authority of a Britiſh parliament: and the ſteps that have been taken abroad, in ſupport of the meaſures entered into againſt this nation, muſt convince every body of your wiſdom and prudence in endeavouring to put an early ſtop to the further progreſs of them. I hope the precautions, you have enabled me to take, will be ſufficient, in conjunction with my allies, to defeat the deſigns, which have been formed againſt us; and that the promoters of them, when they have fully weighed their own circumſtances, and better conſidered thoſe of the ſeveral powers united in defence of the tranquility and liberties of Europe, will find it there own intereſt to preſerve the peace, and think it moſt ſafe and prudent to deſiſt from their dangerous ſchemes.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

'I return you my particular thanks for the ſupplies, which you have ſo chearfully and effectually raiſed; and you may be aſſured, that they ſhall be faithfully applied to the uſes, for which you intended them.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'The conſtant employment of my thoughts, and the moſt earneſt wiſhes of my heart, tend wholly to the ſecuring to my ſubjects their juſt rights and advantages, and to the preſerving to them, and to all Europe, the enjoyment of a ſafe and honourable peace. And I muſt not conclude, without giving you the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that the particular confidence you have placed in me, ſhall be made uſe of in ſuch manner only, as may moſt effectually conduce to the attaining thoſe good and great purpoſes.'

The ſupplies, raiſed during this ſeſſion of parliament, were immediately employed in fitting out three different ſquadrons; one of ſeven men of war, deſigned for the Weſt-Indies, under the command of vice-admiral Hoſier; another of twelve or more ſhips of the line, for the Mediterranean, under the command of ſir John Jennings, admiral of the white; and a third, deſigned for the Baltic, under the command of ſir Charles Wager, vice-admiral of the red, and ſir George Walton, rear-admiral of the blue, conſiſting of twenty-one ſhips and two fire-ſhips.

The court of Great-Britain had evident proofs, that nothing could influence the emperor and king of Spain to terms of reaſon, but to ſhew a vigorus ſpirit againſt a very pernicious or ſuſpicious part of the treaty of Vienna. And as all appearances convinced the miniſtry, that nothing could ſo effectually guard againſt approaching evils, as the diſpatching ſufficient ſquadrons of ſhips to ſeveral places, they did with all poſſible diligence fit out the forementioned ſquadrons.

The ſquadron ſent to the Baltic was to prevent very great evils in thoſe parts, there being no room to doubt, that the czarina's real view was to go with a fleet to Stockholm, and, under a pretence of demanding the uſe of the ports, and the aſſiſtance of Sweden for the recovery of Sleſwick to the duke of Holſtein, actually to dethrone the king of Sweden, and make that nation dependent on Muſcovy. It was therefore judged of the utmoſt importance to prevent this. Accordingly, about the end of April, ſir Charles Wager, with his ſquadron, came to an anchor in the road of Copenhagen; and, on the 25th of that month, had an audience of the king of Denmark. On the 2d of May he ſailed to Stockholm, where, eight days after, he had an audience of the king of Sweden, being introduced by mr. Poyntz, the Britiſh envoy extraordinary. A ſquadron of Daniſh men of war having joined the Britiſh ſquadron, the united fleet became ſo formidable, that the court of Ruſſia thought proper to ſuſpend the fitting out their large ſhips, and only to equip ſome frigates; and the land-forces, which had been drawn together near Peterſburgh, in order to be put on board the Ruſſian fleet, were ſent to work on the Ludoga canal, and the fortifications at Cronſlot. That court was under the greateſt uneaſineſs, and immediately gave orders for reinforcing the garriſons of Wybourg, Cronſlot, Revel, and Riga. Mean while, ſir Charles Wager, having been joined by the Naſſau and Port-Mahon on the 20th of May, ſailed from Elſenal near Stockholm the 25th, and arrived, the 29th, near the iſland of Nargen, three leagues from Revel, and, the next morning, ſent an officer with a letter to lieutenant-general Wulcoffe, who commanded at Revel, and ordered the Port-Mahon to ſail to Cronſlot, having on board mr. Barnet, one of his lieutenants, by whom he ſent his majeſty's letter to the czarina, incloſed in a packet to admiral Apraxin.* In this letter, which was dated the 11th of April, his majeſty obſerved, 'that as the czarina's great preparations both by ſea and land for war, in a time of peace, could not fail of giving him, as well as his allies in thoſe parts, great and juſt cauſe to be alarmed; ſhe would not be ſurprized, that he had ſent a ſtrong ſquadron into the Baltic, to obviate any danger, that might enſue from ſo extraordinary an armament.' He laid before her the ſeveral inſtances he had given of a ſincere diſpoſition to eſtabliſh a firm and laſting friendſhip with the crown of Ruſſia; but that his intentions had been diſappointed by the delays of that court; and he expreſſed his ſurprize, that, while he was carrying on amicable negotiations, and had not given the leaſt provocations on his part, meaſures were taken at her court in favour of the pretender, and great encouragement to his adherents. 'After what (ſays he) we have now ſet forth, your majeſty will not be ſurprized, that we, being indiſpenſably obliged to provide for the ſecurity of our dominions, to perform our engagements with our allies, and to maintain the public tranquility in the North, which

* The czar of Moſcovy died the 28th of January 1725-26, and was ucceeded by the empreſs Catherina his wife.

ſeems to be very much in danger from your majeſty's late preparations, and have thought it neceſſary to ſend a ſtrong fleet of our men of war into the Baltic, and that we have given orders to our admiral, who commands it, to endeavour to prevent freſh troubles in thoſe parts, by hindering your majeſty's ſhip from coming out, in caſe that you perſiſt in your reſolution to put your fleet to ſea, to execute the deſigns which you may have in view. But, as it is our firm intention to live in peace and friendſhip with your majeſty, we wiſh, from the bottom of our heart, that your majeſty, ſeriouſly reflecting upon the true intereſt of your ſubjects, would permit them to enjoy the bleſſings of that peace, which they purchaſed at the expence of ſo much blood and treaſure, under the conduct of his late majeſty; and that, rather than enter into meaſures, which muſt inevitably plunge Ruſſia into a war, and the whole north into confuſion, your majeſty would pleaſe to give your people and all mankind convincing proofs of your inclination for peace, and of your good diſpoſition to live in quiet with your neighbours.' The czarina, in her anſwer dated June 15, declared her ſurprize at not receiving the kings letter till the very inſtant the fleet appeared on her coaſts, and after it had caſt anchor before Revel, 'ſince it had been more agreeable to the cuſtom eſtabliſhed among ſovereigns, and more conſiſtent with the amity, that had ſo long ſubſiſted between her kingdoms and the crown of Great-Britain, had his majeſty thought fit to expoſtulate with her about the umbrage he might have conceived from her armament; and to expect her anſwer thereupon, before he advanced to ſo offenſive a ſtep. That then his majeſty might have been aſſured by her, that it was ſo far from her thoughts to diſturb the repoſe of the north, that, on the contrary, all her cares and attention were wholly bent on the ſecurity and preſervation of it, both for the time preſent, and time to come, as being more concerned than his majeſty, in preventing whatever might indanger that tranquility.' That, with regard to what was charged upon her, in relation to the pretender, it 'was a frivolous and falſe accuſation, made uſe of as it had heretofore been, as the main pretence for all the unkind ſteps taken againſt her.'

Sir Charles Wager remained in his ſtation near Revel till October, when, the year being ſo far advanced, and he having intelligence from Peterſburgh and Cronſlot, that the Ruſſian gallies were laid up in their winter harbour, and their fleet not in a condition to put to ſea, he ſailed from the bay of Revel for the coaſt of Denmark, and arrived at Copenhagen the ſame month. From thence, after a ſtay of a few days, he ſailed for England, where he ſafely arrived in November.

Sir John Jennings, with his ſquadron, which was furniſhed with a conſiderable number of land-forces and artillery, viſited the coaſts of Spain, and ſhut up the ports of that kingdom. His orders were to cruiſe between Cadiz and cape St. Vincent, to intercept the galleons, and to aſſiſt Gibraltar, in caſe of a ſiege, with the land-forces on board his fleet, and to annoy the enemy to the utmoſt. But he did no damage on the coaſt of Spain, and only cauſed alarms, and protected the trade of Great-Britain.

Vice-admiral Hoſier's ſquadron was inferior to thoſe of ſir Charles Wager and ſir John Jennings; but he was authorized to join to his fleet all the ſhips he could meet with in the Weſt-Indies; and his orders were to prevent the galleons from ſailing out of the Spaniſh ports there; or, if they ſhould come out, to ſeize them, and bring their cargoes untouched to England. He arrived at the Baſtimento's off Porto-Bello, in the beginning of June; but, ten days before his arrival, an advice-boat from Spain brought orders for putting on ſhore the money on board the galleons, ſaid to be twenty-ſix millions of pieces of eight, and ſending it bac to Panama.

Theſe meaſures were taken againſt Spain, in reſentment of the engagements, which that court had entered into with the court of Vienna, to the prejudice of Great-Britain, and the deſigns formed in favour of the pretender, by the inſtigation of the dukes of Ormond and Wharton, and earl Mariſchal, who were then at Madrid. But the duke de Ripperda, who had been the principal agent in forming and concluding the treaty of Vienna, and the author of the violent counſels againſt Great-Britain, was of a ſudden diſmiſſed, on the 14th of May, from all his employments, though allowed a penſion of 3000 piſtoles for his ſubſiſtence. The pretended cauſe of his diſgrace was the embezzlement of the finaces (of which he was ſuperintendant) to the value of four millions. The duke, upon his receiving the king of Spain's decree for diſmiſſing him from his poſts, went immediately to the houſe of monſieur Vandermeer, the Dutch ambaſſador; but, not thinking himſelf ſafe there, Vandermeer carried him in his coach to the houſe of colonel Stanhope, the Britiſh ambaſſador, whoſe protection he begged and obtained. The king being informed of this, cauſed the ambaſſador's houſe to be ſurrounded by two hundred grenadiers. The next day colonel Stanhope had an audience of the king, and gave him an account of what had happened in relation to the diſcarded miniſter, which the king did not ſeem to diſapprove; and the grenadiers were called off from his houſe, on a promiſe from him, that the duke de Ripperda's perſon ſhould be forth-coming; and ſixty guards were poſted in the ſtreets leading to colonel Stanhope's houſe, to take him, if he ſhould attempt to make his eſcape. But on the 25th of May, N. S. the king appointed don Lewis Cuellar, one of the alciades of his court, aſſiſted by don Francis Valanſa, adjutant-general of the life-guards, to enter colonel Stanhope's houſe, and take from thence the duke de Ripperda, and convey him to the caſtle of Segovia, with a ſufficient guard; which was done. But this violation of the law of nations, in forcibly entering the houſe of an ambaſſador, was juſtly complained of by the court of Great-Britain, who ordered the letters and papers, which paſſed between the miniſters and ambaſſadors of both courts upon this occaſion, and upon ſir John Jennings's coming with his fleet on the coaſt of Spain, to be publiſhed. Among theſe papers is a memorial of colonel Stanhope to the king of Spain, dated Sept. 24, 1726, in which he obſerves, that the king his maſter was ſurprized, that the king of Spain ſhould not know the reaſons, and be ſenſible of the neceſſity, which obliged his majeſty to ſend the fleet under ſir John Jennings to the coaſt of Spain; 'conſidering (ſays he) the engagements, into which ſome of the moſt conſiderable powers of Europe have of late entered, and of which his majeſty has complained ſo often and ſo loudly. The naval armaments and equipments, which have been made in moſt of the ports of Spain; the preparations of war, and the motions of a conſiderable number of Spaniſh troops towards that part of the coaſt, which lies neareſt and moſt convenient for executing an enterprize on his majeſty's dominions; the great hopes of the emiſſaries and adherents of the pretender, who have publicly boaſted of the aſſiſtance they ſhould receive from thoſe parts; the confidence they had in it, and which has appeared clearly in the pernicious and indiſcreet conduct of ſome among them, who have been lately received and favoured at Madrid: this, joined with the intrigues, which have been carried on with the Muſcovites, and the reaſons his majeſty has to ſuſpect the ill deſigns upon which the three ſhips were ſent laſt year from Peterſburgh to Cadiz, and thence to St. Andero; the knowledge his majeſty had laſt winter, by the avowal of the miniſter of Spain, that there was an offenſive alliance between the courts of Madrid and Vienna, and that, by one of the articles of that alliance, it was ſtipulated to uſe open force to get Gibraltar reſtored to the king of Spain, a place, which his majeſty poſſeſſes by virtue of ſo juſt a right: the great ſubſidies, which have been furniſhed to the imperial court, and which are not ſeen to be ſettled by an alliance, that has yet been made public; the notorious infractions, which the Spaniſh Guarda Coſtes have for a long time made, with reſpect to the commerce and navigation of his majeſty's ſubjects in the Weſt-Indies, infractions, which have been ſo often complained of without the leaſt appearance of ſatisfaction or reparation: theſe things, joined together, are ſufficient to exhibit clearly the reaſons, which have induced his majeſty to take the meaſures he judged proper, and to equip the ſeveral fleets, which have put to ſea; and his majeſty's ſubjects would have had juſt cauſe to complain, had not care been taken for the ſecurity of the kingdom, and of their rights and properties, which they ſaw threatened and in danger.'

In Auguſt, the ſtates-general ſigned their acceſſion to the treaty of Hanover, after having been diſſuaded by the imperial and Spaniſh miniſters not to do it, and preſſed to come into that of Vienna. Though the emperor had not ſucceeded with the ſtates, he found means to detach, in great meaſure, the king of Pruſſia from his engagements with the allies of Hanover. The conduct of his Pruſſian majeſty, in this inſtance, as a proteſtant and ſon-in-law of king George, could hardly be defended. It was thought he propoſed ſome extraordinary advantages from his deſertion of the allies of Hanover, and cloſing with thoſe of Vienna; one part of which advantages was probably to be ſupported by the emperor, in making ſome conqueſt upon the dominions of Hanover. However that be, he made a treaty with the em-

peror, which gave great jealouſy to the friends of the treaty of Hanover. By this treaty the king of Pruſſia engaged in a new contract, not very conſiſtent with the apprehenſions of the Hanover allies, of the emperor's power and project: ſince the king of Pruſſia was to guarantee the order of ſucceſſion in the hereditary dominions in the heirs female, in default of male iſſue; while on the other hand, the emperor obliged himſelf to uſe his endeavours to obtain from all thoſe, who had pretenſions to the duchies of Juliers and Bergues, a ceſſion of their rights in favour of his Pruſſian majeſty.

The treaty of Hanover was attended with the greateſt difficulties, and a prodigious but unavoidable expence. Of this Sweden was an inſtance. All the ſummer preſſing and repeated applications were made by the Britiſh and French miniſters at Stockholm, to induce the court of Sweden to accede to the treaty of Hanover. And no leſs pains were taken by the Ruſſian and Auſtrian miniſters, to procure his Swediſh majeſty's acceſſion to the treaty of Vienna. But that wiſe prince reſolved to leave the determination of ſo important an affair to the general dyet of the ſtates of Sweden. The Holſtein faction in Sweden were ſpirited in their oppoſition to this acceſſion, by count Freytag, the imperial ambaſſador, and the ambaſſador of Ruſſia; but that did not hinder the ſtates ſigning it, as well as the king of Sweden.

During theſe negotiations, Spain incenſed to the laſt degree, made great preparations for war. A camp of about twenty thouſand men was formed at St. Roch near Gibraltar, and all the neceſſaries for a ſiege were provided. Preparations were likewiſe made at ſea; four thouſand ſailors were landed; ſeveral men of war were come to Cadiz, and as many more, as could be, were bought. The pretence was, to rebuild the caſtle of Old Gibraltar, though ſome greater deſign was very viſible.

[1726-27] In theſe circumſtances the parliament of Great-Britain met, on the 17th of January. The king opened the ſeſſions with a very long, lively, and pathetic ſpeech, but, at the ſame time, extremely offenſive to the princes of whom mention was made. The ſpeech was as follows:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I acquainted you laſt year with the treaties of peace and commerce concluded between the emperor and the king of Spain. As that ſudden and unaccountable conjunction gave, at the firſt appearance, juſt grounds of jealouſy and apprehenſion to the neighbouring powers of Europe, and the ſubſequent proceedings and tranſactions in thoſe two courts, and the ſecret and offenſive alliences concluded between them about the ſame time, have laid the foundations of a moſt exorbitant and formidable power, and are ſo directly levelled againſt the moſt valuable and darling intereſts and privileges of this nation, that we muſt determine either tamely to ſubmit to the peremptory and unjuſt demands of the king of Spain in giving up Gibraltar, and patiently to acquieſce in the emperor's uſurped and extended exerciſe of trade and commerce, or muſt reſolve to be in a condition to do ourſelves juſtice, and to defend our undoubted rights againſt thoſe reciprocal engagements, entered into in defiance and violation of all the national faith and the moſt ſolemn treaties.

'I have likewiſe received information from different parts, on which I can intirely depend, that the placing the pretender upon the throne of this kingdom is one of the articles of the ſecret engagements: and if time ſhall evince, that the giving up the trade of this nation to one power, and Gibraltar and Port-Mahon to another, is made the price and reward of impoſing upon this kingdom a popiſh pretender: what an indignation muſt this raiſe in the breaſt of every proteſtant Briton!

'Nor were theſe fatal combinations confined to thoſe parts of the world alone, but they extended themſelves into Ruſſia; and, had not the deſigns of that court againſt ſome of their neighbours been prevented, by the ſeaſonable arrival of our fleet in thoſe ſeas, a way had been opened for invading thoſe kindoms, and giving a powerful aſſiſtance to any attempt to be made from other quarters.

'Such circumſtances would not ſuffer me and my allies, among whom there has been and is the moſt perfect harmony, union, and concert, to be idle ſpectators, and regardleſs of our own ſafety, and the common cauſe of Europe; for which purpoſe his moſt chriſtian majeſty has been at a great expence, this laſt year, in augmenting his forces; and the ſtates-general, ſenſible of the imminent danger, have not only acceded to the defenſive alliance concluded at Hanover, but have come to ſtrong and ſeaſonable reſolutions for an extraordinary augmentation of their forces both by ſea and land. The acceſſion of the crown of Sweden is in ſuch a forwardneſs, and the negotiations with the crown of Denmark are ſo far advanced, that we may reaſonably depend upon the ſucceſs and good effect of them.

'This ſhort view of the preſent poſture of affairs, will, I am confident, not only ſecure to me the ſupport and aſſiſtance of my parliament, in carrying on this great and neceſſary work, in conjunction with my allies, but juſtify the meaſures hitherto taken, and the expences already made.

'The confidence, you repoſed in me laſt year, has been made uſe of for the benefit of the public: and as the chief article of exceeding has by my equipping and ſending to ſea three conſiderable ſquadrons, fallen upon the head of the navy, I am perſuaded the neceſſity of the ſervices, and the ſecurity, advantage, and glory, that has accrued to this nation from thoſe ſquadrons, will ſufficiently ſpeak for themſelves, as long as both friends and foes, with joy and concern, confeſs they have ſeen and felt the effects of the naval power of Great-Britain.

'It is not to be wondered at, that the princes engaged in theſe enterprizes are very much diſturbed to ſee their projects rendered abortive. The king of Spain, impatient of the diſappointments he has met with, can no longer diſguiſe that enmity to us, which for ſome time he has only waited for a favourable opportunity to declare. He has now ordered his miniſter, reſiding here, to depart immediately from this country, leaving a memorial, that is little ſhort of a declaration of war, wherein he again demands and inſiſts upon the reſtitution of Gibraltar. He does not himſelf deny the offenſive alliance, nor his engagements to ſupport the Oſtend company. He makes my recalling thoſe ſquadrons, which his conduct has put me under a neceſſity of ſending to the Weſt-Indies, and the coaſt of Spain, the condition of any further correſpondence between the two crowns; and ſuppoſing the continuance of my fleets abroad to be actual hoſtilities, threatens to repel them with force, to the utmoſt of his power.

'But not content with theſe menaces, inſults and infractions of treaties, his catholic majeſty is now making preparations to attac and beſiege Gibraltar; and in order to carry on that ſervice, or to cover another deſign, has aſſembled a great body of troops in that neighbourhood. But as the preſent ſtate and condition of that garriſon, with the reinforcement I have ordered thither, give me little cauſe to apprehend, or my enemies to hope for ſucceſs in that undertaking, the certain and undoubted intelligence I have, that it is now reſolved to attempt an invaſion upon theſe kingdoms in favour of the pretender, by an imbarkation from the coaſts of Spain, gives me reaſon to believe, that, though the ſiege of Gibraltar may probably be undertaken, the public, avowed, and immenſe preparations made for that purpoſe are chiefly calculated to amuſe the world and to diſguiſe the intended invaſion, which I am ſurely informed has been for ſome time agreed to be the firſt ſtep and beginning of the long premeditated rupture.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

'Theſe conſiderations muſt awaken in you all ſuch a ſenſe of our common, and immediate danger, as will, I doubt not, inſpire you with a zeal and chearfulneſs in raiſing the ſupplies neceſſary for the defence of your country, and for making good our engagements with our allies.

'I received too much ſatisfaction from the happineſs of my people in their full enjoyment and future proſpect of peace, eaſe, and proſperity, not to be ſenſibly affected with theſe new convulſions, and the unavoidable neceſſity I am under of aſking larger ſupplies of my people, and of deſiring to be enabled to make ſuch an augmentation of my forces by ſea and land, as the preſent exigency of my affairs requires.

'I will order the proper eſtimates to be laid before you, and ſuch treaties as I have made with foreign princes for the hire of foreign troops: and as the expence, I was laſt year in a particular manner intruſted to make, has amounted to no inconſiderable ſum, and the public utility may again require the like ſervices to be performed, I hope you will again repoſe the ſame truſt and confidence in me.

'It is with great pleaſure that I ſee the time ſo near approaching, when ſuch a conſiderable addition will be made to the ſinking fund. Let all, that wiſh well to the peace and quiet of my government, have the ſatisfaction to ſee, that our preſent neceſſities ſhall make no interruption in the progreſs of that deſirable work of gradually diſcharging the national debt. I hope therefore you will make a proviſion for the immediate application of the produce of the ſink-

ing fund to the uſes for which it was ſo wiſely contrived, and to which it ſtands now appropriated.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I have had no thoughts of making any acquiſition to any part of my dominions. My whole care and concern has been to preſerve and maintain the undoubted rights and privileges of my people; and therefore all my meaſures have been preventive and defenſive. But, ſuch endeavours being now rendered impracticable, vigorous reſolutions, and a ſpeedy execution of them, can alone put an effectual end to the dangers that ſurround us. However hazardous and deſperate the enterprizes formed againſt us may appear to be, your being aſſured that they are reſolved upon, will, I am perſuaded, be ſufficient to prevail upon you, to put yourſelves in a condition to reſiſt and defeat them.

'If preſerving a due balance of power in Europe; if defending the poſſeſſions of the crown of Great-Britain, of infinite advantage and ſecurity to our trade and commerce; if ſupporting that trade and commerce againſt dangerous and unlawful incroachments; and if the preſent eſtabliſhment, the religion, liberties, and properties of a proteſtant people, are any longer conſiderations worthy of the care and attention of a Britiſh parliament, I need ſay no more to incite my loyal and faithful houſes of parliament to exert themſelves in the defence of all that is dear and valuable to them.'

The zeal and indignation raiſed by this ſpeech was ſo great, that in the addreſſes of thanks, words were wanted to expreſs the deep reſentment at the inſults offered the king, at the invaſions of the moſt valuable branches of trade, at the deſigns formed againſt the nation, and to applaud the wiſe meaſures taken by the king, to prevent the deſtructive deſigns againſt the liberties of Europe. However, when the addreſs was moved for in the houſe of commons, it was oppoſed by mr. Pulteney and others. They urged, 'that the matter of peace and war is of the greateſt weight that can fall under their conſideration: that, as his majeſty's ſpeech contained many points of the higheſt moment and importance, ſo no doubt his majeſty, in his great wiſdom and goodneſs towards his people, expected, on this occaſion, not only the ſupport, but likewiſe the advice of that houſe: that in order thereto, they ought maturely to deliberate on thoſe ſeveral heads, which could not be done, before ſeveral papers were communicated to them, that ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary to ſtate ſome facts relating to thoſe weighty matters: that the motion, as it was drawn up, implied an approbation of meaſures taken to prevent dangers; which ſeemed prepoſterous, before they new either what thoſe meaſures were, or whether thoſe dangers were real: that therefore they ought, for the preſent to content themſelves with returning his majeſty the moſt humble thanks of the houſe, for his moſt gracious ſpeech, with aſſurances of ſupporting his majeſty in all juſt and neceſſary meaſures; and appoint a day for taking the ſpeech into conſideration.' To this it was anſwered in general, 'that delays were often dangerous, and might be fatal in the preſent ſituation of affairs, which required vigorous and ſpeedy reſolutions, both for the encouragement of our friends, and the perfecting ſome alliances, that were already in great forwardneſs, and for the diſcouragement of our enemies, who had already blocked up Gibraltar, and threatened it with a ſiege: that the meaſures, that had been taken, were but a conſequence of the laſt year's reſolution, which the houſe had come to, after a full examination and mature conſideration of the ſtate of affairs, then laid before both houſes by his majeſty: but that, however ſuch an addreſs, as was propoſed, did not preclude a further enquiry into thoſe matters.' As the promiſe of reſtoring Gibraltar was mentioned in ſome of the ſpeeches, ſir Robert Walpole ſaid, 'that, ſuch a promiſe not having been made, while he had the honour to be in the adminiſtration, he could ſay nothing to it: that, if ſuch a promiſe was ever made, he durſt aver, that it was conditional, and made void and invalid by the king of Spain's refuſing to comply with the conditions on which it was made; and that, whenever the performance of that promiſe was mentioned to him, as inſiſted on by the king of Spain, he always delivered it at his fixed and poſitive opinion, That Gibraltar could not be given up without the conſent of parliament.' After the debate, the addreſs was carried by 251 againſt 81.

The commons, purſuant to the king's deſire in his ſpeech, applied themſelves to the affair of the ſupplies. It was unanimouſly reſolved to grant 20,000 ſeamen, and to augment the land-forces to 26,383 men. To defray the expence of the fleet and army, ſir Robert Walpole propoſed a tax of four ſhillings in the pound on land. This was oppoſed by ſome members who alledged, That it was more eligible to apply the produce of the ſinking fund towards the preſent occaſion; but the land-tax was voted. [p]

The warmeſt debate this ſeſſion was in the houſe of lords, on the 24th of January, all the peers in London having been ſummoned to attend. In a grand committee, of which the lord de la War was chairman, the clerk was directed to read the titles of the papers that had been laid before the houſe, conſiſting chiefly of letters and memorials between the miniſters of Great-Britain, France, and Spain, and the act of acceſſion of the ſtates to the Hanover treaty. This done, the debate was opened by the lord Bathurſt, whoſe ſpeech, and the lord Townſhend's anſwer, were as follow: the lord Bathurſt began with taking notice, 'with what caution and circumſpection the ſtates-general had acted in this whole affair. That they had not fully and intirely acceded to the treaty of Hanover, ſince they had formally and expreſsly excuſed and diſcharged themſelves from the general guarantee of the treaties of Weſtphalia and Oliva, in which, they ſaid, they were never engaged. And, as to the buſineſs of Thorn, they had only promiſed to employ their friendly offices for obtaining a reaſonable ſatisfaction. So that they acceded only upon account of the 5th and 6th articles of the treaty of Munſter, for preſerving and maintaining their rights with reſpect to commerce; whereas, by the treaty of Hanover, Great-Britain and France ſtood engaged to guarantee to the Dutch, not only the 5th and 6th articles of the peace of Weſtphalia, but likewiſe the barrier treaty, and the treaty of Oliva, in favour of the proteſtants of Germany. And thus, in ſhort, the Dutch having engaged themſelves to nothing, what they had done, did not deſerve the name of acceſſion, the rather becauſe they had made it an expreſs condition, that their act of acceſſion ſhould be approved and ratified by the king of Great-Britain, the moſt chriſtian king, and the king of Pruſſia. But, though this laſt potentate was one of the principal contractors in the treaty of Hanover, yet, no mention being now made of him, he could not tell what to make of it. That it ſeems his miniſter had refuſed ſigning the act of acceſſion, propably upon account of the Dutch excuſing themſelves from the general guarantee. But, let his reaſons for receding from his engagements be what they would, his example might be of dangerous conſequence; for by a letter from the duke de Bournonville, the Spaniſh miniſter at Vienna, it appeared, that they were not without hopes at the imperial court, that France might thereby think herſelf diſengaged from the Hanover alliance; in which event Great-Britain alone muſt bear the burthen of an expenſive war with two of the greateſt potentates in Europe. That, the Dutch receiving far greater advantages than Great-Britain, from the Eaſt-India trade, and conſequently being more concerned than we in the ſuppreſſion of the Oſtend company, they ought, at leaſt, to bear an equal ſhare with us in the expences of this war, and guarantee to us the poſſeſſion of Gibraltar, in the ſame manner as Great-Britain guarantees to them their barrier. That, after all, he did not ſee any juſt reaſon for a rupture with Spain. That indeed the duke de Ripperda might have dropped ſome indecent and indiſcreet expreſſions; but he was known to be a hot-headed man; and princes have a right to diſavow the indiſcretions of their miniſters, which the king of Spain had done in a moſt ſolemn manner, with relation to Ripperda. That it was well known, that violent miniſters do many unaccountable things. And, if their idle talk and fooliſh expreſſions were a juſt foundation

[p] The whole ſupply of this laſt year of king George was as followes

		l.	s.	d.
Jan. 24.	For 20,000 ſeamen	1,040,000	0	0
—— 26.	For 26,383 land-men	885,494	9	4
——	For garriſons in the plantations, Minorca, Gibraltar, &c.	157,637	6	5
——	For extra expences, not provided for	30,750	19	5
Feb. 2.	For the office of land-ordinary	100,000	0	0
——	For the ordinary of the navy	199,071	7	8
Feb. 14.	For half-pay officers	60,000	0	0
——	For Chelſea hoſpital out-penſioners	4,847	2	0
——	For arrears to the Landg. of Heſſe	50,000	0	0
——	For 12,000 Heſſians	170,000	0	0
——	For deficiency of funds	160,306	17	5
Mar. 21.	For making good the deficiency of the general funds	54,196	7	9
		2,998,104	11	0

for war, nations would ever be at daggers drawing. That, for ſome time paſt, the emperor had been treated here very cavalierly by ſome perſons; and that, in the memorial the marquis de Pozzobueno left behind him, at his departure, it was ſuggeſted, That the violent ſtate, to which affairs are now reduced, is owing to the miniſters of England. That, in the ſame memorial, mention is made of a poſitive promiſe made by the king of Great-Britain for the reſtitution of Gibraltar; which could not be ſuppoſed to be ſaid without any foundation: and therefore it would be highly neceſſary to enquire, whether, in reality, ſuch a promiſe was ever made; and whether any thing like it was mentioned in the treaty concluded at Madrid? That, let that matter ſtand how it would, all poſſible methods of an amicable accommodation ought, in his opinion, to be tried before they engaged in a war, which in our preſent circumſtances, might be attended with very dangerous conſequences. That the nation is loaded with a debt of above fifty millions. But, though they are told of a ſinking fund applied to the gradual diſcharge of that heavy burden, yet it was more to be wiſhed than expected, that the operation of that wiſe contrivance ſhould ſuffer no interruption by the exigences inſeparable from a war. That one of our beſt mathematicians has foretold, that, if ever England raiſes above five millions in a year, it will infallibly be exhauſted and ruined in a few years. Now if, at this juncture, we ſhould enter upon a war, and not meddle with the ſinking fund, according to the ſcheme of thoſe in adminiſtration, they muſt be obliged to raiſe, at leaſt, ſeven millions a year upon the people of England; the conſequence of which was obvious and glaring to any one, who admitted the principle of that mathematician. That, in ſome of the papers laid before the houſe, mention was made of great ſums of money diſtributed in divers places, to bring ſome meaſures to bear. That, for his own part, he had touched neither Spaniſh nor Engliſh gold. He was neither a Spaniard, nor a Frenchman, but a true Engliſhman, and, as long as he had the honour to ſit in that houſe, he would ſpeak and act for the good of his country. That therefore he would ſum up all he had ſaid, with earneſtly deſiring their lordſhips ſeriouſly to conſider the matter before them, which was of the laſt conſequence and importance to the whole nation. What (ſaid he) can we get by a war, if it be a ſucceſsful one? I will ſay it in one word, Nothing. What can we loſe, if it be unproſperous? I will ſay in one word, in a ſyllable, All.'

This ſpeech was anſwered by the lord Townſhend, who ſaid, 'that the treaty of Hanover, being purely defenſive, had made no alteration in the treaties ſubſiſting before, either between the contracting powers, or other princes and ſtates. That the true aim and intention of this alliance was a reciprocal guarantee for the protecting and maintaining the dominions and countries, both in and out of Europe, whereof each of the allies was actually poſſeſſed at the time of the ſigning this alliance. So that, by acceding thereto, the crowns of Great-Britain and France became guarantees of the 5th and 6th articles of the treaty of Munſter, by which the Dutch are intitled to excluſive rights and privileges of trade in the Eaſt-Indies. But that this gurantee was reciprocal between Great-Britain and the ſtates-general, ſince, by the treaty of 1667, Spain had granted to England the ſame rights and privileges, which the Dutch enjoyed by the 5th and 6th articles of the treaty of Weſtphalia. That therefore the ſuppreſſing of the Oſtend company, which manifeſtly invaded thoſe excluſive rights and privileges, was become a common cauſe between us and the Dutch. That our concern therein is almoſt equal to theirs; ſince our Eaſt-India trade brings about 300,000l. a year into the cuſtoms; which being part of the general mortgage, if ſo conſiderable a branch of trade ſhould be loſt, that yearly ſum would be taken from the ſinking fund. That by former treaties Great-Britain was guarantee to the Dutch for their barrier in the Netherlands as reciprocally, by the ſame treaties, they were guarantees to Great-Britain for the proteſtant ſucceſſion. So that, in thoſe reſpects, we ſtood no more engaged to them, than they to us. That, indeed, by their act of acceſſion to the Hanover alliance, the ſtates-general exempt themſelves from the general guarantee of the treaties of Weſtphalia, and Oliva, to whtch they never ſtood engaged; but, nevertheleſs, by the ſame act, they engage themſelves to employ, jointly with Great-Britain and France, their friendly offices for obtaining a reaſonable ſatisfaction and reparation as to the infractions, which might have been made in the treaty of Oliva; which is as much as the contracting powers have engaged themſelves to be the firſt ſecret article of the treaty of Hanover, and is indeed as little, as the proteſtant potentates could do, in commiſeration of the ſeverities lately exerciſed againſt the proteſtants of Thorn. That as to the idle talk and indecent expreſſions of duke de Repperda, they were not alledged as a juſt foundation for a rupture with Spain, but only as pregnant and corroborating indication of an offenſive alliance between that prince and the emperor, of which there were ſuch convincing proofs as left no room to doubt it. That, as to the ſecret article of that alliance in favour of the pretender, his majeſty had received from ſeveral parts ſuch poſitive and concurring informations, that, if the ſafety of the ſtate permitted to lay thoſe adviſes before the houſe, they would no more queſtion the certainty of ſuch article, than if they had been preſent at the ſigning of it. But he hoped that illuſtrious aſſembly would not think any of his majeſty's ſervants, who had the honour to ſit among them, ſo audatious, as to tell them downright untruths, or to preſume to impoſe upon their lordſhips, by alledging facts of ſo geat importance, without ſufficient vouchers. That, as to the other articles of the ſecret offenſive alliance, relating to the ſupporting of the Oſtend company, and the reſtitution of Gibraltar, the king of Spain and his miniſters were ſo far from denying them, that, on the contrary, they did not ſcruple publicly to avow and juſtify them. That therefore his majeſty could not, in prudence, but take early and proper meaſures to oppoſe an alliance, ſo directly levelled againſt his crown and dignity, and invaſive of the moſt valuable rights and privileges acquired to his ſubjects by the moſt ſolemn treaties. That, at the ſame time, notwithſtanding theſe high provocations, his majeſty ſhewed his inclination and diſpoſition to an amicable accommodation; and with this view, it was intimated to the courts of Vienna and Madrid, that if the emperor would remove the Oſtend company to Trieſte, or any other place in his dominions, which did not heretofore belong to the Spaniſh monarchy, Great-Britain would quietly acquieſce. But inſtead of accepting this propoſal, thoſe two courts not only ſeemed reſolved to ſupport the Oſtend trade, but Spain, in the memorial lately preſented by the marquis de Pozzobueno inſiſted on the ſpeedy reſtitution of Gibraltar, by virtue of a pretended poſitive promiſe, that exiſts no where; which put his majeſty and the whole nation under the neceſſity of a vigorous ſelf-defence.'

After theſe and ſeveral other ſpeeches, particularly by the lord Bingley, who was anſwered by the lord Carteret, it was reſolved (by 98 againſt 25) that it fully appears to this committee, upon conſideration of his majeſty's ſpeech, and the letters and memorials laid before the houſe, by his majeſty's order, That the meaſures his majeſty had thought fit to take, were honourable, juſt, and neceſſary, for preventing the execution of the dangerous engagements, entered into in favour of the pretender; for preſerving the dominions belonging to the crown of Great-Britain, by ſolemn treaties, and, particularly, thoſe of Gibraltar, and the iſland of Minorca; and for maintaining to his people their moſt valuable rights and privileges of commerce, and the peace and tranquility of Europe.'

Againſt this reſolution, a proteſt was entered by ſeventeen lords; and the lord Lechmere moved for an addreſs to the king, 'to make new and preſſing inſtances with his Pruſſian majeſty, and his other allies, in ſuch manner as the preſent critical and dangerous juncture requires.' But this motion was rejected, which occaſioned another proteſt.

Mean time the commons addreſſed the king for the acceſſion of the ſtates to the treaty of Hanover, and for copies of the memorials, letters, anſwers between the Britiſh miniſters and the courts of Vienna and Madrid. Some puſhed matters farther, and moved for a copy of the memorial preſented by mr. Pointz to the king of Sweden, the 4th of June 1726, and alſo for the ſecret offenſive article between the emperor and the king of Spain; but both theſe motions were rejected. As the court of Spain had perſiſted in the reſtitution of Gibraltar, purſuant to a promiſe made to that purpoſe, it was moved for an addreſs for the declaration,* letters, or engagements, which, in the marquis de Pozzobueno's letter to the duke of Newcaſtle, of the 21ſt of December laſt, is aſſerted to be a poſitive promiſe. ¶

¶ The paragraph in the letter relating to Gibraltar was as follows:

'But as to what was then declared to mr. Stanhope by word of mouth, and in writing, that the good correſpondence and friendſhip with England depended abſolutely on the ſpeedy reſtitution of Gibraltar; I cannot avoid confirming it anew to your excellency, by order from the king my maſter, as a declaration moſt juſtly founded, inſiſting on that reſtitution, after the king of Great-Britain, had on this point given, as he did give, a poſitive promiſe; beſides that, on the other hand, the ceſſion, which his majeſty made precedently of that place, is become null, becauſe of the infractions made in the conditions on which it was permitted that the Engliſh garriſon

This motion was ſupported by mr. Pulteney, and oppoſed by ſir Robert Walpole, who did not diſown, 'that ſuch a promiſe might indeed have been made in a former adminiſtration; but this he was ſure of, that, if there was ſuch a promiſe, it was upon certain conditions which not having been performed within the limited time, it was thereby become invalid: and as for the declaration, or letter, the communication of which was inſiſted on, the ſame was altogether impracticable and unprecedented, the private letters of princes being almoſt as ſacred as their very perſons.' After a debate, this motion was alſo rejected by a majority of 204 againſt 97. After this, the lord Morpeth moved 'for an addreſs for copies of all ſuch memorials or repreſentations to his majeſty from the crowns of Sweden and Denmark, as did induce him to ſend the ſquadron the laſt year into the Baltic.' This motion was oppoſed by mr. Horace Walpole, who, in a long ſpeech, juſtified all the ſteps that had been taken by Great-Britain, ſince his majeſty's acceſſion (particularly from the opening of the congreſs at Cambray) to preſerve the balance of power, the peace of Europe, and the tranquility of the north; and with this laſt view to prevent the czarina's deſigns againſt Sweden and Denmark, in favour of the duke of Holſtein. mr. William Pulteney anſwered his ſpeech; but, the queſtion being put upon the lord Morpeth's motion, it paſſed in the negative by a majority of 196 voices againſt 79.

In the account how the money given for the ſervice of the laſt year was diſpoſed of, there was an article of the ſum of 125,000l. charged in general terms, as iſſued out for other engagements and expences, over and above ſuch as were therein ſpecified. Upon this it was reſolved to addreſs the king for an account of the diſpoſition of that money; in anſwer to which the houſe was told, 'that the ſum mentioned in the addreſs was iſſued and diſburſed, purſuant to the power given to his majeſty by parliament, for neceſſary ſervices and engagements, of the utmoſt importance to the trade and navigation of this kingdom, and the tranquility of Europe; and which require the greateſt ſecrecy, and therefore a particular account of the diſtribution of it cannot poſſibly be given, without a manifeſt prejudice to the public.'

Mr Pulteney, not ſatisfied with this anſwer, ſaid, 'that, when the commons, in the laſt ſeſſion, reſolved to make good all ſuch expences, as ſhould be for the ſecurity of trade and navigation, and for the preſervation of the peace of Europe, they did not diveſt themſelves of their undoubted right of being acquainted with the diſpoſition of public money: that, if they gave up ſo eſſential a right, that houſe would become altogether uſeleſs, to ſerve only blindly to approve of and regiſter the acts and deeds of the miniſters; that he did not, in the leaſt, doubt the diſburſement of the 125,000l. for neceſſary ſervices: but that, if they were ſatisfied with ſuch a general account, the ſame might in future reigns prove a very dangerous precedent, and ſerve to cover embezzlements of the public treaſure.' Then he moved for a further addreſs for an account of that ſum. But the queſtion was carried againſt addreſſing, by 235 againſt 110; and inſtead of it, it was reſolved without a diviſion, 'that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, to return his majeſty the thanks of this houſe, for his great care and wiſdom, in taking ſuch ſteps, and entering into ſuch engagements, as his majeſty thought would beſt conduce to the ſecuring of the trade and navigation of this kingdom, and to the preſervation of the peace of Europe; and to aſſure his majeſty, that this houſe, placing an entire confidence in his majeſty's goodneſs and regard for the true intereſt of his people, will ſtand by and ſupport his majeſty in all ſuch further meaſures, as his majeſty ſhall find neceſſary and expedient for preventing a rupture for the honour and advantage of theſe kingdoms.'

The king's ſpeech was examined in other places as well as in the parliament. The court of Vienna took great offence, and paſſed ſevere cenſures upon it. The imperial reſident at London was ordered to preſent a bold memorial to the king, and afterwards to publiſh it to the whole nation, as an appeal to the people againſt their ſovereign. With it was publiſhed count Zinzendorff's letter to Palms, which was ſtill more injurious than the memorial.[r]

The king had the ſatisfaction to ſee this memorial highly reſented by the parliament. Both houſes joined in an addreſs, expreſſing their indignation at the affront offered to his majeſty, by the memorial of mr. Palms, and at his inſolence in diſperſing the ſame throughout the kingdom: aſſuring, that this audacious manner of appealing to the people, and turning a memorial into a ſeditious libel, was a proceeding that created in them the utmoſt abhorrence and deteſtation.

'The endeavouring (ſays the addreſs) to inſtil into the minds of any of your faithful ſubjects the leaſt diſtruſt or diffidence in your majeſty's moſt ſacred royal word, or to

ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of Gibraltar; ſeeing that, contrary to all the proteſtations made, they have not only extended their fortifications, by exceeding the limits preſcribed and ſtipulated, but what is more, contrary to the expreſs and literal tenor of the treaties, they receive and admit the Jews and Moors, in the ſame manner as the Spaniards, and other nations confounded and mixed, contrary to our holy religion; not to mention the frauds and continual contrabands which are carried on there, to the prejudice of his majeſty's revenues.'

[r] The memorial was as follows:

Moſt Serene and Potent King,

'As ſoon as the ſpeech, made by your majeſty to the parliament of Great-Britain now aſſembled, came to the knowledge of his imperial and catholic majeſty, my moſt gracious maſter, he was ſtruc with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, that your majeſty could ſuffer yourſelf to be prevailed upon to declare from the royal throne, to that moſt renowned nation, in a manner hitherto unheard-of, as certain and undoubted facts, ſeveral things, ſome of which are ſtrained in that ſpeech to a wrong ſenſe, ſome are intirely diſtant from the intentions of his imperial and catholic majeſty; and laſtly (which affect much more ſenſibly than all the reſt) ſome things abſolutely void of all foundation.

For as to what regards the peace, concluded at Vienna, with the moſt ſerene king of Spain, who can forbear being aſtoniſhed, that this very peace, which is built on the quadruple alliance, ſigned at London, and other treaties contracted with your majeſty, as its ſolid foundation; and, for the obtaining of which peace, your majeſty, together with your allies, waged ſo bloody, ſo long, and ſo glorious a war, and took yourſelf ſo much pains to procure, ſhould now be alledged by your majeſty as a juſt ground of complaint, and ſhould be made uſe of as a pretence for theſe things, which hitherto your miniſters have been doing in all parts, to the great detriment of the emperor and the empire, and the public tranquility, and ſhould be repreſented by your majeſty to the Britiſh nation, with ſo much animoſity againſt the emperor and king of Spain, as a violation of treaties.

After complaining of the peace made at Vienna, complaint is likewiſe made of the treaty of commerce entered into with Spain, which is calculated to promote the mutual and lawful advantages of the ſubjects of both parties, which is agreeable to the law of nations, and to the cuſtoms of all people in amity with each other; which can in no reſpect be of any prejudice to the Britiſh nation, whether we regard the ſituation of the countries, or the particular nature of the trade, and which is not in the leaſt repugnant to the treaties made with Great-Britain. So that, if this treaty be conſidered with a mind free from prejudice, and from all deſign of inflaming the nation, there will remain no pretence to ſay, that this treaty can be grievous or hurtful to a nation for which his imperial majeſty has the greateſt affection and eſteem, and whoſe glorious exploits and important ſuccours no time will efface out of his memory.

The other head of complaint, which contains ſuch things as are void of all foundation, relates principally to that imaginary alliance, which in the ſpeech is called offenſive, and is there ſuppoſed to have been made againſt your majeſty, between the emperor and king of Spain. But it will not only appear how groundleſs and frivolous this ſuppoſition is, from the offer lately made by his imperial and catholic majeſty, of entering into a convention, De ſe mutuo non Offendendo, but will be entirely refuted by the conſideration of the tenor of the treaty of alliance and friendſhip itſelf made with the crown of Spain, and communicated in its whole extent to your majeſty when it was proper; from the words of which, whether the leaſt ſhadow or appearance of an offenſive alliance can be drawn, is ſubmitted to the judgment of the whole world.

Another part of the complaint relates to the ſecret articles made in favour of the pretender, whereof your majeſty aſſerts that you have certain and undoubted informations, by which articles it ſhould have been agreed to ſet the pretender on the throne of Great-Britain. With what view, on what motive, and to what purpoſe, theſe informations, founded on the falſeſt reports, were repreſented to the people of Great-Britain, is not only eaſy to be underſtood by his imperial catholic majeſty, but is obvious to the meaneſt capacity. But ſince the inviolable dignity and honour of ſuch great princes cannot ſuffer, that aſſertions of this nature, intirely unſupported by truth, ſhould be advanced from the royal throne to the whole nation, and to all mankind; his ſacred imperial and catholic majeſty has expreſsly commanded me, that I ſhould declare to your majeſty, and to the whole kingdom of Great-Britain, how highly he thinks himſelf affronted thereby, ſolemnly affirming, upon his imperial word, that there exiſts no ſecret article nor convention whatſoever, which contains, or can tend to prove the leaſt tittle of what has been alledged.

But that the ſecret deſigns, which lie concealed under a conduct till this time unheard of, may more manifeſtly appear, it muſt be obſerved, that the time is purpoſely taken for doing this, when a negotiation is on foot at Paris, for compoſing the differences which have ariſen without any fault of his imperial and catholic majeſty; which negotiation ſufficiently ſhews how much his imperial and catholic majeſty is at all times inclined to peace, and to the religious obſervation of his treaties.

As to what is ſaid of Gibraltar, and concerning the ſiege thereof, under which in the ſpeech it is inſinuated, as if ſome other deſign was concealed; the hoſtilities notoriouſly committed in the Indies, and elſwhere, againſt the king of Spain, in violation of treaties, ſeem to have given a very juſt occaſion to the king of Spain for attempting that ſiege. But, as to the intentions and engagements of the emperor upon that article, it is eaſy to ſee what they are, by the treaty above-mentioned, which has been communicated.

As to what is ſaid in the laſt place, concerning the Oſtend trade, which the goodneſs of the catholic king induced him to favour (being bound by no treaty) after he had been apprized of the juſt reaſons for the eſtabliſhment of it, various expedients for a compoſition have been propoſed, not only at the Hague, but even lately at Paris, leſt this harmleſs method of providing for the ſecurity of the barrier ſhould prove an obſtacle to the common friendſhip of neighbouring powers.

Which things being thus, the injury offered to truth, the honour and dignity of his ſacred imperial and catholic majeſty require, that they ſhould be expoſed to your majeſty, to the kingdom of Great-Britain, and to the whole world. And his ſacred imperial majeſty demands that reparation which is due to him by all manner of right, for the great injuries which have been done him by theſe many imputations.'

make a diſtinction between your majeſty and your people, is an attempt as vain as preſumptuous. If time has not effaced the memory of the glorious exploits, and important ſuccours (confeſſed to have been received from Great-Britain) gratitude, affection, and eſteem for this nation, will be beſt manifeſted, by doing honour to the king, whom the people honour, and juſtice to the people, whoſe rights and privileges the beſt of kings is now defending, againſt the invaſions and incroachments made upon them.' Beſides this addreſs, the lord Townſhend ſent a letter in the king's name to the emperor's reſident, ordering him forthwith to depart the kingdom.

About the ſame time monſieur de Chavigny, the French miniſter at the general diet of Ratiſbon, preſented a declaration to the diet, affirming that the preparations, which were making in France, were only for the preſervation of peace: that the guarantee of the treaty of Munſter, in favour of the ſtates, did not any way concern the Germanic body: that, far from deſigning to invade the territories of Germany, the king of France on the contrary would exert himſelf to preſerve their rights and privileges: that the report, as if his ambaſſador at the port had ſollicited the Turks to come to reſolutions againſt the peace of the empire, was a calumny: that he would faithfully obſerve the treaty of Weſtphalia: and hoped for a ſuitable return by the like ſentiments and diſpoſitions.

The imperial commiſſioners at the diet were highly offended at this declaration, which was not regiſtered according to cuſtom, and they publiſhed a few days after an imperial decree, full of invectives againſt the ſteps taken by the courts of Great-Britain and France, particularly againſt his Britannic majeſty's ſpeech to his parliament. Mr Le Heup, the Britiſh miniſter at Ratiſbon, delivered the next day to the diet a declaration of the ſame import with Chavigny's, which raiſed a great ferment among the imperialiſts, who loudly complained, 'that this ſecond declaration was manifeſtly intended as a perſonal inſult to his imperial majeſty, ſince it was preſented in open defiance of his decree againſt the firſt.' But to this it was anſwered, in behalf of the Britiſh miniſter, 'that he was not to take any public notice of his imperial majeſty's decree; and that ſuch decrees, in what form or ſtile ſoever, cannot divert or interrupt foreign miniſters in the exerciſe of their functions, directed to the ſtates of the empire, and not to the emperor; nor in the execution of the orders they may, at any time, receive from their reſpective maſters.' The imperial miniſters at Ratiſbon made alſo a terrible outcry againſt an expreſſion in the Engliſh and French envoy's memorials, wherein they call the charge againſt the kings their maſters, as if they had endeavoured to excite the Ottoman port againſt the emperor, by no ſofter a name than that of calumny; which was ſo warmly reſented, that the imperialiſts gave out, there could be no reconciliation between the emperor and the king of Great-Britain, till ſatisfaction was made for that affront.

The king at this time had the ſatisfaction of hearing the king of Sweden's acceſſion to the treaty of Hanover. This acceſſion was ſigned the 14th of March, at Stockholm. The king of Sweden was to furniſh, when the caſe of the alliance ſhould happen, three thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe: his guarantee was not to reach beyond the limits of Europe; the ſtipulated troops were not to be employed in Italy or Spain: his engagement was only with Great-Britain and France. The main point was the ſecret article, by virtue of which the two kings, to ſhew their friendſhip to his Swediſh majeſty, were to pay at Hamburgh, Amſterdam, or London, as Sweden ſhould direct, the ſum of 50,000l. ſterling for three years, or the value thereof, according to the exchange, in half-yearly payments. In return for this mark of their friendſhip, the king of Sweden was to hold in readineſs another body of 7,000 foot, and 3,000 horſe to be employed where the caſes of the alliance ſhould render it neceſſary. Provided however, that, when their Britannic and moſt chriſtian majeſties ſhould require the ſervice of theſe 10,000 men, they ſhould be in their pay, and liable to be recalled when Sweden ſhould be in any real or imminent danger.

The king of Denmark did not accede in form to the treaty of Hanover, but ſigned an alliance the 16th of April. The king of Denmark promiſed to keep on foot 24,000 men, ready to march upon the firſt advice of the motion of the Muſcovites, or of any other troops that ſhould come to attack Sleſwick, and diſturb the peace of Lower Saxony: the French king promiſed to pay to his Daniſh majeſty 350,000 rix-dollars for four years, payable quarterly at Hamburgh. As ſoon as the Daniſh army ſhould march, the king of France was to take 12,000 men into his pay: his Britannic majeſty was to hold in readineſs 12,000 men to join the 24,000 Danes, when they began to march and to ſend a ſquadron of ſhips to cover the Daniſh coaſts upon the firſt advice of the motions of the Muſcovite fleet. The French king was to hold in readineſs at leaſt 30,000 men to march or make diverſions where it ſhoud be needful, and his Britannic majeſty engaged to have likewiſe in readineſs another body of at leaſt 12,000 men for the ſame purpoſes. If the king of Pruſſia ſhould be attacked for refuſing paſſage to the Muſcovites, the contracting kings were to join their armies in his defence. By the ſecret articles, the king of Denmark was not to diſpoſe of any troops contrary to the intereſt of the two kings. If the French king ſhould deſire to employ the 12,000 men in his pay, for affairs not relating to Denmark, but only to his own ſervice, or that of the treaty of Hanover, in ſuch caſes they ſhould be allowed for the ſervice of his moſt chriſtian majeſty. As the Muſcovites, in order to trouble the peace of the empire, muſt penetrate through Poland, his Poliſh majeſty was to be acquainted with the meaſures taken to hinder their coming into the empire and invited to ſtop the paſſes the Muſcovites would take in his territories.

A convention had likewiſe been made the laſt year with the prince of Heſſe by which he was to hold in readineſs, for the ſervice of Great-Britain, eight thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe. He was to maintain theſe troops at his own charge for two years. As the Landgrave had not ſo many troops on foot, and was to be at a great expence in levying what was wanted, as well as in remounting the cavalry, the king promiſed to pay him 75,000l. ſterling after the ratification of the convention, and 50,000l. in the February following, or before, in caſe the troops ſhould be required. For the ſubſidies, pay, and ſubſiſtance of theſe forces when they ſhould ſerve, they were to be ſettled according to the treaty made at London in 1722. France came not into this treaty, ſo the whole expence fell upon England.

As theſe treaties were very expenſive, an opportunity was taken, when the commons were debating, on the malt-bill, to have it moved by mr. Scroope, ſecretary of the treaſury, 'that a clauſe of appropriation ſhould be received, impowering the king to apply ſuch ſums as ſhould be neceſſary for defraying the expences and engagements as had been, or ſhould be made before the 25th of December next, in concerting ſuch meaſures as he ſhould think moſt conducive to the ſecurity of the trade and navigation, and reſtoring peace of Europe.' Upon this aroſe a very long and warm debate. It was ſaid, in ſupport of the motion, 'that his majeſty was ſo unwilling to put his ſubjects to any extraordinary expences, that he had demanded no more ſupplies this ſeſſion, than what he thought abſolutely neceſſary for the ſervice of the year: but in the preſent poſture of affairs, ſome unforeſeen accidents might require a further expence, for which no eſtimate could now be made, becauſe ſome treaties, his majeſty thought fit to enter into, were not yet finiſhed. Therefore they ought to enable him to anſwer ſuch contigences. That the houſe had ſeveral times repoſed the ſame confidence in him, which he had never abuſed: and what was now aſked was only for a ſhort time. On the the other hand, it was urged, 'that the aſking and granting ſupplies without an eſtimate was unparliamentary: that the clauſe moved for was inconſiſtent with that part of the bill, which forbids the iſſuing of the ſupplies thereby granted to any other purpoſes than thoſe ſpecified, and rendered ineffectual that appropriation of the public money, which the wiſdom of all parliaments had thought a neceſſary ſecurity againſt the miſapplication of it; which was the more to be feared, becauſe no proviſion was made to oblige any perſon to account for any money, that ſhall be diſpoſed of, by virtue of the power in this clauſe. That vaſt ſums had already been granted, which appeared ſufficient to anſwer any occaſions, as far as their preſent views could reach; and if any unexpected emergency ſhould demand a further ſupply, they might be provided for in the uſual manner, when neceſſity required. That this might be done with no leſs inconvenience, and with leſs danger of miſapplication, than by ſuch a delegation of almoſt a dictatorial authority to the miniſters. That this parliament had already given ſo many inſtances of their zeal and affection for his majeſty, that there could be no room to doubt of their readineſs to make good whatever he ſhould expend in concerting ſuch meaſures, as he ſhould think moſt conducive to the advantage and intereſt of his people. That ſuch an unlimited and abſolute power ought never to be given in a free government, but upon occaſions of evident neceſſity, when the very being of the government is in eminent danger. That the repoſing a confidence in the crown in the diſpoſition of ſuch immenſe ſums of money, as by the advice of unthrifty mi-

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niſters may be expended, might be attended with great prejudice to the properties of the ſubjects, and great danger to our moſt excellent conſtitution, which cannot be preſerved but by a ſtrict adherence to thoſe eſſential parliamantary forms of granting ſupplies only upon eſtimates, and of appropriating the ſame to ſervices and occaſions publicly avowed and judged neceſſary. That the departing from theſe excellent methods would by degrees render parliaments altogether uſeleſs. That the precedents alledged to juſtify this clauſe were far from being full to the point, and ſatisfactory; and if they were, ought not to be followed, leſt cauſes of the ſame nature might become ſo frequent, as in time to lodge in the crown, and in the miniſters, an abſolute and uncontroulable power of raiſing money upon the people, which by our wiſe conſtitution is, and with ſafety can only be, lodged in the whole legiſlature.' The debate being ended, mr. Scroop's motion was carried by a majority of 225 againſt 109; and the clauſe was added to the malt-bill; which being ſent up to the lords, occaſioned the like debate there as in the houſe of commons, but was at laſt carried by a majority of 76 againſt 20.[s]

Two days after it was moved by ſir William Yonge, 'that, towards the ſupply granted to the king, the ſum of 370,000l. ſhould be raiſed by loans on exchequer bills, to be charged on the ſurplus of the duties on coal and culm, which was reſerved for the diſpoſition of the parliament.' This motion was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed; and particularly by mr. Pulteney and ſir Joſeph Jekyll. They objected, 'that, by ſeveral votes and acts of parliament, all the exceedings or ſurpluſes of public funds were to be applied towards the leſſening of the public debts, or to the increaſe of the ſinking fund. That this diſpoſition could not be altered without wounding public credit, which was already very low, ſince the taking off any part of the mortgage could not but leſſen the ſecurity of the debt. That it was ſomewhat ſtrange, ſuch a motion ſhould be made by thoſe very perſons, who had the honour of being in the adminiſtration, who could not have forgot, what his majeſty had ſo ſtrongly recommended from the throne at the opening of this ſeſſion, That the produce of the ſinking fund might be immediately applied to the uſes, for which it was ſo wiſely contrived, and to which it now ſtands appropriated. And that this motion was ſtill the more ſurpriſing, after the large vote of credit, the houſe had ſo lately come to.' To all this it was anſwered, that the ſurpluſes in coals could not be deemed a part of the ſinking fund, ſince they had never been appropriated, but were reſerved for the diſpoſition of parliament. Upon which the motion was carried by a majority of 209 againſt 82.[t]

On the 15th of May, the king put an end to the ſeſſion, with this his laſt ſpeech to both houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I acquainted you at the opening of this ſeſſion, with the dangers which threatened this kingdom, and the peace and liberties of Europe. I am now to return you my thanks for the zeal and diſpatch, with which you have proceeded upon the ſeveral points I then recommended to your care; for the confidence you have repoſed in me; and for the aſſurance you have given me of your ſupport and aſſiſtance, in vindication of my honour, and in the maintenance and defence of the undoubted rights and privileges of this nation, ſo openly and notoriouſly invaded and attacked.

'The ſiege of Gibraltar proves, beyond all diſpute, the end and deſign of the engagements entered into by the emperor and the king of Spain; but the preparations I had made for the defence of that place, and the bravery of my troops, will, I doubt not, convince them of the raſhneſs and folly of that undertaking. However, the love of peace has hitherto prevailed upon me, even under this high provocation, to ſuſpend, in ſome meaſure, my reſentments; and inſtead of having immediate recourſe to arms, and demanding of my allies that aſſiſtance, which they are engaged and ready to give me, I have concurred with the moſt chriſtian king and the ſtates-general, in making ſuch overtures of accommodation, as muſt convince all the world of the uprightneſs of our intentions, and of our ſincere diſpoſition to peace, and demonſtrate to whoſe ambition and thirſt of power the calamities of a war are to be imputed, if theſe juſt and reaſonable propoſitions are rejected. In the mean time, I have the pleaſure to acquaint you, that the crown of Sweden has acceded to the treaty of Hanover, and that the convention between me, his moſt chriſtian majeſty, and the king of Denmark, is actually ſigned.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

'The vigour and chearfulneſs you have ſhewn in raiſing ſo effectually, and upon ſuch eaſy terms, the neceſſary ſupplies for the ſervice of the current year, are not only inſtances of your zeal and affection to me, but demonſtrate the eſtabliſhed credit, power, and ſtrength of this kingdom.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'It would have been a great ſatisfaction to me, if, before your ſeparation, I had been able to ſpeak to you more

[s] It may here be obſerved, that theſe clauſes of appropriation have been by ſome late writers confounded with votes of credit, which are of very different nature. Votes of credit were frequent in king William's firſt war, and when, at the beginning of a ſeſſion, money was wanting, for providing for the ſervice of the next year, before the ſupplies were granted, or any money-bills could paſs, the commons came to votes that gave the crown a power to borrow money to a certain ſum, and at a certain rate, to be repaid out of the firſt ſupplies to be granted that ſeſſion: theſe were properly votes of credit, upon which money was advanced before the ſupplies were granted or raiſed by act of parliament.

But a clauſe of appropriation is not a power given to borrow or raiſe money by a vote of the houſe of commons, but a power given, by authority of the legiſlature, and by act of parliament, to apply or diſpoſe of ſome part of the ſupplies (raiſed by law) to particular uſes or ſerviſes, not ſpecified in the eſtimates or reſolutions of ſupplies, at the diſcretion of the crown, upon future emergencies, or ſuch ſervices, as, by the nature of them, cannot properly, or without danger of rendering them ineffectual, be explained or laid before a houſe of commons.

There are many inſtances of this method of granting money; particularly in the year 1706, a latitude is given in the clauſe of appropriation of the ſupplies of that year, 'to pay ſums due upon treaties made or to be made, and other charges of the war, for any time before, or till the 25th of December 1706. which method was continued ſeveral years ſucceſſively.'

This is a method, no doubt, that ought not to be wantonly or frequently practiſed. The grounds and foundation, upon which ſuch a confidence ſhould be allowed, ought to ariſe from a ſuppoſition, that ſervices may occur that are unforeſeen, and therefore could not be provided for; that opportunities may offer which may be unexpected and ſudden, but very eſſential and deciſive; that there are ſervices, which, by the nature of them, muſt be kept ſecret, becauſe, by being divulged, they would be diſappointed; and that there are ſervices which equally require the greateſt ſecrecy, from the circumſtances and ſituation of the perſons with whom you tranſact, and this ſecrecy muſt equally extend to future times, as well as preceding times. There are, for inſtance, princes, whoſe ſituation will not permit them to enter at once into offenſive engagements, till a ſafe opportunity ſhall preſent, who will, in the mean time, be induced to accept private ſubſidies and ſupplies, to put themſelves in a condition to declare, when called upon.

[t] As the affair of the coal-tax has been miſunderſtood and miſrepreſented, it may not be improper to put it in a clear light. In order to this it muſt be obſerved, that the ſinking fund conſiſts of the ſurpluſes of the aggregate fund, the South-ſea fund, and the general fund, and of theſe only. (See page 91.) In the act of 1 Geo. I. which eſtabliſhes the aggregate fund, it is enacted, 'That all other public monies which after Michaelmas, 1715, ſhall come into the Exchequer, not being appropriated or appointed to any uſe by any act of parliament made, or to be made, ſhall be ſet apart and applied to, and for the uſes by the preſent act declared, as likewiſe the overplus monies of the yearly ſum of 700,000l. per ann. eſtabliſhed for the king's civil liſt.' By virtue of theſe clauſes, the ſurplus of the civil-liſt revenues, and all public monies remaining in the Exchequer, not appropriated by any act made or to be made, were part of the aggregate fund; but, as they were left to be appropriated by any acts to be made, as well as made, and any ſurplus, at that time ariſing from the aggregate fund, was made diſpoſable for the public uſe by parliament, it is evident that any public debts and revenues which were not in themſelves part of any of the three capital funds, the ſurpluſes whereof conſtitute the ſinking fund, as they might be carried to the ſinking fund, as long as they remained unappropriated, ſo they might be diſpoſed of to any other uſe or ſervice by authority of parliament. Now it will appear upon examination, that the coal-duty made no part of the ſinking fund. By the 9th of queen Anne, the coal-duty was granted from September 28, 1716, to September 28, 1724, and made a fund for building fifty new churches, &c. By 1 George I. the duty is continued for another year, to provide for the miniſters of the fifty new churches. By 5 George I. the duty is farther continued, and a fund of 21,000l. is granted for thirty-two years, for raiſing 360,000l. for building churches, &c. with an intereſt of 4l. per cent. and another fund of 30,559l. was created, for raiſing 500,000l. by a lottery; and the further ſum of 21,325l. was applied, for compleating the ſupplies granted that ſeſſion. It is there enacted, 'that all the ſurplus money of the coal-duty, which ſhould at the end of any quarter, remain, during the ſaid thirty-two years, after the aforeſaid ſum ſhould be diſcharged, Should be reſerved for the diſpoſition of parliament, and ſhould not be diſpoſed of to any uſe, but by authority of parliament, and according to ſuch future acts, as ſhould be paſſed for that purpoſe.' This then was the ſtate of the coal-duty in the year 1719: it was charged with two funds of 21,000l. per ann. and 30,559l. 14s. per ann. when the produce of it was eſtimated at 70,000l. per ann. which made a proviſion for the diſpoſing the ſurplus neceſſary. This tranſaction was in 1719: the ſinking fund was eſtabliſhed in 1716; but if it had been the ſenſe of the parliament, that the coal-duty, or any ſurplus of it, had belonged to the ſinking fund, the proviſion for the diſpoſition of the ſurplus had been unneceſſary, or the direction, that is given by the act of parliament, had been an invaſion of the ſinking fund; but we ſee in 1719 (in the infancy of the ſinking fund, when it wanted aſſiſtance) 521,325l. taken out of the coal-duty for the ſervice of the year, and the ſurplus reſerved for the future diſpoſition of parliament, which is an expreſs exception of the ſurplus out of the ſinking fund, becauſe, by the act eſtabliſhing the aggregate fund, this ſurplus might have been carried to that fund, and conſequently into the ſinking fund, which it is plain this reſtriction was purpoſely inſerted to prevent, and to leave it to the diſcretion of future parliaments, to make ſuch uſe of this ſurplus, as they ſhould from time to time think moſt conducive to the public good. Thus mr. Pulteney and ſir Joſeph Jekyll's objections founded on the coal-duty's being part of the ſinking fund, and thoſe of others ſince, are entirely groundleſs.

positively, and with great certainty, upon the present posture and state of affairs. But, as you have now dispatched the public business, and as the season of the year requires your going into your respective countries, I chuse rather to put an end to this session, than to keep you any longer together unnecessarily. The provisions you have made, and the perfect union and harmony between me and my allies, will, I hope, enable me, by the divine assistance, either to withstand and defeat the designs of our enemies, if their conduct shall bring upon us the necessity of a war; or to improve the blessings of peace, if peace can, with justice, honour, and security, be obtained.'

By this speech it appears that, notwithstanding the preparations for war, as well by the allies of Hanover, as by those of Vienna, overtures of accommodation had been made. All had declared, that the preservation of the tranquility of Europe was the end of their armaments. This the court of Spain did, at the same time that the siege of Gibraltar was ordered. The Condé de las Torres, captain-general of the king of Spain's forces in Andalusia, opened the trenches before Gibraltar the 11th of February. He had an army of about twenty thousand men, and was well provided with artillery of all sorts; with ammunition, and warlike stores, proportioned to the strength of the place, and the bravery of the garrison, which the Spaniards expected would lengthen the siege. Colonel Clayton, lieutenant-governor of the place, had troops and necessaries sufficient for defence, till supplies could come from England, for which due preparations had been made. Upon the repeated advices, that the Spaniards were preparing for the siege of Gibraltar, six men of war, the Kent, Lenox, Berwick, Royal Oak, Portland, and Tyger, were fitted out with all expedition. With these ships, and three regiments, (Newton's, Disney's, and Anstruther's,) sir Charles Wager sailed in January. When the siege was begun, colonel Stanhope, the British ambassador in Spain, having received the passports, he had demanded of king Philip, set out from Madrid for Bayonne, in his way to England, having given the British merchants in that kingdom such timely notice to take necessary precautions for securing their effects, that, when orders came to the Spanish governors to seize them, these merchants suffered no considerable loss by that seizure. In the beginning of March, colonel Hayes and colonel Middleton's regiment of foot were put on board the transports at Portsmouth, and sailed for Gibraltar, under convoy of the Torbay, captain Haddock, and the Poole fire-ship. Colonel Clayton's regiment was about the same time ordered to imbark in the river Thames, and a draught of ten companies out of the first regiment of foot-guards was made by lot. [u]

The earl of Portmore, governor of Gibraltar, notwithstanding his advanced age, having been a colonel near forty years, resolved to repair to his government, and embarked at Portsmouth, on board the pince Frederick, appointed with the Falmouth (two seventy-gun ships) to convoy the transports, on which the detachment of the guards and Clayton's regiment were embarked. All these forces arrived at Gibraltar, the beginning of April, as did likewise five hundred men from Minorca, who with the garrison formed a body of six thousand men, the greatest part of whom incamped on the south point without the town, while the rest did duty within, and were relieved from the camp. The besiegers threw a great quantity of bombs into the place, which did the less damage, as most of the houses were empty by the desertion of the old inhabitants. The garrison had store of salt provisions from England and Ireland, and of fresh from Barbary; for which purpose a frigate was ordered to be continually going to and from Tetuan and Tangier. Sir Charles Wager, having caused the ammunition and warlike stores, with twenty-four pieces of cannon, to be put on shore, sailed from Gibraltar to cruize with the Torbay, Sterling-Castle, Burford, Kent, Royal Oak, Canterbury, York, and Poole fire-ship, leaving there the Tyger, Winchester, Lyme, Solebay bomb-ship, Thunder bomb-ship, Cruizer and Hawk sloops; which were joined by the Portland and Dursley galley; the Colchester and Swallow being ordered to Port-Mahon to be cleaned. In this disposition of defence the siege of Gibraltar gave little pain to the English, either at home or abroad; while the Spaniards, in the prosecution of it, for four months lost above half their army by slaughter, sickness, and desertion.

About the same time the court of Vienna having shewn a disposition to begin the war in the Netherlands, by attacking the Dutch barrier, the king ordered an augmentation of thirty companies of foot, and that the ten thousand auxiliaries, which England was obliged by treaty to send to the assistance of the states, should hold themselves in readiness for embarkation. [w]

As the king of Sweden had acceded to the treaty of Hanover, sir John Norris was sent with a considerable fleet to the Baltick, to support him in this new alliance, so disagreeable to the courts of Vienna and Russia. The English being joined by a Danish squadron, the Russian court thought fit to put a stop to the equipment of their fleet, which was no more talked of after the death of the czarina, on the 17th of May, about the time of sir John Norris's arrival in the Baltick.

The court of France, being equally concerned with England to prevent a war, augmented their troops, and formed incampments for the exercise of their militia. But, as the Hanover alliance was only defensive, it did not exclude France from a mediation, which tended to adjust all the differences of the several parties. Accordingly, his most christian majesty undertook that office, which was conducted by the duke of Richlieu, his ambassador at Vienna. The duke, in concert with the British and Dutch ministers, drew up a project of accommodation, which was sent to the emperor and the king of Spain. This scheme consisted of eight articles, which were to serve as preliminaries for a general congress. The emperor did not think proper to reject it, but formed a counter-project, which he sent to the allies of Hanover. The allies, judging it not satisfactory, formed their last resolution, in which they declared, they could make no alteration. The emperor, pressed by the duke of Richlieu, accepted, at last of the scheme, consisting of the twelve following articles:

I. His imperial and catholic majesty having no other view, than to contribute to the public tranquility of Europe, and observing, that the commerce of Ostend has given birth to jealousy and uneasiness, consents, that there shall be a suspension of the charter of the Ostend company, and of all traffic between the Austrian Netherlands and the Indies, during the term of seven years.

II. All rights or possessions shall remain intire to such of the contracting powers, as enjoyed them by virtue of the treaties of Utrecht, Baden, and the quadruple alliance, or the treaties and conventions made before the year 1725, which regard neither the emperor nor the states-general. But if any change has been made with relation to the said possessions; or if, in consequence of those conventions, somewhat has not been executed, the change that has happened, or the points, which have not been executed, shall be discussed and decided in the future congress, according to the tenor of the treaties and conventions.

III. Consequently all the privileges of commerce in Europe, Spain, and the Indies, grounded upon treaties, and formerly enjoyed by the English and French nations, and by the subjects of the states-general, shall be restored upon the same foot, and settled in the same manner they were, particularly by the treaties preceding the year 1725.

IV. The powers of the North shall be invited and desired by their respective allies, not to have recourse to hostilities; but, on the contrary, to embrace all reasonable methods of accommadation; and that, until the opening of the congress hereafter mentioned, wherein all the respective differences shall be discussed, the contracting powers shall not contribute to any hostilities directly or indirectly, under

[u] The lots fell on those of
Colonel Price,
Colonel Hastings,
Colonel Pearson,
Colonel Meyrick,
Colonel Duncombe,
Colonel Inwood,
Colonel Treby,
Colonel Brown,
Colonel Oughton,
Colonel Williamson.

The whole detachment to be under the command of colonel Guise, major in the said regiment.

Of these, colonel Treby resigned his commission, and was succeeded by colonel Onslow; captain Stanhope, of the said regiment, also laid down his commission, and was succeeded in it by mr. Parker.

[w] Of this number were colonel Campbell's, major-general Gore's, brigadier Churchill's, and major-general Honeywood's dragoons; and two battallions of guards commanded by colonel Robinson; and colonel Robinson's, colonel Kirke's, colonel Harrison's, earl of Delorain's, sir James Wood's, lord Tyrawley's, colonel Pocock's, colonel Murray's, and colonel Grove's regiments of foot. This body of forces were to be commanded by the earl of Orkney, commander in chief, the duke of Argyle, general of the foot, the lord Cobham and the earl of Stair, lieutenants-general. The earl of Deloraine and Philip Honeywood, majors-general; sir James Wood, colonel Pocock, colonel Kirke, colonel Kerr, and the earl of Scarborough, brigadiers-general.

any colour or pretence whatever, which may disturb the present state of affairs in the north; but, on the contrary, they shall engage to act in concert, to put an end to hostilities, if any should be commenced.

V. All hostilities whatsoever, if any should happen, shall instantly cease after the signing of the present articles; and with respect to Spain, eight days after his catholic majesty shall have received the articles signed. The ships, which sailed from Ostend to the Indies before this convention, the names whereof shall be given in a list on the part of his imperial majesty, may return freely and safely from the Indies to Ostend; and, if any of these ships be detained or taken, they shall be restored, bona fide, with their cargoes. The galleons also shall be permitted to return to Spain unmolested, in firm confidence, that his catholic majesty will, with regard to the effects on board the galleons and the flotilla, deal in the same manner as usual in all times of liberty. In consequence of this, the English squadron commanded by admiral Hosier, shall depart as soon as possible from Porto-Bello, and all other ports of America belonging to the king of Spain: he shall even return with his squadron into Europe, that the subjects of his catholic majesty in the Indies may be free from all further apprehensions and uneasiness. The commerce of the English in America shall be carried on as formerly, according to the treaties. Moreover, the English, French, and Dutch squadrons, which may appear upon the coasts of Spain, or on those of the states of his imperial majesty, at the time when this present cessation of hostilities commence, shall depart thence as soon as possible, that the inhabitants of those coasts may henceforth be rid of all disturbance and fear. Neither shall those ships be permitted to undertake any thing directly or indirectly against the said port.

VI. This cessation of hostilities shall continue as long as the suspension of the charter granted to the Ostend company, viz. seven years, that the jarring interests may be reconciled in that time, and peace settled on a more firm foundation.

VII. If, after the signing of these preliminaries, any troubles or hostilities should happen between the subjects of the contracting powers, whether in Europe or the Indies, under what pretence soever it may be, they shall join together to get reparation of the damage or prejudice their respective subjects have sustained.

VIII. If these articles are accepted and signed, a congress shall be opened in four months, reckoning from the day of signing at Aix la Chapelle, wherein the respective rights of all the contracting powers, and those invited to it shall be examined, discussed, and settled.

IX. The plenipotentiaries, that shall be named, shall have in their retinue no more than two gentlemen, two pages, and six footmen, that they may be sooner ready for their journey, and to avoid pomp and expence.

X. The plenipotentiories shall insist on no ceremonial, but follow the regulations settled at the congress of Cambray, to obviate all disputes relating to rank: however, each shall have liberty left to protest.

XI. The several powers shall earnestly recommend to their respective plenipotentiaries, to avoid any thing trifling, that may in any wise retard the congress.

XII. The ratification of these preliminary articles shall be exchanged in the space of two months, or sooner, if possible, reckoning from the day of signing.

These articles were first signed at Paris, the 20th of May, by the minister of the Hanover alliance, and afterwards at Vienna, by the ministers of the emperor and the king of Spain.

The emperor punctually executed the first of these articles, and ratified the preliminaries within the time agreed on. Though Aix la Chapelle was appointed for the place of congress, it was afterwards transfered to Cambray for the conveniency of the minister of France, whose presence was necessary at that court. The king of Spain also executed in part what concerned him; he gave orders for suspending all further attacks against Gibraltar, and all hostilities against the English elsewhere. This was an honourable way of abandoning a siege, which lasted four months without success; nor had it done much execution among the English, for they lost in all but three hundred and seventy-three men. The suspension of arms was signed the 23d of June, N. S. But, when the siege was on the point of being entirely raised, and the preliminaries to be ratified in form, Spain started new difficulties, and urged new pretensions. The Spaniards insisted, that a temporary suspension of arms did not imply an actual raising of the siege of Gibraltar; and that the restitution of the prince Frederick, the South-sea ship (taken at la vera Cruz, before Spain was in war with England) was not mentioned or included in the articles, whereas the English demanded both, by virtue of the preliminaris. Upon this hostilities began between the ships of the two nations, and sir Charles Wager continued to cruize on the coasts of Spain, after the cessation of arms at Gibraltar. And what was very remarkable, whilst he was looking out with seven ships for the Spanish galleons (which were said to be coming home) thirteen French men of war (six from Brest, and seven from Toulon) suddenly came and anchored before Cadiz, of which squadron admiral Wager had received no intelligence either from London or Madrid. As therefore he had no notice of their coming, all communications with the French fleet was forbid. However, after many cavils, and delays, the preliminary articles were at last signed at Madrid on the 24th of February, above eight months after the death of king George I. by the ministers of the emperor, England, France, Spain, and the states, which opened the way to the congress. *

King George had not visited his German Dominions these two years, and therefore, soon after the breaking up of the parliament, he prepared for his journey to Hanover, where he thought to enjoy the fruit of his labours in peace, or to continue his endeavours for the good of the common cause. Having appointed the lords-justices for the administration of the government, he embarked at Greenwich, on board the Carolina yacht, the 3d of June, attended by the earl of Ilay and the lord Townshend. The king landed on the 7th, at Vaert in Holland, where he lay that night. The next day he proceeded on his journey to Hanover; and, on the 9th of June, between ten and eleven at night, arrived at Delden, in all appearance in perfect health. He supped there very heartily, and eat an orange but no melon, as was reported; and, having rested well that night, set out from Delden about four the next morning. Between eight and nine he ordered the coach to stop, in order to make water, and perceiving, that one of his hands hung motionless, said, 'I cannot move this hand.' Monsieur Fabrice rubbed it with both his, but to no effect; upon which he called the surgeon (who followed on horseback) who rubbed it also with spirits. In this interval the king's mouth and eyes began to move strangely, and his tongue to swell, so that he could not speak. The surgeon, taking it for an apoplectic fit, opened a vein, and the king recovered his speech, so as to say, hasten to Osnaburgh; but

* To bring down these matters to the present time, it may be observed, that means were found to detach Spain from the emperor, and a treaty was concluded at Seville, Nov. 9, N. S. 1729, between Great-Britain, France, and Spain. By this treaty commissaries were to be appointed to examine at the court of Spain, and decide about the captures on both sides, among which were reckoned the ships taken by the English fleet in 1718. That instead of neutral garrisons (as agreed to in the quadruple alliance) Spanish garrisons should be introduced into Leghorn, &c. for preserving the succession of don Carlos. This it was that induced the queen of Spain to come into a treaty, which gave great offence to the emperor, as it put an end to his subsidy from Spain, of about a million sterling a year. He thundered out complaints against it at all the courts of Europe, and particularly by a commissorial decree, directed to the diet of Ratisbon. But it was to no purpose, for the treaty of Seville, with regard to the emperor, and all other states, and the balance of power, varied in nothing from the quadruple alliance, but in substituting six thousand Spanish instead of so many neutral troops, for asserting the eventual succession of the infant of Spain to the grand duke's dominions, to which the emperor had agreed. However, the British court offering to guarantee the pragmatic sanction, or the emperor's settlement of his hereditary dominions, on his eldest daughter, on his failure of issue male (which was thought necessary to preserve the balance of power) the emperor was at last pacified. This produced the second treaty of Vienna, March 16, 1731, between the emperor and Great-Britain, in which the States were included. By it the order of the succession, settled by the emperor, was guaranteed by Great-Britain and the states; the commerce and navigation to the East-Indies were to cease in the Netherlands, except two ships for once from Ostend: a tariff or new treaty concerning trade, and the rule of imposts relating to the Austrian Netherlands, was to be settled by commissaries at Antwerp: the introduction of Spanish garrisons into Leghorn, &c. was agreed to by the emperor.

Thus the queen of Spain was pacified by the variation of neutral troops, and the emperor was contended, by guaranteeing his succession. The conclusion of these treaties gave hopes of a lasting tranquility: but the death of the king of Poland soon put at end to these hopes. The emperor, in conjuction with Russia, espoused the quarrel of the elector of Saxony and supported an unfair election of a king forced upon a free nation. This being opposed by France, a war broke out between their imperial and most christian majesties, in which Great-Britain and the states stood neuter, as they did also in the differences which arose between Spain and Portugal. But, though Great-Britain and the states were not engaged in these disputes, they were both obliged to guard against events, which had a good effect. Our naval armaments struc terror into France and Spain alternately. The French durst not venture to the Baltick to relieve Dantzick, whilst our navy rid in the Downs, nor the Spaniards to insult, much less attac Portugal, whilst our fleet lay in the Tagus. At last, in order to adjust all differecnes between Great-Britain and Spain, the famous convention was transacted by sir Robert Walpole, but meeting with opposition was laid aside, and the present war with Spain ensued, which has brought on a war also with France.

immediately fell into a ſlumber in Fabrice's arms. As the violent motion of the coach could not keep the king awake, Fabrice aſked the ſurgeon, 'what he thought of him?' Who anſwered, 'he deſpaired of his life.' Fabrice ordered him to take care of him, and rode poſt himſelf from the laſt ſtage to Oſnaburgh to prepare the duke of York, the king's brother, for ſuch unexpected news. The king, being arrived there about ten, was immediately carried to bed, where he continued ſpeechleſs and in agonies till two o'clock in the morning, on Sunday the 11th of June, when he expired in the 68th year of his age, and 13th of his reign; and was interred at Hanover, among his anceſtors.[7]

Thus died king George the firſt, who may truly be conſidered as more fortunate in more important circumſtances of his life and affairs, than any prince of the laſt or preſent century. This good fortune, which is often the reward of virtue, and as often the effect of prudence, attended him as well before as after his acceſſion to the crown of Great-Britain. The eſtabliſhment of the electoral dignity in his family, was a work which, though begun by his father, was reſerved for him finally to accompliſh. A large acceſſion of dominion fell to him by his ſucceeding to the dukedom of Zell, whereby he became one of the greateſt princes of Germany, and by far the moſt powerful perſon that ever ſtood next heir to the Britiſh throne. The duchy of Bremen and the biſhopric of Oſnaburgh conſiderably ſtrengthened his intereſts in the empire, and gave an additional weight to the proteſtant cauſe.

But his good fortune appeared in nothing ſo remarkable as in the removal of thoſe ſeemingly invincible obſtacles to his ſucceſſion to the crown of theſe kingdoms. Queen Anne had high notions of hereditary right; and, in the latter part of her reign, ſlaviſh doctrines in ſupport of the indefeaſibleneſs of that right, were avowed in numerous addreſſes. Preparations were made for the execution of purpoſes well underſtood, though not expreſsly avowed. The miniſters, and all, who had been the ſure ſupports of the Hanover ſucceſſion, had been diſgraced. Many favourable conceſſions were made to our often defeated enemies, who both by intereſt and inclination were the protectors and friends of the pretender. The adminiſtration of affairs was committed to the moſt daring and determined, and the nation deluded into madneſs for deſtruction. But, amidſt theſe apprehenſions and dangers, the queen's ſudden and unexpected death gave the fortunate elector of Hanover an eaſy and unmoleſted acceſſion to the throne.

King George did not labour under king William's firſt diſadvantages. His and their country's enemies were well known, and could with no colour of right demand confidence and power. After ſtrong profeſſions of ſubmiſſion and loyalty, many actually entered into rebellion; and greater numbers wiſhed it ſucceſs. The murmuring and complaints, which were occaſioned by the diſgrace of the general and miniſtry, who had raiſed the credit and glory of the nation to an height before unknown, had been reſented as unpardonable affronts to the royal prerogative: and yet, when the ſucceſſor removed thoſe, from whom he had received many indignities, and whoſe meaſures and deſigns to defeat him of his royal dignity, he had many and undoubted proofs, this was repreſented as extreme partiality and injuſtice; and in public, and on the moſt ſalemn occaſions, it was pleaded as a juſt provocation to rebellion, and all puniſhments of the authors of ſo much miſchief and miſery were oppoſed under the pretence of being acts of inhumanity and cruelty.

There are many circumſtances not publicly known, which, if brought to the light, would demonſtrate the king's extraordinary good fortune in defeating the rebellion. Beſides what broke out in the north, the aſſociations and preparations in the ſouth and weſt were great and numerous. Caution, fearfulneſs, and delay prevented the execution of meaſures, which could hardly have failed of proving fatal to the government. Such a multitude of enemies in ſo many places would have divided the troops, and have rendered the army inſignificant in the defence of the whole. The march of part of the rebels into England, their trifling at Preſton, and their ſpeedy defeat, were of unſpeakable advantage, by effectually diſcouraging inſurrections in many other places; whereas a few days march further would have very much ſwelled their numbers, and given them a dangerous ſtrength.

But nothing could be more fortunate to the king than the death of Lewis XIV. of France. From him the rebels would have received all ſorts of ſuccours and ſupplies. Bigotry and revenge animated the whole French nation with unanimous zeal for the ſucceſs of the pretender. And even a minority, a conteſted regency, and the probable need which the regent might have of our ſupport, did not prevent all aſſiſtance. However, thoſe circumſtances proved a powerful reſtraint; and the ſituation of the neighbouring nations was an eminent ſecurity to this reign. The utmoſt degree of averſion and jealouſy ſubſiſted between the regent of France and the court of Madrid; which was properly improved by deſtroying the growing naval power of Spain; and our ſurprizing and complete advantage in this affair utterly diſappointed the vaſt deſigns of an able and enterprizing miniſter.

The invaſion and rebellion, in 1719, are the leſs remembered, becauſe not one perſon ſuffered death on that account. The Spaniſh fleet, with five thouſand ſoldiers, ſuffered ſo much in a ſtorm, as to be obliged to return home; but about four hundred of them landed in Scotland, where they were joined by a conſiderable body of Highlanders, but were ſoon defeated, by an inferior number of king's forces.

The king of Sweden's death was far from being the leaſt conſiderable of many favourable events; for, had that implacable monarch lived, his deſigns againſt Denmark would probably have ſucceeded; and then he would have had full leiſure and opportunity for tranſporting his hardy troops into Scotland.

But, on the other hand, how great and uncommon ſoever the king's good fortune was in removing all obſtructions, and firmly eſtabliſhing himſelf on the throne, it was not without ſome allay. Had his ſucceſſion taken place before the change of the miniſtry, and the diſgrace of the general, it would have been infinitely more happy, not only for the nation but for the laſting tranquility and liberties of Europe. France would then have been compelled to give up the Spaniſh monarchy. By advantages in trading to the dominions of Spain, in Europe and America, and by ſeveral conceſſions, we ſhould have had ample means of repairing the loſſes ſuſtained in a long and expenſive war. The houſe of Bourbon had been reduced within their proper bounds, and ceaſed to have been the terror and ſcourage of their neighbours.

To this may be added, that king George came to a people, who had been corrupted both in their political and religious notions, and had been taught an averſion to our natural allies, and to all foreign proteſtants, while an eſteem and affection for France, and a tenderneſs for many doctrines of popery had been infuſed into them with great ſucceſs; and theſe prejudices had indiſpoſed the nation to ſubmit to a proteſtant prince, while the dangers from a popiſh one were not attended to. The advantages likewiſe of a proſperous war, and many valuable branches of commerce had been given up or neglected; and the revenue was loaded with a very heavy debt. The authors of theſe calamities had the art and aſſurance to impute the conſequences of them to the king and his miniſters; and their peace-making had left Europe in ſuch a ſtate, and their principles infected the nation to ſuch a degree, that a good body of regular troops was abſolutely neceſſary to the ſafety of the nation; and yet this was exclaimed againſt as inſlaving it.

The moderate and ſure methods of diſcharging the public debts which had been offered, having been neglected, the South-ſea ſcheme took place to the great misfortune and diſgrace of this reign, as well as of the nation in general; and though men of all parties and degrees upon this occaſion equally renounced common ſenſe and honeſty, yet they transferred the whole blame from themſelves to the government. But whatever miſtakes or misfortunes happened, they cannot juſtly be imputed to the king, whoſe integrity and good deſigns were eminent and undoubted, and his reſolution to govern agreeably to our laws and conſtitution ſteady and unalterable; though the beſt underſtanding, and the beſt diſpoſition are not always ſecure from the arts of bold and ambitious men.

With regard to the management of affairs abroad, a due attention was paid to the feeble and corrupt ſtate of our allies; and the eager and haſty diſpoſition of the people for war, their perpetual complaints of the wiſeſt conduct, cavilling at the moſt affecting ſucceſſes, ſoon growing weary of the expence, and longing for peace on any terms, were well conſidered; but at the ſame time the dignity and honour of the nation were maintained in our methods of compoſing the diſorders and diſturbances; which was perform-

[7] His wife, the princeſs Sophia Dorothy, died November 2, 1726, at the caſtle of Ahlen, in the electorate of Brunſwick, where ſhe had been confined many years. She was daughter and heireſs of the duke of Zell, born in 1666, and married in 1682.

ed with as little expence and hazard as poſſible; and preventive and defenſive meaſures were the wiſe and ſafe politics, the happineſs and glory of this reign.

As king James, inſtead of giving the laws their proper courſe, aſſumed a power to diſpence with them: and as queen Anne was flattered into a perſuaſion that the regal authority was unlimited. King George, on the contrary, deſired no power but what enabled him to promote the welfare of his ſubjects, and was too wiſe to deem thoſe his friends, who would have made their court to him by the profeſſion of an obedience which they never practiſed, and which has always proved fatal to thoſe princes who have put it to the trial. He had given a proof of his ſovereign virtues before he exerciſed them in this nation. His natural inclination to juſtice led him to rule his German ſubjects in the ſame manner that our conſtitution directed him to govern the Engliſh. He regarded civil liberties as the natural rights of mankind, and therefore indulged them to a people who pleaded no other claim to them than his known goodneſs. The conſiſtency of his behaviour was ſuch, that he inflexibly purſued thoſe meaſures which appeared the moſt juſt and equitable. As he was moſt prudent in laying proper ſchemes, he was no leſs remarkable for his ſteadineſs in accompliſhing what he had once concerted. To this uniformity and firmneſs of mind which appeared in all his proceedings, the ſucceſſes that attended him were chiefly owing. His martial virtues were no leſs conſpicuous than his civil, though for the good of his ſubjects he ſtudied to decline all occaſions of military glory. He had acquired great reputation in his younger days, in Hungary and Morea, when he fought againſt the Turks, as well as in Germany and Flanders, where he commanded againſt the diſturber of the peace of Europe. And, as if perſonal courage was an hereditary virtue of his family, three of his brothers fell glorioufly in the field, fighting againſt the enemies of their country, and his ſon (his preſent majeſty king George II.) fought with the bravery of his father at the battle of Audenarde, when the ſons of France and the pretender fled before him.

As to his moſt private virtues, he was of a grave, eaſy, and calm temper, and generous upon all occaſions; and the ſerenity and benignity of his mind diſcovered themſelves in his countenance, and captivated the love and veneration of all, who approached him.

THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND:

BOOK XXVIII.

SECT. III.

From the commencement of KING GEORGE II. to the End of his Reign.

31. GEORGE II.

[1727] AT the acceſſion of George II. the nation had great reaſon to wiſh for an alteration of meaſures. The public debt, notwithſtanding the boaſted œconomy and management of the miniſters; notwithſtanding the ſinking fund, which had been extolled as a growing treaſure ſacred to the diſcharge of national incumbrances; was now increaſed to fifty millions two hundred ſixty-one thouſand two hundred and ſix pounds, nineteen ſhillings, eight pence three farthings. The kingdom was bewildered in a labyrinth of treaties and conventions by which it ſtood engaged in pecuniary ſubſides to many powers upon the continent, with whom its real intereſts could never be connected. The wealth of the nation had been laviſhed upon theſe foreign connexions; upon unneceſſary wars, and fruitleſs expeditions. Dangerous encroachments had been made upon the conſtitution, by the repeal of the act for triennial parliament; by frequent ſuſpenſions of the Habeas Corpus act upon frivolous occaſions; by repealing clauſes in the act of ſettlement; by votes of credit; by habituating the people to a ſtanding army; and, above all, by eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of corruption, which at all times would ſecure a majority in parliament. The nature of prerogative, by which the liberties of the nation had formerly been often endangered, was now ſo well underſtood, and ſo ſecurely reſtrained, that it could no longer be uſed for the ſame oppreſſive purpoſes: beſides, an avowed extenſion of the prerogative required more ability, courage, and reſolution, than the preſent miniſtry could exert. They underſtood their own ſtrength, and had recourſe to a more ſafe and effectual expedient. The vice, luxury, and proſtitution of the age, the almoſt total extinction of ſentiment, honour, and public ſpirit, had prepared the minds of men for ſlavery and corruption. The means were in the hands of the miniſtry: the public treaſure was at their devotion: they multiplied places and penſions, to increaſe the number of their dependents: they ſquandered away the money of the nation without taſte, diſcernment, decency, or remorſe: they inliſted an army of the moſt abandoned emiſſaries, whom they employed to vindicate the worſt meaſures in the face of truth, common ſenſe, and common honeſty: and they did not fail to ſtigmatiſe as jacobites, and enemies to the government, all thoſe who preſumed to queſtion the merit of their adminiſtration.

The ſupreme direction of affairs was not yet engroſſed by a ſingle miniſter. Lord Townſhend had the reputation of conducting the external tranſactions relating to treaties and negotiations. He is ſaid to have underſtood that province, though he did not always follow the dictates of his own underſtanding. He poſſeſſed an extenſive fund of knowledge; and was well acquainted with the functions of his office. The duke of N. his colleague, was not remarkable for any of theſe qualifications: he owed his promotion to his uncommon zeal for the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, and to the ſtrength of his intereſt in parliament, rather than to his judgment, preciſion, or any other intellectual merit. Lord C. who may be counted an auxiliary, though not immediately concerned in the adminiſtration, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the character of an envoy at ſeveral courts in Europe. He had attained an intimate knowledge of all the different intereſts and connexions ſubſiſting among the powers of the continent; and he infinitely ſurpaſſed all the miniſters in learning and capacity. He was, indeed, the only man of genius employed under this government. He ſpoke with eaſe and propriety: his conceptions were juſt and lively; his inferences bold; his counſels vigorous and warm. Yet he depreciated his talents, by acting in a ſubordinate character to thoſe whom he deſpiſed; and ſeemed to look upon the pernicious meaſures of a bad miniſtry with ſilent contempt, rather than with avowed deteſtation. The interior government of Great-Britain was chiefly managed by ſir Robert Walpole, a man of extraordinary talents, who had from low beginnings raiſed himſelf to the head of the treaſury. Having obtained a ſeat in the lower houſe, he declared himſelf one of the moſt forward partiſans of the whig faction. He was endued with a ſpecies of eloquence, which, though neither nervous nor elegant, flowed with great facility, and was ſo plauſible on all ſubjects, that even when he miſrepreſented the truth, whither from ignorance or deſign, he ſeldom failed to perſuade that part of his audience for whoſe hearing his harangue was chiefly intended. He was well acquainted with the nature of the public funds, and underſtood the whole myſtery of ſtock-jobbing. This knowledge produced a connection between him and the money-corporations, which ſerved to enhance his importance. He perceived the bulk of mankind were actuated by a ſordid thirſt of lucre: he had ſagacity enough to convert the degeneracy of the times to his own advantage; and on this, and this alone, he founded the whole ſuperſtructure of his ſubſequent adminiſtration. In the late reign he had, by dint of ſpeaking deciſively to every queſtion, by boldly impeaching the conduct of the tory miniſters, by his activity in elections, and engaging as a projector in the ſchemes of the monied-intereſt, become a leading member in the houſe of commons. By his ſufferings under the tory parliament, he attained the rank of a martyr to his party: his intereſt, his reputation, and his preſumption daily increaſed: he oppoſed Sunderland as his rival in power, and headed a dangerous defection from the miniſtry, which evinced the greatneſs of his influence and authority. He had the glory of being principally concerned in effecting a reconciliation between the late king and the prince of Wales: then he was re-aſſociated in the adminiſtration with additional credit; and, from the death of the earls of Sunderland and Stanhope, he had been making long ſtrides towards the office of prime-miniſter. He knew the maxims he had adopted would ſubject him to the hatred, the ridicule, and reproach of ſome individuals, who had not yet reſigned all ſentiments of patriotiſm, nor all views of oppoſition: but the number of theſe was inconſiderable, when compared to that which conſtituted the body of the community; and he would not ſuffer the conſideration of ſuch antagoniſts to come in competition

with his ſchemes of power, affluence and authority. Nevertheleſs, low as he had humbled antiminiſterial aſſociation, it required all his artifice to elude, all his patience and natural phlegm to bear the powerful arguments that were urged, and the keen ſatire that was exerciſed againſt his meaſures and management, by a few members in the oppoſition. Sir William Windham poſſeſſed all the energy of elocution: mr. Shippen was calm, intrepid, ſhrewd, and ſarcaſtic: mr. Hungerford, ſly, inſinuating, and ironical. Mr. W. P. inherited from nature a good underſtanding, which he had ſtudiouſly cultivated. He was one of the moſt learned members in the houſe of commons, extremely well qualified to judge of literary productions; well read in hiſtory and politics; deeply ſkilled in the Britiſh conſtitution, the detail of government, and the nature of the finances. He ſpoke with freedom, fluency, and uncommon warmth of declaration, which was ſaid to be the effect of perſonal animoſity to ſir R. W. with whom he had been formerly connected.

An expreſs arriving on the 14th of June, with an account of the king's death, his late majeſty, king George II. repaired from Richmond, where he received this intellignce, to Leiceſter-houſe; and the members of the privy-council being aſſembled, were ſworn a-new. The king declared his firm purpoſe to preſerve the conſtitution in church and ſtate, and to cultivate thoſe alliances which his father had made with foreign princes. At the ſame time, he took and ſubſcribed the oath for the ſecurity of the church of Scotland, as required by the act of union. Next day he was proclaimed king of Great-Britain. The parliament aſſembled in purſuance of the act made for that purpoſe; but was immediately prorogued by commiſſion to the twenty-ſeventh day of the month. All the great officers of ſtate continued in their places: ſir Robert Walpole kept poſſeſſion of the treaſury; and the ſyſtem of politics, which the late king had eſtabliſhed, underwent no ſort of alteration. The king, in his ſpeech to both houſes at the opening of the ſeſſion, profeſſed a fixed reſolution to merit the love and affection of his people, by maintaining them in full enjoyment of their religious and civil rights. He promiſed to leſſen the public expence as ſoon as the circumſtances of affairs would permit: he obſerved to the commons, that the grant of the greateſt part of the civil-liſt revenues was now determined; and that it would be neceſſary for them to make a new proviſion for the ſupport of him and his family: laſtly, he recommended it to both houſes to diſpatch the buſineſs that ſhould be neceſſarily brought before them, as the ſeaſon of the year and circumſtances of time required their preſence in the country. Addreſſes of condolence and congratulation being drawn up and preſented, the commons, in a committee of the whole houſe, took into conſideration, a motion for a ſupply to his majeſty. Sir Robert Walpole having obſerved that the annual ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, granted to, and ſettled on the late king, had fallen ſhort every year; and that his preſent majeſty's expences were likely to increaſe, by reaſon of the largeneſs of his family, moved that the entire revenues of the civil-liſt, which produced about eight hundred thouſand pounds per annum, ſhould be ſettled on the king during his life. Mr Shippen oppoſed the motion, as inconſiſtent with the truſt repoſed in them as repreſentatives of the people, who ought to be very frugal in exerciſing the right of giving away the public money. He ſaid, the ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds was not obtained for his late majeſty without a long and ſolemn debate; and every member who contended for it at that time allowed it to be an ample royal revenue: that although his majeſty's family ſhould be enlarged, a circumſtance which had been urged as one reaſon for the motion, he preſumed the appointments of prince Frederick would be much inferior to thoſe ſettled on his preſent majeſty when he was prince of Wales: beſides, it was to be hoped that many perſonal, many particular expences in the late reign, eſpecially thoſe for frequent journies to Hanover, would be diſcontinued, and entirely ceaſe. He obſerved that the civil-liſt branches in the queen's reign did not often exceed the ſum of five hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; nevertheleſs, ſhe called upon her parliament but once, in a reign of thirteen years, to pay the debts contracted in her civil government; and theſe were occaſioned by the uparalleled inſtances of her piety and generoſity. She gave the firſt-fruits and tenths, ariſing to nineteen thouſand pounds a-year, as an augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy. She beſtowed five thouſand pounds per annum, out of the Poſt-office, on the duke of Marlborough: ſhe ſuffered ſeven hundred pounds to be charged weekly on the ſame office, for the ſervice of the public: ſhe expended ſeveral hundred thouſand pounds in building the caſtle of Blenheim: ſhe allowed four thouſand pounds annually to prince Charles of Denmark: ſhe ſuſtained great loſſes by the tin contract: ſhe ſupported the poor Palatines: ſhe exhibited many other proofs of royal bounty; and immediately before her death ſhe had formed a plan of retrenchment, which would have reduced her yearly expences to four hundred and fifty-nine thouſand nine hundred and forty-one pounds. He affirmed that a million a year would not be ſufficient to carry on the exorbitant expences, ſo often and ſo juſtly complained of in the houſe of commons: that over and above the yearly allowance of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, many occaſional taxes, many exceſſive ſums were raiſed, and all ſunk in the bottomleſs gulf of ſecret ſervice. Two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds were raiſed in defiance of the ancient parliamentary methods, to ſecure the kingdom from a Swediſh invaſion: then the two inſurance offices were erected, and paid near three hundred thouſand pounds for their charters: our enmity with Sweden being changed into alliance, a ſubſidy of ſeventy-two thouſand pounds was implicitly granted, to fulfil ſome ſecret engagement with that crown: four-and-twenty thouſand pounds were given for burning merchant ſhips arrived from infected places, though the goods, which ought to have been deſtroyed for the public ſafety, were afterwards privately ſold: a ſum of five hundred thouſand pounds was demanded, and granted, for the paying the debts of the civil-liſt; and his majeſty declared, by meſſage, he was reſolved to retrench his expences for the future. Notwithſtanding this reſolution, in leſs than four years, a new demand of the like ſum was made and granted, to diſcharge new incumbrances: the Spaniſh ſhips of war which admiral Byng took in the Mediterranean were ſold for a conſiderable ſum of money: one hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds were granted in the laſt ſeſſion, to be ſecretly diſpoſed of for the public utility; and there was ſtill a debt in the civil government, amounting to above ſix hundred thouſand pounds. He took notice, that this amazing extravagance happened under the conduct of perſons pretending to ſurpaſs all their predeceſſors in the knowledge and care of the public revenue: that as none of theſe ſums had been accounted for, they were, in all probability, employed in ſervices not fit to be owned. He ſaid, he heartily wiſhed that time, the great diſcoverer of hidden truths, and concealed iniquities, might produce a liſt of all ſuch as had been perverted from their public duty by private penſions: who had been the hired ſlaves and the corrupt inſtruments of a profuſe and vain-glorious adminiſtration. He propoſed, that inſtead of granting an addition to the civil-liſt, they ſhould reſtrict that revenue to a certain ſum, by concluding the queſtion with theſe words, 'in like manner as they were granted and continued to his late majeſty, ſo as to make up the clear yearly ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds.' To theſe particulars, which were indeed unanſwerable, no reply was made. Even this mark of decency was laid aſide, as idle and ſuperfluous. The houſe agreed to the motion; and a bill was brought in for the better ſupport of his majeſty's houſehold. The commons having received a meſſage from the king, deſiring they would make further proviſion for the queen his concert, reſolved, 'that in caſe ſhe ſhould ſurvive his majeſty, the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be ſettled upon her for life, charged upon the revenues of the civil-liſt, together with his majeſty's palace of Somerſet-houſe, and Richmond Old Park.' A bill was formed on this reſolution, which, as well as the other, paſſed both houſes: and received the royal aſſent on the 17th day of July, when the king, in a ſpeech to both houſes, expreſſed his ſatisfaction with their conduct; and congratulated them upon the wealth and glory of the nation, by which they had acquired ſuch weight in holding the balance of Europe. Then the lord-chancellor prorogued the parliament to the 29th day of Auguſt; but on the ſeventh of that month a proclamation was iſſued for diſſolving this, and convoking another.

In the interim ſome changes were made in different departments of civil œconomy. Lord viſcount Torrington was placed at the head of the admiralty: the earl of Weſtmorland was appointed firſt lord-commiſſioner of trade and plantations. Philip Dormer Stanhope, earl of Cheſterfield, a nobleman remarkable for his wit, eloquence, and poliſhed manners, was nominated ambaſſador to the Hague. The privy-council being diſſolved, another was appointed of the members then preſent. The duke of Devonſhire was dignified with the place of preſident; and the duke of St. Alban's was appointed maſter of the horſe. On the

eleventh day of October the coronation of the king and queen was performed at Weſtminſter-abbey, with the uſual ſolemnity.[a] By this time the courts of France and Spain were perfectly reconciled: all Europe was freed from the calamities of war; and the peace of Great-Britain ſuffered no interruption, except from ſome tranſient tumults among the tinners of Cornwall, who, being provoked by a ſcarcity of corn, roſe in arms, and plundered the granaries of that county.

The elections in England and Scotland for the parliament having ſucceeded on the new ſyſtem, according to the wiſhes of the miniſtry, the two houſes met on the 23d day of January, when the commons unanimouſly choſe for their ſpeaker Arthur Onſlow, eſq. knight of the ſhire for Surry, a gentleman of extenſive knowledge, worth, and probity, grave, eloquent, venerable, and every way qualified for the diſcharge of that honourable and important office. The king, in his ſpeech to this new parliament, declared, that, by the laſt advices from abroad, he had reaſon to hope the difficulties which had hitherto retarded the execution of the preliminaries, and the opening of the congreſs, would ſoon be entirely removed: in the mean time he repreſented the abſolute neceſſity of continuing the preparations which had hitherto ſecured the nation, and prevented an open rupture in Europe. He promiſed, that his firſt care ſhould be to reduce from time to time the expence of the public, as often, and as ſoon as the intereſt and ſafety of his people would permit ſuch reduction. He expreſſed an earneſt deſire of ſeeing the foundation laid of an effectual ſcheme for the increaſe and encouragement of ſeamen in general, that they might be invited rather than compelled into the ſervice of their country. Finally, he recommended unanimity, zeal, and diſpatch of the public buſineſs. Thoſe ſpeeches, penned by the miniſter, were compoſed with a view to ſoothe the minds of the people into an immediate concurrence with the meaſures of the government; but without any intention of performing thoſe promiſes of œconomy, reformation, and national advantage. The two houſes ſeemed to vie with each other in expreſſions of applauſe and affection to his majeſty. The lords, in their addreſs, hailed him as the beſt of kings, and true father of his country. The commons expreſſed the warmeſt ſenſe of gratitude for the bleſſings they enjoyed in his reign, though it was not yet eight months old. They approved of all his tranſactions; promiſed to ſupport him in all his undetrakings; and declared they would chearfully grant whatever ſupplies ſhould be wanted for the public ſervice. Having conſidered the eſtimates which were laid before them by order of his majeſty, they voted two-and-twenty thouſand nine hundred and fifty-five men for guards and garriſons; and fifteen thouſand ſeamen for the ſervice of the enſuing year. They granted two hundred and thirty thouſand nine hundred and twenty-three pounds, for the maintenance of twelve thouſand Heſſian troops: a ſubſidy of fifty thouſand pounds to the king of Sweden; and half that ſum to the duke of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttel.[b] The expence of the year amounted to four millions, raiſed by a land-tax of three ſhillings in the pound, a malt-tax, and by borrowing of the bank one million ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; for which annuities to the amount of ſeventy thouſand pounds, to be raiſed by duties on coals imported into the city of London, were granted to that corporation.

All theſe ſums, however, were not granted without queſtion. The number of land-forces occaſioned a debate; and the Heſſian auxiliaries were not allowed without diſpute and oppoſition. When they deliberated on the loan of the Bank, mr. W. Pulteney obſerved, that the ſhifting of funds was but perpetuating taxes, and putting off the evil day: that notwithſtanding the great merit which ſome perſons had built on the ſinking fund, it appeared that the national debt had been increaſed ſince the ſetting up that pompous project. Some warm altercation paſſed between him and ſir Robert Walpole on this ſubject. The lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London preſented a petition, ſetting forth, that the duties already laid upon coals and culm, imported into London, affected the trade of that city only; that the inequality of the burthen was a great diſcouragement to their manufactures, and an hardſhip upon all the trading inhabitants. The petition was rejected, and the tax impoſed. The houſe having addreſſed the king for a particular and diſtinct account of the diſtribution of two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, charged to have been iſſued for ſecuring the trade and navigation of the kingdom, and preſerving and reſtoring the peace of Europe, he declined granting their requeſt, but ſignified in general, that part of the money had been iſſued and diſburſed by his late majeſty, and the remainder by himſelf, for carrying on the ſame neceſſary ſervices, which required the greateſt ſecrecy. Such a meſſage in the reign of king William would have raiſed a dangerous flame in the houſe of commons.

[1728] Mr W. Pultney inveighed againſt ſuch a vague and general way of accounting for the public money, as tending to render parliaments altogether inſignificant, to cover embezzlements, and to ſcreen corrupt and rapacious miniſters. The commons having taken into conſideration the ſtate of the national debt, examined the accounts, and interrogated the proper officers. A motion was made by a court member, that it appeared the monies already iſſued and applied towards diſcharging the national debts, together with a ſum to be iſſued at Lady-day, amounted to ſix millions ſix hundred forty-eight thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-two pounds, five ſhillings, one penny, one farthing. In vain did the leaders of the oppoſition expoſe the fallacious tendency of this motion. In vain did they demonſtrate the fraudulent artifice uſed in drawing up the accounts: the motion was carried; and ſeveral reſolutions were taken on the ſtate of the national debts. In the particular account of theſe debts, upon which the houſe reſolved to form a repreſentation to his majeſty, an article of three hundred thouſand pounds relating to the duty upon wrought plate was totally omitted. This extraordinary omiſſion being diſcovered, gave riſe to a very warm debate, and to very ſevere reflexions againſt thoſe who ſuperintended the public accounts. This error being rectified, a committee appointed for the purpoſe drew up the repreſentation, containing a particular detail of the national debts diſcharged and incurred ſince the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixteen, with a ſtate of the ſinking fund and of the public credit. The draft being approved by the houſe, was preſented to the king, who received it graciouſly. He took this opportunity of ſaying, that the proviſion made for gradually diſcharging the national debt was now become ſo certain and conſiderable, that nothing, but ſome unforeſeen event could alter or diminiſh it: a circumſtance that afforded the faireſt proſpect of ſeeing the old debts diſcharged, without any neceſſity of incurring new incumbrances.

This anſwer, fraught with many other expreſſions of fatherly tenderneſs for his people, paved the way for a meſſage to the houſe, demanding a vote of credit to fulfil certain engagements entered into, and concerted with the advice and concurrence of the laſt parliament, for ſecuring the trade and navigation of the kingdom, and for reſtoring and preſerving the peace of Europe. Though a debate enſued upon this meſſage, the majority reſolved that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, declaring the duty and fidelity of the commons, their entire confidence in his royal care and goodneſs, and their readineſs to enable his majeſty to fulfil his engagements. A vote of credit paſſed accordingly. During this ſeſſion, the peers were chiefly employed in examining copies of ſeveral treaties and alliances which the king ſubmitted to their peruſal: they likewiſe prepared a bill for amending the ſtatute of limitation, which, however, did not paſs into a law: they conſidered the ſtate of the national debt a ſubject fruitful of debates: they paſſed the mutiny-bill, and thoſe that were ſent up from the commons, touching the ſupplies; together with an act, obliging ſhips arriving from infected places to perform quarantine; and ſome others of a more private nature. Theſe bills having received the royal aſſent, the king cloſed the ſeſſion on the twenty-eighth day of May, when he thanked the commons for the effectual ſupplies they had raiſed, and in particular, for having empowered him to borrow five hundred thouſand pounds for the diſcharge of wages due to the ſeamen employed in the navy.

England was at this period quite barren of remark-

[a] King George II. aſcended the throne in the 44th year of his age. On the 2d day of September, 1705, he eſpouſed the princeſs Wilhelmina Charlotte Caroline, daughter to John Frederick marquis of Brandenburgh-Anſpach, by whom he had two ſons, Frederick Louis Prince of Wales, born at Hanover, on the 31ſt day of January, 1707, and William Auguſtus, born at London, on the 15th day of April, 1721. She had likewiſe born four princeſſes, namely, Anne, Amelia, Carolina, Mary, and was afterwards delivered of Louiſa, married in the ſequel to the king of Denmark.

[b] Nothing could be a greater burleſque upon negotiation than this treaty of alliance concluded with the petty duke of Wolfenbuttel, who very gravely guarantees to his Britannic majeſty the poſſeſſion of his three kingdoms, and obliges him to ſupply his majeſty with five thouſand men, in conſideration of an annual ſubſidy of five-and-twenty thouſand pounds for four years.

1725

able events. The king's uncle, Erneſt Auguſtus, prince of Brunſwick, duke of York, and biſhop of Oſnabruck, died on the third day of Auguſt, and was ſucceeded in the biſhoprick by the elector of Cologn, according to the pactum by which Oſnabruck is alternately poſſeſſed by the houſe of Brunſwick and that elector. In the beginning of December, his majeſty's eldeſt ſon prince Fredrick arrived in England from Hanover, where he had hitherto reſided, was introduced into the privy-council, and created prince of Wales. Signior Como, reſident from the duke of Parma, was ordered to quit the kingdom, becauſe his maſter paid to the pretender the honours due to the king of Great-Britain. The congreſs opened at Soiſſons, for determining all diſputes among the powers of Europe, proved ineffectual. Such difficulties occurred in ſettling and reconciling ſo many different pretenſions and intereſts, that the contracting parties in the alliance of Hanover propoſed a proviſional treaty, concerning which no definitive anſwer was given as yet by the courts of Vienna and Madrid. The fate of Europe, therefore, continued in ſuſpence: the Engliſh fleet lay inactive and rotting in the Weſt-Indies: the ſailors periſhed miſerably, without daring to avenge their country's wrongs; while the Spaniſh cruiſers committed depredations with impunity on the commerce of Great-Britain. The court of Spain, at this juncture, ſeemed cold and indifferent with regard to a pacification with England. It had renewed a good underſtanding with France, and now ſtrengthened its intereſt by a double alliance of marriage with the royal family of Portugal. The infanta of this houſe was betrothed to the prince of Auſtrias: while the Spaniſh infanta, formerly affianced to the French king, was now matched with the prince of Braſil, eldeſt ſon of his Portugueſe majeſty. In the month of January, the two courts met in a wooden houſe built over the little river Coya, that ſeparates the two kingdoms, and there the princeſſes were exchanged.

The parliament of Great-Britain meeting according to their laſt prorogation on the twenty-firſt day of January, the king in his ſpeech communicated the nature of the negotiation at the congreſs. He demanded ſuch ſupplies as might enable him to act vigorouſly in concert with his allies, provided his endeavours to eſtabliſh an advantageous peace ſhould miſcarry; and he hinted, that the dilatory conduct of the courts of Vienna and Madrid proceeded in a great meaſure from the hopes that were given, of creating diſcontents and diviſions among the ſubjects of Great-Britain. This ſuggeſtion was a miniſterial artifice to inflame the zeal and reſentment of the nation, and intimidate the members in the oppoſition. Accordingly the hint was purſued, and in the addreſſes from both houſes, that could not fail of being agreeable, conſidering the manner in which they were dictated, particular notice was taken of this article: both peers and commons expreſſed their deteſtation and abhorrence of thoſe, who, by ſuch baſe and unnatural artifices, ſuggeſted the means of diſtreſſing their country, and clamoured at the inconveniencies which they themſelves had occaſioned. In theſe addreſſes, likewiſe, the parliament congratulated his majeſty on the arrival of the prince of Wales in his Britiſh dominions; and the commons ſent a particular compliment to his royal highneſs on that occaſion. The eſtimates having been examined in the uſual form, the houſe voted fifteen thouſand ſeamen for the enſuing year; but the motion for continuing the ſame number of land-forces which had been allowed in the preceeding year, was not carried without diſpute. All the arguments againſt a ſtanding army in time of peace, as inconſiſtent with the Britiſh conſtitution, and dangerous to the liberties of the people, were repeated with great vivacity by mr. Shippen and mr. W. Pulteney. Theſe, however, were anſwered, and repreſented as abſurd, by mr. Horatio Walpole and mr. D. two ſtaunch adherents of the miniſter. The firſt had, in deſpite of nature, been employed in different negotiations: he was blunt, aukward, and ſlovenly: an orator without eloquence, an ambaſſador without dignity, and a plenipotentiary without addreſs. The other had natural parts and acquired knowledge; ſpoke with confidence; and in diſpute was vain, ſarcaſtic, petulant, and verboſe.

The ſubſidies to Sweden, Heſſe-Caſſel, and Wolfenbuttel were continued, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of ſir Joſeph Jekyll, mr. Lutwyche, and mr. Pulteney; which laſt obſerved, that as the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, and the duke of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttel, uſually maintained a certain number of troops in their pay, it was but reaſonable that Great-Britain ſhould defray no more than the expence of the additional forces which thoſe powers had raiſed, in conſequence of their conventions with the king of England. Sir Robert Walpole perceiving that this remark made an impreſſion on the houſe, thought it neceſſary to vindicate his meaſure: he expatiated upon the wiſdom of the late king, in concluding the Hanover alliance. He affirmed that the convention with Heſſe-Caſſel had prevented a war in the empire, for which the court of Vienna had made great preparations: that the emperor had not only augmented his own forces by the help of Spaniſh ſubſidies, but alſo retained the troops of three electors; and if he had not been over-awed by the Heſſians, would certainly have rejected the preliminaries, and all other advances towards a pacification: that, therefore, they ought not to grudge an expence which had already proved ſo beneficial to the tranquillity of Europe. Sir Joſeph Jekyll replied, that whatever gloſs might be put upon ſuch meaſures, they were repugnant to the the maxims by which England in former times had ſteered and ſquared its conduct with relation to its intereſt abroad: that the navy was the natural ſtrength of Great-Britain—its beſt defence and ſecurity: but if, in order to avoid a war, they ſhould be ſo free-hearted as to buy and maintain the forces of foreign princes, they were never like to ſee an end of ſuch extravagant expences. This gentleman, who exerciſed the office of maſter of the rolls, had approved himſelf a zealous defender of whig principles, was an able lawyer, a ſenſible ſpeaker, and a conſcientious patriot. The ſupplies were raiſed by a continuation of the land-tax, the duties upon malt, cyder, and perry, an additional impoſition on unmalted corn uſed in diſtilling, and by ſale of annuities to the Bank not exceeding fifty thouſand pounds per annum.

Petitions were delivered to the houſe of commons from the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Briſtol, complaining of the interruptions they had ſuffered in their trade for ſeveral years, by the depredations of the Spaniards in the Weſt-Indies. Theſe being conſidered, the houſe ordered the lords of the admiralty to produce the other memorials of the ſame kind which they had received, that they might be laid before the congreſs at Soiſſons: then they addreſſed his majeſty for copies of all the letters and inſtructions which had been ſent to admiral Hoſier, and thoſe who ſucceeded him in the command of the Weſt-India ſquadron. Mr Oglethorpe having been informed of ſhocking cruelties and oppreſſions exerciſed by gaolers upon their priſoners, moved for an examination into theſe practices, and was choſen chairman of a committee appointed to enquire into the ſtate of the gaols of the kingdom. They began with the Fleet-priſon, which they viſited in a body: there they found ſir William Rich, baronet, loaded with irons, by order of Bambridge the warden, to whom he had given ſome ſlight cauſe of offence. They made a diſcovery of many inhuman barbarities, which had been committed by that ruffian, and detected the moſt iniquitous ſcenes of fraud, villainy, and extortion. When the report was made by the committee, the houſe unanimouſly reſolved, that Thomas Bambridge, acting warden of the Fleet, had wilfully permitted ſeveral debtors to eſcape; had been guilty of the moſt notorious breaches of truſt, great extortions, and the higheſt crimes and miſdemeanours in the execution of his office; that he had abitrarily and unlawfully loaded with irons, put into dungeons, and deſtroyed priſoners for debt, under his charge, treating them in the moſt barbarous and cruel manner, in high violation and contempt of the laws of the kingdom. John Huggins, eſq. who had been warden of the Fleet-priſon, was ſubjected to a reſolution of the ſame nature. The houſe preſented an addreſs to the king, deſiring he would direct his attorney-general forthwith to proſecute theſe perſons and their accomplices, who were committed priſoners to Newgate. A bill was brought in, diſabling Bambridge to execute the office of warden; another for the better regulating the priſon of the Fleet; and for more effectual preventing and puniſhing arbitrary and illegal practices of the warden of the ſaid priſon. [a]

Other merchants complained by petitions of the loſſes ſuſtained by the Spaniards. The houſe, in a grand committee, deliberated on this ſubject, enquired into the particulars, examined evidence, and drew up an addreſs to the king, deſiring his majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to uſe his utmoſt endeavours for preventing ſuch depredations; for procuring juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction and for ſecuring to his ſubjects the free exerciſe of commerce and navigation to and from the Britiſh colonies in America. The king aſ-

[a] It afterwards appeared that ſome of the members of this inqueſt were actuated by other motives than thoſe they profeſſed; and the committee was ſuffered to ſink into oblivion.

ſured them he would uſe his beſt endeavours to anſwer the deſires and expectations of his people, in an affair of ſo much importance; and they, in another addreſs, thanked him for his gracious anſwer. They did not, however, receive ſuch a ſatisfactory reply to a former addreſs, touching the ſum of ſixty thouſand pounds that had been ſtated in the public account, without ſpecification of the particular uſes to which it was applied His majeſty gave them to underſtand that the money had been iſſued and diſburſed for ſecret ſevices; and that a diſtinct and particular account of the diſtribution of it could not be given without a manifeſt prejudice to the public. A bill was prepared for the more effectual preventing bribery and corruption in elections for members of parliament; and it paſſed through the houſe without oppoſition: but their attention was chiefly employed upon the Spaniſh depredations, which had raiſed a great clamour through the whole kingdom, and excited very warm diſputes in parliament; for they were generally reputed the fruits of negligence, incapacity, or want of vigour in the miniſters. The commons having made further progreſs in the enquiry, and received freſh petitions from the merchants, paſſed ſome reſolutions, in which the Spaniards were accuſed of having violated the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns; and with having treated inhumanly the maſters and crews of ſhips belonging to Great-Britain. They juſtified the inſtructions given to admiral Hoſier, to ſeiſe and detain the flota and galleons of Spain, until juſtice and ſatisfaction ſhould be rendered to his majeſty and his alllies; nay, even declared that ſuch ſeiſure would have been juſt, prudent, and neceſſary, tending to prevent an open rupture, and to preſerve the peace and tranquility of Europe. They again addreſſed the king to uſe his endeavours to procure ſatisfaction; and he promiſed to comply with their requeſt.

Mr Scroope, member for Briſtol, moved for an addreſs, entreating his majeſty to order an account of the produce of the civil-liſt revenues for one year to be laid before the houſe. The addreſs was preſented, the account produced, and the houſe, in a grand committee, took this affair into conſideration. The courtiers affirmed that they fell ſhort of the eight hundred thouſand pounds ſettled upon his majeſty; and mr. Scroope propoſed that the ſum of one hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds ſhould be granted to the king, on account of thoſe deficiencies and arrears. The motion was vigorouſly oppoſed by mr. Pulteney and other members. They expreſſed their ſurpriſe that it ſhould be made ſo late in the ſeſſion, when no further demand of money could be reaſonably expected; and they ſaid it was more extraordinary, becauſe it appeared in the former ſeſſion, from the examination of the accounts than before the houſe, that the revenues of the civil-liſt produced yearly a much greater ſum than that for which they were given. Mr Pulteney moved that the accounts and papers ſhould be referred to the examination of a ſelect committee, properly empowered to inveſtigate the truth. The miniſters oppoſed this motion; and the queſtion being put, it paſſed in the negative. The majority voted the ſum demanded; and in a bill for ſettling the price of imported corn, they inſerted the reſolution for granting to his majeſty the ſum of one hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds, on account of arrears due on the civil-liſt revenues.

The houſe of lords having prepared a bill for the more effectual puniſhment of forgery, which was paſſed into a law, and ordered the judges to bring in another, on the report of a committee appointed to conſider the caſe of impriſoned debtors, at length deliberated upon the ſtate of the nation, particularly the poſitive demand made by the court of Spain for the reſtitution of Gibraltar, grounded on a letter written by the late king to his catholic majeſty. From a copy of the letter laid before the houſe, it plainly appeared that king George I. had conſented to this reſtitution. A motion being made for a reſolution, importing, that for the honour of his majeſty, and the preſervation and ſecurity of the trade and commerce of the kingdom, effectual care ſhould be taken in the preſent treaty that the king of Spain ſhould renounce all claim and pretenſion to Gibraltar and Minorca, in plain and ſtrong terms, a debate enſued, and the queſtion being put, paſſed in the negative, though not without a proteſt. Then the majority reſolved, that the houſe did entirely rely upon his majeſty, that he would, for the maintaining the honour and ſecuring the trade of this kingdom, take effectual care in the preſent treaty to preſerve his undoubted right to Gibraltar and Minorca. When the houſe examined the papers relating to the Spaniſh depredations, many ſevere reflections were uttered againſt the conduct of the miniſtry; and a motion was made, to reſolve that Hoſier's expedition was an unreaſonable burthen on the nation; but this too was rejected, and occaſioned another proteſt. Nor did the clauſe in the corn-bill, for granting 115,000l. to his majeſty, paſs through the houſe of peers without warm oppoſition. Divers lords alledged, that, inſtead of a deficiency in the civil-liſt revenues, there was a conſiderable ſurplus: that this was a new grant, and a new burthen on the people: that the nation was loaded, not to complete, but to augment the ſum deſigned for the civil-liſt; and this at a time when the public debts were increaſed; when the taxes were heavily felt in all parts of the country; when the foreign trade of Britain was incumbered and diminiſhed; when her manufactures were decayed; her poor multiplied; and ſhe was ſurrounded by many other national calamities. They obſerved, that if the produce of the civil-liſt revenue ſhould not amount to the yearly ſum of 800,000l. the deficiency muſt be made good to his majeſty by the public; whereas no proviſion was made, by which, if the produce of theſe revenues ſhould exceed that ſum, the ſurplus could accrue to the benefit of the public: that, by this precedent, not only real deficiencies were to be made good, but alſo ſupplies were to be given for arrears ſtanding out at the end of every year, which ſhould come on before the ſupplies could be granted, though the ſupply given to make good arrears in one year would certainly increaſe the ſurpluſages in another: that the revenues of the civil-liſt were variable in their own nature; and even when there is a deficiency in the produce, there might be arrears in the receipt; theſe might be eaſily increaſed by the management of deſigning miniſters, by private directions to receivers, and by artful methods of ſtating accounts. All theſe arguments, and other objections equally ſtrong and plauſible, againſt this unconſcionable and unparliamentary motion, ſerved only to evince the triumph of the miniſtry over ſhame and ſentiment, their contempt of public ſpirit, and their defiance of national reproach.[d]

[1729] The king had, on the 24th day of March, given the royal aſſent to five bills; and on the 14th day of May, the ſame ſanction was given to thirty other bills, including an act, enabling the queen to be regent during his majeſty's abſence, without taking the oaths; and another for the relief of inſolvent debtors. At the ſame time two-and-thirty private bills were paſſed: then the king expreſſed his approbation of the parliament, ſignified his intention to viſit his German dominions, and ordered the chancellor to prorogue both houſes. His majeſty having appointed the queen regent of the realm, ſet out for Hanover, on the 17th day of May, in order to remove a petty miſunderſtanding which had happened between that electorate and the court of Berlin. Some Hanoverian ſubjects had been preſſed or decoyed into the ſervice of Pruſſia; and the regents of Hanover had ſeiſed certain Pruſſian officers, by way of repriſal. The whole united kingdom of Great-Britain at this juncture enjoyed uninterrupted repoſe; and commerce continued to increaſe, in ſpite of all reſtriction and diſcouragement. The people of Ireland found themſelves happy under the government of lord Carteret; and their parliament, aſſembling in the month of September, approved themſelves the fathers of their country. They eſtabliſhed funds for the diſcharge of their national debt, and for maintaining the expence of government: they enacted wholeſome laws for the encouragement of manufactures, trade, and agriculture; and they formed wiſe regulations in different branches of civil œconomy. Some time after this ſeſſion, which was conducted with ſo much harmony and patriotiſm, lord Carteret returned to England; and was ſucceeded by the duke of Dorſet in the government of that kingdom. In the month of May, Charles Townſhend reſigned the ſeals, which were given to colonel Stanhope, now created earl of Harrington; ſo ſir R. W. now reigned without a rival. James earl of Waldgrave was appointed ambaſſador to the court of France, which, about that time, was filled with joy by the birth of a dauphin.

In the month of September, Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, reſigned his crown to his ſon Charles Emanuel, prince of Piedmont. The father reſerved to himſelf a revenue of one hundred thouſand piſtoles per annum, retired to the caſtle of Chamberry, and eſpouſed the counteſs dowager of St. Sebaſtian, who declined the title of queen, but aſſumed that of marchioneſs of Somerive. Though the congreſs at Soiſſons proved abortive, conferences were begun at Seville, between the plenipotentiaries of England,

[d] The peers that diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the oppoſition were Beaufort, Strafford, Craven, Foley, Lichfield, Scarſdale, Gower, Mountjoy, Plymouth, Bathurſt, Northampton, Coventry, Oxford and Mortimer, Willoughby de Broke, Boyle, and Warrington.

France, and Spain; and a treaty was concluded on the 9th of November, not only without the concurrence of the emperor, but even contrary to his right, as eſtabliſhed by the quadruple alliance. On this ſubject he communicated an imperial commiſſorial decree to the ſtates of the empire aſſembled in the diet at Ratiſbon, which was anſwered by the French miniſter de Chavigny. In October, Peter II. czar of Muſcovy, and grandſon of Peter I. died in the 15th year of his age, at Moſcow, and was ſucceeded on the Ruſſian throne by the princeſs Anne Ivanowna, ſecond daughter of John Alexowitz, eldeſt brother of the firſt Peter, and widow of Frederick William duke of Courland. The following month was rendered remarkable by the death of Pope Benedict XIII. in whoſe room cardinal Laurence Corſini was raiſed to the pontificate, and aſſumed the name of Clement XII.

The Britiſh parliament aſſembling on the 13th of January, the king gave them to underſtand, that the peace of Europe was now eſtabliſhed by the treaty of Seville, built upon the foundation of former treaties, and tending to render more effectual what the contracting powers in the quadruple alliance were before engaged to ſee performed. He aſſured them that all former conventions made with Spain in favour of the Britiſh trade and navigation were renewed and confirmed: that the free uninterrupted exerciſe of their commerce was reſtored: that the court of Spain had agreed to an ample reſtitution and reparation for unlawful ſeiſures and depredations: that all rights, privileges, and poſſeſſions, belonging to him and his allies, were ſolemnly re-eſtabliſhed, confirmed, and guaranteed; and that not one conceſſion was made to the prejudice of his ſubjects. He told them he had given orders for reducing a great number of his land-forces, and for laying up great part of the fleet; and obſerved that there would be a conſiderable ſaving in the expence of the current year. After both houſes had preſented their addreſſes of thanks and congratulation to the king on the peace of Seville, the lords took that treaty into conſideration, and it did not paſs enquiry without ſevere animadverſion.

The lords in the oppoſition excepted to the article by which the merchants of Great-Baitain were obliged to make proof of their loſſes at the court of Spain. They ſaid this ſtipulation was a hardſhip upon Britiſh ſubjects, and diſhonourable to the nation: that few would care to undertake ſuch a troubleſome and expenſive journey, eſpecially as they had reaſon to apprehend their claims would be counterbalanced by the Spaniards; and, after all, they would have no more but the ſlender comfort of hoping to obtain that addreſs by commiſſaries which they had not been able to procure by plenipotentiaries. They thought it very extraordinary, that Great-Britain ſhould be bound to ratify and guarantee whatever agreement ſhould be made between the king of Spain and the dukes of Parma and Tuſcany, concerning the garriſons once eſtabliſhed to their countries: that the Engliſh ſhould be obliged to aſſiſt in effectuating the introduction of ſix thouſand Spaniſh troops into the towns of Tuſcany and Parma, without any ſpecification of the methods to be taken, or the charge to be incurred in giving their aſſiſtance: that they ſhould guarantee for ever, not only to Don Carlos, but even to all his ſucceſſors, the poſſeſſion of the eſtates of Tuſcany and Parma; a ſtipulation which in all probability would involve Great-Britain in endleſs quarrels and diſputes, about a country with which they had no concern. They affirmed that the treaty of Seville, inſtead of confirming other treaties, was contradictory to the quadruple alliance, particularly in the article of introducing Spaniſh troops into Tuſcany and Parma, in the room of neutral forces ſtiptulated by the former alliance; and agreeing that they ſhould there remain until Don Carlos and his ſucceſſors ſhould be ſecure and exempt from all events. They complained that theſe alterations, from the tenour of the quadruple alliance were made without the concurrence of the emperor, and even without inviting him to accede; an affront which might alienate his friendſhip from England, and hazard the loſs of ſuch an ancient, powerful, and faithful ally: they declared that throughout the whole treaty there ſeemed to be an artful omiſſion of any expreſs ſtipulation, to ſecure Great-Britain in her right to Gibraltar and Minorca. Such was the ſubſtance of the objections made to the peace; then lord Bathurſt moved for a reſolution, that the agreement on the treaty of Seville, to ſecure the ſucceſſion of Don Carlos to the duchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, with Spaniſh troops, was a manifeſt violation of the 5th article of the quadruple alliance, tending to involve the nation in a dangerous and expenſive war, and to deſtroy the balance of power in Europe. The queſtion was put, and the motion rejected. Such too was the fate of two other motions, to reſolve that Great-Britain's right of ſovereignty, dominion, poſſeſſion, and claim to Gibraltar and Minorca, were not aſcertained by the treaty of Seville; and that the ſtipulations in that treaty for repairing the loſſes of the Britiſh merchants were inſufficient and precarious. The majority, far from ſtigmatiſing this tranſaction, reſolved, that the treaty did contain all neceſſary ſtipulations for maintaining and ſecuring the honour, dignity, rights and poſſeſſions of the crown: that all due care was taken therein for the ſupport of the trade of the kingdom, and for repairing the loſſes ſuſtained by the Britiſh merchants. On theſe reſolutions an addreſs of approbation was founded: but, when a motion was made for an addreſs to his majeſty, that he would order to lay before the houſe a liſt of all penſions payable to the crown, it was immediately reſolved in the negative. Divers conteſts of the ſame kind aroſe upon the mutiny-bill, the penſion-bill, and the maintenance of the twelve thouſand Heſſians; but the miniſtry bore down all oppoſion, though their triumphs were clogged with vigorous proteſts, which did not fail to make impreſſion upon the body of the people.

Nor was the ſucceſs of the court intereſt in the houſe of commons altogether pure and free from exception and diſpute. When the charge of the land-forces fell under the conſideration of the commons, and mr. Henry Pelham, ſecretary at war, moved that the number of effective men for the land-ſervice of the enſuing year ſhould be fixed at 17,709, mr. Pulteney inſiſted upon its being reduced to 12000. Mr Shippen affirmed, that mr. Pelham's motion was a flat negative to the addreſs for which he voted on the firſt day of the ſeſſion, as if plainly implied a diſtruſt of the validity of the treaty, which he then aſſured the houſe would immediately produce all the bleſſings of an abſolute peace; and deliver the kingdom from the apprehenſions and inconvenience of a war. He ſaid the motion tended directly towards the eſtabliſhment of an army in Great-Britain, which he hoped would never be ſo far Germaniſed, as tamely to ſubmit to a military government. He obſerved that the nation could have no occaſion for all the troops that were demanded, conſidering the glorious ſcene of affairs which was now opened to all Europe. 'They are not neceſſary (ſaid he) to awe Spain into a firm adherence to his own treaty; they are not neceſſary to force the emperor into an immediate acceſſion; nor are they in any ſort neceſſary for the ſafety of his majeſty's perſon and government. Force and violence are the reſort of uſurpers and tyrants only; becauſe they are, with good reaſon, diſtruſtful of the people whom they oppreſs; and becauſe they have no other ſecurity for the continuance of their unlawful and unnatural dominion, than what depends entirely on the ſtrength of their armies.' The motion, however, was carried in the affirmative.'

Another warm debate was excited by a bill which the courtiers brought in, to prevent any ſubjects of Great-Britain from advancing ſums of money to foreign princes or ſtates, without having obtained licenſe from his majeſty, under his privy-ſeal, or ſome greater authority. The miniſter pretended that this law was propoſed to diſable the emperor, who wanted to borrow a great ſum of the Engliſh merchants, for raiſing and maintaining troops to diſturb the tranquility of Europe. The bill contained a clauſe, empowering the king to prohibit by proclamation all ſuch loans of money, jewels, or bullion: the attorney-general was empowered to compel, by Engliſh bill, in the court of Exchequer, the effectual diſcovery, on oath, of any ſuch loans; and it was enacted, that in default of an anſwer to any ſuch bill the court ſhould declare a limited ſum againſt the perſon refuſing to anſwer. Mr Daniel Pulteney, a gentleman of uncommon talents and ability, and particularly acquainted with every branch of commerce, argued ſtrenuouſly againſt this bill, as a reſtraint upon trade that would render Holland the market of Europe, and the mart of the money to the nations of the continent. He ſaid, that by this general prohibition, extending to all princes, ſtates, or potentates, the Engliſh were totally diſabled from aſſiſting their beſt allies: that among others the king of Portugal frequently borrowed money of the Engliſh merchants reſiding within his dominions: that while the licenſing power remained in the crown, the licenſes would be iſſued through the hands of the miniſter, who by this new trade might gain twenty, thirty, or forty thouſand a-year: that the bill would render the Exchequer a court of inquiſion; and that whilſt it reſtrained our merchants from aſſiſting the princes and powers of Europe, it permitted our ſtoc-

jobbers to trade in their funds without interruption. Other arguments of equal weight were enforced by mr. Barnard, a merchant of London, who perfectly underſtood trade in all its branches, ſpoke with judgment and preciſion, and upon all occaſions ſteadily adhered to the intereſts and liberties of his country. After having explained his reaſons, he declared he ſhould never conſent to a bill which he deemed a violation of our fundamental laws, a breach of our deareſt liberties, and a very terrible hardſhip on mankind. Sir William Wyndham diſtinguiſhed himſelf on the ſame ſide of the queſtion: the bill was vindicated by ſir Robert Walpole, mr. Pelham, and ſir Philip Yorke, attorney-general; and being ſupported by the whole weight of miniſterial influence, not only paſſed through the houſe, but was afterwards enacted into a law.

The ſubſides were continued to the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel and the duke of Brunſwick-Wolfenbuttel, in ſpite of all that could be urged againſt theſe extraneous incumberances; and the ſupply for the enſuing year was granted according to the eſtimates which the miniſtry thought proper to produce, amounting to about 2,280,000l. It muſt be owned, however, for the credit of this ſeſſion, that the houſe appropriated one million of the ſurpluſes ariſing from the ſinking fund towards the diſcharge of the national debt: and by another act extinguiſhed the duties upon ſalt, by which expedient the ſubject was eaſed of a heavy burthen, not only in being freed from the duty, but alſo from a conſiderable charge of ſalaries given to a great number of officers employed to collect this impoſition. They likewiſe encouraged the colony of Carolina with an act, allowing the planters and traders of that province to export rice directly to any part of Europe ſouthward of Cape Finiſterre; and they permitted ſalt from Europe to be imported into the colony of New-York. The term of the excluſive trade granted by act of parliament to the Eaſt-India company drawing towards a period, many conſiderable merchants and others made application for being incorporated and veſted with the privilege of trading to thoſe countries, propoſing to lay that branch of trade open to all the ſubjects of Great-Britain, on certain conditions. In conſideration of an act of parliament for this purpoſe, they offered to advance 3,200,000l. for redeeming the fund and trade of the preſent Eaſt-India company. This propoſal was rejected; and the excluſive privilege veſted in the company was, by act of parliament, protracted to the year 1766, upon the following conditions: that they ſhould pay into the Exchequer the ſum of 200,000l. towards the ſupplies of the year, without intereſt or addition to the capital ſtoc: that the annuity or yearly fund of 160,000l. payable to them from the public, ſhould be reduced to 128,000l. that after the year 1766, their right to the excluſive trade ſhould be liable to be taken away by parliament, on three years notice, and repayment of their capital.

[1730] On the 15th of May the king went to the houſe of peers, and cloſed the ſeſſion. In this ſpeech he expreſſed his joy, that, notwithſtanding all the clamours which were raiſed, the parliament had approved of thoſe matters which fell under their conſideration; a circumſtance which, he ſaid, could not fail to inſpire all mankind with a juſt deteſtation of thoſe incendiaries, who, by ſcandalous libels, laboured to alienate the affections of his people; to fill their minds with groundleſs jealouſies and unjuſt complaints, in diſhonour of him and his government, and in defiance of the ſenſe of both houſes of parliament.[c] The emperor was ſo much incenſed at the inſult offered to him in the treaty of Seville, with reſpect to the garriſons of Tuſcany and Parma, that he prohibited the ſubjects of Great-Britain from trading in his dominions: he began to make preparations for war, and actually detached bodies of troops to Italy, with ſuch diſpatch as had been very ſeldom exerted by the houſe of Auſtria. Yet the article of which he complained was not ſo much a real injury as an affront put upon the head of the empire; for the eventual ſucceſſion to thoſe Italian duchies had been ſecured to the infant, Don Carlos, by the quadruple alliance; and all that the emperor required, was, that this prince ſhould receive the inveſtiture of them as fiefs of the empire.

In Great-Britain, this year was not diſtinguiſhed by any tranſaction of great moment. Seven chiefs of the Cherokee nations of Indians in America were brought to England by ſir Alexander Cumin. Being introduced to the king, they laid their crown and regalia at his feet; and by an authentic deed acknowledged themſelves ſubjects to his dominion, in the name of all their compatriots, who had veſted them with full powers for this purpoſe. They were amazed and confounded at the riches and magnificence of the Britiſh court: they compared the king and queen to the ſun and moon, the princes to the ſtars of heaven, and themſelves to nothing. They gave their aſſent in the moſt ſolemn manner to articles of friendſhip and commerce, propoſed by the lords-commiſſioners for trade and plantations; and being loaded with preſents of neceſſaries, arms, and ammunition, were conveyed to their own country, which borders on the province of South-Carolina. In the month of September a ſurpriſing revolution was effected at Conſtantinople, without bloodſhed or confuſion. A few mean Janiſſaries diſplayed a flag in the ſtreets, exclaiming that all true Muſſulmen ought to follow them, and aſſiſt in reforming the government. They ſoon increaſed to the number of one hundred thouſand, marched to the Seraglio, and demanded the grand vizir, the kaja, and captain Pacha. Theſe unhappy miniſters were immediately ſtrangled. Their bodies being delivered to the inſurgents, were dragged through the ſtreets; and afterwards thrown to the dogs to be devoured. Not contented with this ſacrifice, the revolters depoſed the grand ſignor Achmet, who was confined to the ſame priſon from whence they brought his nephew Machmut, and raiſed this laſt to the throne, after he had lived 27 years in confinement.

England was at this period infeſted with robbers, aſſaſſins, and incendiaries, the natural conſequences of degeneracy, corruption, and the want of police in the interior government of the kingdom. This defect, in a great meaſure, aroſe from an abſurd notion, that laws neceſſary to prevent thoſe acts of cruelty, violence and rapine, would be incompatible with the liberty of Britiſh ſubjects; a notion that confounds all diſtinctions between liberty and brutal licentiouſneſs, as if that freedom was deſirable in the enjoyment of which people find no ſecurity for their lives or effects. The peculiar depravity of the times was viſible even in the conduct of thoſe who preyed upon the the commonwealth. Thieves and robbers were now become more deſperate and ſavage than ever they had appeared ſince mankind was civilized. In the exceſs of their rapine, they wounded, maimed, and even murdered the unhappy ſufferers, through a wantonneſs of barbarity. They circulated letters, demanding ſums of money from certain individuals, on pain of reducing their houſes to aſhes, and their families to ruin; and even ſet fire to the houſe of a rich merchant in Briſtol, who had refuſed to comply with their demand. The ſame ſpecies of villainy was practiſed in different parts of the kingdom; ſo that government was obliged to interpoſe, and offer a conſiderable reward for diſcovering the ruffians concerned in ſuch execrable deſigns.

In the ſpeech with which the king opened the ſeſſion of parliament on the 21ſt of January, he told them, that the preſent critical conjuncture ſeemed in a very particular manner to deſerve their attention: that as the tranſactions then depening in the ſeveral courts of Europe were upon the point of being determined, the great event of peace or war might be very much affected by the firſt reſolutions, which were expected by different powers with great impatience. He ſaid, the continuance of that zeal and vigour with which they had hitherto ſupported him and his engagements muſt at this time be of the greateſt weight and importance, both with regard to his allies, and to thoſe who might be diſpoſed, before the ſeaſon of the action, to prevent by an accommodation the fatal conſequences of a general rupture. The former ſcene was repeated. Both houſes, in their addreſſes, promiſed to ſupport his majeſty in all his engagements: yet the members in the oppoſition demonſtrated the abſurdity of promiſing to fulfil engagements, before they could poſſibly know whether or not they were for the ſervice of Great-Britain. Another bill was brought into the houſe of commons, to prevent penſioners from ſitting as members of parliament; and, after a third reading, carried up to the lords for their concurrence. When the ſupply fell under conſideration, the debates were renewed upon the ſubſides to the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel and the duke of Wolfenbuttel, which, however were continued; and every article was granted according to the eſtimates given in for the expence of the enſuing year. Two petitions

[c] In the courſe of this ſeſſion the commons paſſed a bill for making more effectual the laws in being, for diſabling perſons from being choſen members of parliament who enjoyed any penſion during pleaſure, or for any number of years, or any offices holden in truſt for them, by obliging all perſons hereafter to be choſen to ſerve for the commons in parliament, to take the oath therein mentioned. In all probability this bill would not have made its way through the houſe of commons had not the miniſter been well aſſured it would ſtic with the upper houſe, where it was rejected at the ſecond reading, though not without violent oppoſition.

being preſented to the commons, repreſenting the delays of juſtice, occaſioned by the uſe of the Latin tongue in proceedings at law, a bill was brought in for changing this practice, and enacting, That all thoſe proceſſes and pleadings ſhould be entered in the Engliſh language. Though one would imagine that very little could be advanced againſt ſuch a regulation, the bill met with warm oppoſition, on pretence that it would render uſeleſs the ancient records which were written in the language, and introduce confuſion and delay of juſtice, by altering the eſtabliſhed form and method of pleading: in ſpite of theſe objections, it paſſed through both houſes, and obtained the royal aſſent. A great number of merchants from different parts of the kingdom having repeated their complaints of depredations and cruelties committed by the Spaniards in the Weſt-Indies, their petitions were referred to the conſideration of a grand committee. Their complaints upon examination appeared to be well founded. The houſe preſented an addreſs to the king, deſiring his majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to continue his endeavour to prevent ſuch depredations for the future; to procure full ſatisfaction for the damages already ſuſtained; and to ſecure to the Britiſh ſubjects the full and uninterrupted exerciſe of their trade and navigation to and from the Britiſh colonies in America. The bill againſt penſions produced a warm debate in the houſe of lords, where it was violently oppoſed by the dukes of Newcaſtle, and Argyle, the earl of Ilay, and dr. Sherlock, biſhop of Bangor. This prelate, in a remarkable ſpeech, repreſented it as a ſcheme to enlarge the power of the houſe of commons, and to break the balance between the powers eſſential to the conſtitution, ſo as ſooner or later to prove the ruin of the whole. The great barrier provided againſt bribery and corruption by this bill conſiſted in an oath to be impoſed on all members of the lower houſe, by which they muſt have ſolemnly ſworn and declared, that they had not directly, nor indirectly, any penſion during pleaſure, or for any number of years, or any office in part, or in the whole, held for them, or for their benefit, by any perſons whatſoever; and that they would not accept any ſuch penſions or offices, without ſignifying the ſame to the houſe within fourteen days after they ſhould be received or accepted. The bill was vindicated as juſt and neceſſary by the earls of Winchelſea and Strafford, lord Bathurſt, and lord Carteret, who had by this time joined as an auxiliary in the oppoſition. [f]

1731

[1731] The houſe of peers proceeded to conſider the ſtate of the national debt: they read a bill for the free importation of wool from Ireland into England, which was fiercely oppoſed, and laid aſide, contrary to all the rules of ſound policy. They paſſed the bill for carrying on proceedings at law in the Engliſh language; and a fruitleſs motion was made by lord Bathurſt for an addreſs, to deſire his majeſty would give directions for diſcharging the Heſſian troops that were in the pay of Great-Britain. On the 7th day of May the parliament was prorogued, after the king had given them to underſtand, that all apprehenſions of a war were now happily removed, by a treaty ſigned at Vienna, between him and the emperor. He ſaid it was communicated to the courts of France and Spain, as parties to the treaties of Seville, the execution of which it principally regarded; and that it was likewiſe ſubmitted to the conſideration of the ſtates-general. He obſerved, that the conditions and engagements into which he had entered on this occaſion were agreeable to that neceſſary concern which the Britiſh nation muſt always have for the ſecurity and preſervation of the balance of power in Europe: and that this happy turn, duly improved with a juſt regard to former alliances, yielded a favourable proſpect of ſeeing the public tranqility re-eſtabliſhed.

In the month of January the duke of Parma died, after having made a will, in which he declared his ducheſs was three months advanced in her pregnancy; intreating the allied powers of Europe to have compaſſion upon his people, and defer the execution of their projects until his conſort ſhould be delivered. In caſe the child ſhould be ſtill-born, or die after the birth, he bequeathed his dominions and allodial eſtates to the infant Don Carlos of Spain; and appointed five regents to govern the duchy. Notwithſtanding this diſpoſition, a body of imperial troops immediately took poſſeſſion of Parma and Placentia, under the command of general Stampa, who declared they ſhould conduct themſelves with all poſſible regularity and moderation, and leave the adminiſtration entirely to the regents whom the duke had appointed. They publicly proclaimed in the market-place, that they took poſſeſſion of theſe duchies for the infant, Don Carlos: and that if the ducheſs dowager ſhould not be delivered of a prince, the ſaid infant might receive the inveſtiture from the emperor whenever he would, provided he ſhould come without an army. Though theſe ſteps ſeemed to threaten an immediate war, the king of Great-Britain and the ſtates-general interpoſed their mediation ſo effectually with the court of Vienna, that the emperor deſiſted from the proſecution of his deſign; and on the 16th day of March concluded at Vienna a treaty with his Britannic majeſty, by which he conſented to withdraw his troops from Parma and Placentia. He agreed, That the king of Spain might take poſſeſſion of theſe places in favour of his ſon don Carlos, according to the treaty of Seville. He likewiſe agreed, that the Oſtend company, which had given ſuch umbrage to the maritime powers, ſhould be totally diſſolved, on condition that the contracting powers concerned in the treaty of Seville ſhould guarantee the pragmatic ſanction, or ſucceſſion of the Auſtrian hereditary dominions to the heirs female of the emperor, in caſe he ſhould die without male iſſue. The Dutch miniſter reſiding at the imperial court did not ſubſcribe this treaty, becauſe, by the maxims received in that republic, and the nature of her government, he could not be veſted with full powers ſo ſoon as it would have been neceſſary: nevertheleſs, the ſtates-general were, by a ſeparate article, expreſsly named as a principal contracting party.

On the 22d day of July a new treaty was ſigned at Vienna between the emperor and the kings of Great-Britain and Spain, tending to confirm the former. In Auguſt a treaty of union and defenſive alliance between the electorates of Saxony and Hanover was executed at Dreſden.

The court of Spain expreſſing ſome doubts with regard to the pregnancy of the ducheſs of Parma, ſhe underwent a formal examination by five midwives of different nations, in preſence of the older ducheſs dowager, ſeveral ladies of quality, three phyſicians, and a ſurgeon; and was declared with child: nevertheleſs, after having kept all Europe in ſuſpence for ſix months, ſhe owned ſhe had been deceived; and general Stampa, with the imperial forces, took formal poſſeſſion of the duchies of Parma and Placentia.

Spain and the great duke of Tuſcany having acceded to the laſt treaty of Vienna, the crown of Great-Britain engaged to equip an armament that ſhould convey don Carlos to his new dominions. Accordingly, ſir Charles Wager ſailed with a ſtrong ſquadron from Portſmouth on the 26th day of Auguſt; and in September arrived at Barcelona, where being joined by the Spaniſh fleet and tranſports, they ſailed together to Leghorn; from whence the admiral returned to England. Don Carlos paſſed through part of France, and embarking at Antibes on board of the Spaniſh gallies, arrived at Leghorn in December. Then the imperial general withdrew his forces into Milaneſe; and the infant took poſſeſſion of his new territories.

During theſe tranſactions France was diſtracted by religious diſputes, occaſioned by the bull unigenitus thundered againſt the doctrines of Janſenius; a bull which had produced a ſchiſm in the Gallican church, and well nigh involved that country in civil war and confuſion. It was oppoſed by the parliaments and lay tribunals of the kingdom; but many biſhops, and the jeſuits in general, were its moſt ſtrenuous aſſerters. All the artifices of prieſtcraft were practiſed on both ſides, to inflame the enthuſiaſm, and manage the ſuperſtition of the people. Pretended miracles were wrought at the tombe of abbé Paris, who had died without accepting the bull, conſequently was declared damned by the abettors of that conſtitution. On the other hand, the jeſuits exerted all their abilities and induſtry in preaching againſt the Janſeniſts; in eſtabliſhing an opinion of their ſuperior ſanctity; and inſpiring a ſpirit of quietiſm among their votaries, who were tranſported into the delirium of poſſeſſion, illumination, and ſupernatural converſe. Theſe arts were often uſed for the moſt infamous purpoſes. Female enthuſiaſts were wrought up to ſuch a violence of agitations, that nature fainted under the ſtruggle,

[f] Nothing was heard within doors in parliament, but ſarcaſtic repartee and violent declamation between the two parties, who did not confine their alercation to theſe debates, but took the field againſt each other in periodical papers, and occaſioned pamphlets. The paper called the Craftſman had already riſen into high reputaion all over England, for the wit, humour, and ſolid reaſoning it contained. Some of the beſt writers in the oppoſition, including lord Bolingbroke and mr. P. made uſe of this vehicle to convey their animadverſions upon the miniſter, who, on his ſide, employed the moſt wretched ſcriblers to defend his conduct. It was in conſequence of two political pamphlets, written in oppoſition to each other, by lord Harvey and mr. P. and ſome recrimination they produced in the houſe of commons, that his lordſhip challenged the other to ſingle combat, and had well nigh loſt his life in the duel, which was fought in Hyde-Park.

and the pſeudo-ſaint ſeiſed this opportunity of violating the chaſtity of his penitent. Such was ſaid to be the caſe of mademoiſelle la Cadiere, a young gentlewoman of Toulon, abuſed in this manner by the luſt and villainy of Pere Girard a noted jeſuit, who underwent a trial before the parliament of Aix, and very narrowly eſcaped the ſtake.

The parliament of Great-Britain meeting on the 13th day of January, the king in his ſpeech declared, that the general tranquillity of Europe was reſtored and eſtabliſhed by the laſt treaty of Vienna: that don Carlos was actually poſſeſſed of Parma and Placentia: that ſix thouſand Spaniards were quietly admitted and quartered in the duchy of Tuſcany, to ſecure, by the expreſs conſent and agreement of the great duke, the reverſion of his dominions; and that a family convention was made between the courts of Spain and Tuſcany, for preſerving mutual peace and friendſhip in the two houſes. He told the commons, that the eſtimates for the ſervice of the current year would be conſiderably leſs than thoſe of former years. He recommended unanimity: he obſerved that this government had no ſecurity but what was equally conducive to their happineſs, and to the protection of his people: that their poſterity had no foundation but in the defence and ſupport of his government. 'Our ſafety (ſaid he) is mutual, and our intereſts are inſeparable.'

The oppoſition to the court meaſures appears to have been uncommonly ſpirited during the courſe of this ſeſſion. The miniſter's motions were attacked with all the artillery of elocutions. His principal emiſſaries were obliged to taſk their faculties to their full exertion, to puzzle and perplex where they could not demonſtrate and convince, to miſrepreſent what they could not vindicate, and elude the arguments which they could not refute. In the houſe of commons lord Harvey, lately appointed vice-chamberlain of his majeſty's houſehold, made a motion for an addreſs of thanks, in which they ſhould declare their entire approbation of the king's conduct, acknowledge the bleſſings they enjoyed under his government, expreſs their confidence in the wiſdom of his councils; and declare their readineſs to grant the neceſſary ſupplies. This member, ſon to the earl of Briſtol, was a nobleman of ſome parts, which, however were more ſpecious than ſolid. He condeſcended to act as a ſubaltern to the miniſter, and approved himſelf extremely active in forwarding all his deſigns, whether as a ſecret emiſſary or public orator; in which laſt capacity he appears to have been pert, frivolous, and frothy. His motion was ſeconded by mr. Clutterbuck, and oppoſed by ſir Wilfred Lawſon, mr. Shippen, mr. W. Pulteney, ſir William Wyndham, and mr. Oglethorpe. They did not argue againſt a general addreſs of thanks; but expoſed the abſurdity and bad tendency of expreſſions which implied a blind approbation of all the meaſures of the miniſtry. Sir Wilfred Lawſon obſerved, that notwithſtanding the great things we had done for the crown of Spain, and the favours we had procured for the royal family of that kingdom, little or no ſatisfaction had as yet been received for the injuries our merchants had ſuſtained from that nation. Mr Pulteney took notice, that the nation, by becoming guarantee to the pragmatic ſanction, laid itſelf under an obligation to aſſiſt the Auſtrian family when attacked by any potentate whatever, except the grand ſignor: that they might be attacked when it would be much againſt the intereſt of the kingdom to engage itſelf in a war upon any foreign account: that it might one day be for the intereſt of the nation to join againſt them, in order to preſerve the balance of Europe, the eſtabliſhing of which had already coſt England ſuch immenſe ſums of money. He inſiſted upon the abſurdity of concluding ſuch a number of inconſiſtent treaties; and concluded with ſaying, that if affairs abroad were now happily eſtabliſhed, the miniſtry which conducted them might be compared to a pilot, who, though there was a clear, ſafe, and ſtraight channel into port, yet took it into his head to carry the ſhip a great way about, through ſands, rocs, and ſhallows: who after having loſt a great number of ſeamen, deſtroyed a great deal of tackle and rigging, and ſubjected the owners to an enormous expence, at laſt by chance hits the port, and triumphs in his good conduct. Sir William Wyndham ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe. Mr Oglethorpe, a gentleman of unblemiſhed character, brave, generous, and humane, affirmed that many other things related more nearly to the honour and intereſt of the nation than did the guarantee of the pragmatic ſanction. He ſaid he wiſhed to have heard that the new works at Dunkirk had been entirely raſed and deſtroyed: that the nation had received full and compleat ſatisfaction for the depredations committed by the natives of Spain: that more care was taken in diſciplining the militia, on whoſe valour the nation muſt chiefly depend in caſe of an invaſion; and that ſome regard had been ſhown to the oppreſſed proteſtants in Germany. He expreſſed his ſatisfaction to find that the Engliſh were not ſo cloſely united to France as formerly; for he had generally obſerved, that when two dogs were in a laſh together, the ſtronger generally ran away with the weaker; and this, he was afraid, had been the caſe between France and Great-Britain. The motion was vigorouſly defended by mr. Pelham, paymaſter of the forces, and brother to the duke of Newcaſtle, a man whoſe greateſt fault was his being concerned in ſupporting the meaſures of a corrupt miniſtry. In other reſpects he was liberal, candid, benevolent, and even attached to the intereſt of his country, though egregiouſly miſtaken in his notions of government. On this occaſion he aſſerted that it was no way inconſiſtent with the honour or dignity of that houſe to thank his majeſty in the moſt particular terms for every thing he had been pleaſed to communicate in his ſpeech from the throne: that no expreſſion of approbation in the addreſs could be any way made uſe of to prevent an enquiry into the meaſures which had been purſued, when the treaties ſhould be laid before the houſe. He ſaid, at the opening of a ſeſſion the eyes of all Europe were turned towards Great-Britain, and from the parliament's firſt reſolves all the neighbouring powers judged of the unanimity that would enſue between his majeſty and the repreſentatives of his people: that their appearing jealous or diffident of his majeſty's conduct would weaken his influence upon the councils of foreign ſtates and potentates, and perhaps put it out of his power to rectify any falſe ſtep that might have been made by his miniſters. His arguments were re-enforced by a long ſpeech from mr. H. Walpole. The queſtion was put, the motion carried, and the addreſs preſented.

The next ſubject of debate was the number of land-forces. When the ſupply fell under conſideration, ſir W. Strickland, ſecretary at war, moved that the ſame number which had been maintained in the preceeding year ſhould be continued in pay. On the other hand, lord Morpeth having demonſtrated the danger to which the liberties of the nation might be expoſed, by maintaining a numerous ſtanding army in time of peace, made a motion that the number ſhould be reduced to twelve thouſand. A warm diſpute enſuing, was managed in favour of the firſt motion by lord Hervey, ſir Robert Walpole and his brother, mr. Pelham, and ſir Philip Yorke, attorney-general. This gentleman was counted a better lawyer than a politician, and ſhone more as an advocate at the bar than as an orator in the houſe of commons. The laſt partiſan of the miniſtry was ſir William Yonge, one of the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury; a man who rendered himſelf ſerviceable and neceſſary, by ſtooping to all compliances, running upon every ſcent, and haranguing on every ſubject with an even, uninterrupted, tedious flow of dull declamation, compoſed of aſſertions without veracity, concluſions from falſe premiſes, words without meaning, and language without propriety. Lord Morpeth's motion was eſpouſed by mr. Watkin Williams Wynne, a gentleman of an ancient family and opulent fortune in Wales, brave, open, hoſpitable, and warmly attached to the ancient conſtitution and hierarchy: he was ſupported by mr. Walter Plumer, who ſpoke with weight, preciſion, and ſeverity, by ſir W. Wyndham, mr. Shippen, mr. W. Pulteney, and mr. Barnard. The courtiers argued that it was neceſſary to maintain ſuch a number of land-forces as might defeat the deſigns of mal-contents, ſecure the interior tranquility of the kingdom, defend it from external aſſaults, over-awe its neighbours, and enable it to take vigorous meaſures in caſe the peace of Europe ſhould be re-embroiled. They affirmed the ſcience of war was ſo much altered, and required ſuch attention, that no dependence was to be placed upon a militia: that all nations were obliged to maintain ſtanding armies, for their ſecurity againſt the encroachments of neighbouring powers. that the number of troops in Great-Britain was too inconſiderable to excite the jealouſy of the people, even under an ambitious monarch: that his majeſty never entertained the leaſt thought of infringing the liberties of his ſubjects: that it could not be ſuppoſed that the officers, among whom were many gentlemen of family and fortune, would ever concur in a deſign to enſlave their country; and that the forces now in pay could not be properly deemed a ſtanding army, inaſmuch as they were voted and maintained from year to year by the parliament, which was the repreſentative of the people. To theſe arguments the members in the oppoſition replied, that a ſtanding force in time of peace

was unconſtitutional, and had been always thought dangerous: that a militia was as capable of diſcipline as a ſtanding army, and would have more incentives to courage and and perſeverance: that the civil magiſtrate was able to preſerve the peace of the country: that the number of the mal-contents was altogether contemptible, though it might be conſiderably augmented by maintaining a ſtanding army, and other ſuch abritary meaſures: that other nations had been enſlaved by ſtanding armies; and howſoever they might find themſelves neceſſitated to depend upon a military force for ſecurity againſt encroaching neighbours, the caſe was very different with regard to Great-Britain, for the defence of which nature had provided in a peculiar manner: that this proviſion was ſtrengthened and improved by a numerous navy, which ſecured her the dominion of the ſea; and, if, properly diſpoſed, would render all invaſion impracticable, or at leaſt ineffectual: that the land-army of Great-Britain, though ſufficient to endanger the liberties of an unarmed people, could not poſſibly ſecure ſuch an extent of coaſt, and therefore could be of very little ſervice in preventing an invaſion: that though they had all imaginable confidence in his majeſty's regard for the liberty of his ſubjects, they could not help apprehending, that ſhould a ſtanding army become part of the conſtitution, another prince of more dangerous talents, and more fatal deſigns, might ariſe, and employ it for the worſt purpoſes of ambition: that though many officers were gentlemen of honour and probity, theſe might be eaſily diſcarded, and the army gradually moulded into a quite different temper. By theſe means, practiſed in former times, an army had been new-modelled to ſuch a degree, that they turned their ſwords againſt the parliament, for whoſe defence they had been raiſed, and deſtroyed the conſtitution both in church and ſtate: that with reſpect to its being wholly dependent on the parliament, the people of England would have reaſon to complain of the ſame hardſhip, whether a ſtanding army ſhould be declared at once indiſpenſible, or regularly voted from year to year according to the direction of the miniſtry: that the ſanction of the legiſlature granted to meaſures which in themſelves are unconſtitutional, burthenſome, odious, and repugnant to the genius of the nation, inſtead of yielding conſolation, would ſerve only to demonſtrate, that the moſt effectual method of forging the chains of national ſlavery would be that of miniſterial influence operating upon a venal parliament. Such were the reaſons urged againſt a ſtanding army, of what number ſoever it might be compoſed: but the expediency of reducing the number from about 18,000 to 12,000 was inſiſted upon as the natural conſequence of his majeſty's declarations, by which they were given to underſtand that the peace of Europe was eſtabliſhed; and that he had nothing ſo much at heart as the eaſe and proſperity of his people. It was ſuggeſted, that if 18,000 men were ſufficient on the ſuppoſed eve of a general war in Europe, it was ſurely reaſonable to think that a leſs number would ſuffice when peace was perfectly re-eſtabliſhed. Whatever effect theſe reaſons had upon the body of the nation, they made no converts in the houſe, where the majority reſolved that the ſtanding army ſhould be maintained without reduction. Mr Plumer complained that the country was oppreſſed by an arbitrary method of quartering ſoldiers, in an undue proportion, upon thoſe publicans who refuſed to vote in elections according to the direction of the miniſtry. Mr Pulteney aſſerted that the money raiſed for the ſubſiſtance of 18,000 men in England would maintain 60,000 French or Germans, or the ſame number of almoſt any other people on the continent. Sir William Wyndham declared that 18,000 of the Engliſh troops in the late war were maintained on leſs than two-thirds of the ſum now demanded for the like number: but no regard was paid to thoſe allegations.

The next object of importance that attracted the notice of the houſe was the ſtate of the charitable corporation. This company was firſt erected in the year 1707. Their profeſſed intention was to lend money at legal intereſt to the poor, upon ſmall pledges; and to perſons of better rank upon an indubitable ſecurity of goods impawned. Their capital was at firſt limited to 30,000l. but by licenſes from the crown, they increaſed it to 600,000l. though their charter was never confirmed by act of parliament. In the month of October, George Robinſon, eſq. member for Marlow, the caſhier, and John Thompſon, warehouſe-keeper of the corporation, diſappeared in one day. The proprietors, alarmed at this incident, held ſeveral general courts, and appointed a committee to inſpect the ſtate of their affairs. They reported, that for a capital of above 500,000l. no equivalent was found; inaſmuch as their effects did not amount to the value of 30,000l. the remainder having been embezzled by means which they could not diſcover. The proprietors, in a petition to the houſe of commons, repreſented that by the moſt notorious breach of truſt in ſeveral perſons to whom the care and management of their affairs were committed, the corporation had been defrauded of the greateſt part of their capital; and that many of the petitioners were reduced to the utmoſt degree of miſery and diſtreſs, they, therefore, prayed, that as they were unable to detect the combinations of thoſe who had ruined them, or to bring the delinquets to juſtice, without the aid of the power and authority of parliament, the houſe would vouchſafe to enquire into the ſtate of the corporation, and the conduct of their managers; and give ſuch relief to the petitioners as the houſe ſhould ſeem meet. The petition was graciouſly received, and a ſecret committee appointed to proceed on the enquiry. They ſoon diſcovered a moſt iniquitous ſcene of fraud, which had been acted by Robinſon and Thompſon, in concert with ſome of the directors, for embezzling the capital, and cheating the proprietors. Many perſons of rank and quality were concerned in this infamous conſpiracy: ſome of the firſt characters in the nation did not eſcape ſuſpicion and cenſure. Sir Robert Sutton and ſir Archibald Grant were expelled the houſe of commons, as having had a conſiderable ſhare in thoſe fraudulent practices: a bill was brought in, to reſtrain them and other delinquents from leaving the kingdom, or alienating their effects. In the mean time, the committee received a letter from ſignor John Angelo Belloni, an eminent banker at Rome, giving them to underſtand, that Thompſon was ſecured in that city, with all his papers and confined to the caſtle of St. Angelo; and that the papers were tranſmitted to his correſpondent at Paris, who would deliver them up, on certain conditions ſtipulated in favour of the priſoner. This letter was conſidered as an artifice to inſinuate a favourable opinion of the pretender, as if he had taken meaſures for ſecuring Thompſon, from his zeal for juſtice, and affection to the Engliſh people. On this ſuppoſition, the propoſals were rejected with diſdain; and both houſes concurred in an order that the letter ſhould be burned at the Royal Exchange, by the hands of the common hangman. The lower-houſe reſolved that it was an inſolent and audacious libel, abſurd and contradictory; that the whole tranſaction was a ſcandalous artifice, calculated to delude the unhappy, and to diſguiſe and conceal the wicked practices of the profeſſed enemies to his majeſty's perſon, crown and dignity.

No motion, during this ſeſſion, produced ſuch a warm conteſt as did that of ſir Robert Walpole, when, after a long preamble, he propoſed that the duties on ſalt, which about two years before had been aboliſhed, ſhould now be revived, and granted to his majeſty, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, for the term of three years. In order to ſweeten this propoſal, he declared that the land-tax for the enſuing year ſhould be reduced to one ſhilling in the pound. All the members of the country-party were immediately in commotion. They expreſſed their ſurpriſe at the groſſneſs of the impoſition. They obſerved that two years had ſcarce elapſed ſince the king, in a ſpeech from the throne, had exhorted them to aboliſh ſome of the taxes that were the moſt burthenſome to the poor: the houſe was then of opinion, that the tax upon ſalt was the moſt burthenſome, and the moſt pernicious to the trade of the kingdom, of all the impoſitions to which the poor were ſubjected, and therefore it was taken off: but that no great reaſon could be produced for altering their opinion ſo ſuddenly, and reſolving to grind the faces of the poor, in order to eaſe a few rich men of the landed intereſt. They affirmed that the moſt general taxes are always the leaſt burthenſome: that after a nation is obliged to extend their taxes farther than the luxuries of their country, thoſe taxes that can be raiſed with the leaſt charge to the public are the moſt convenient and eaſieſt to the people: but they ought carefully to avoid taxing thoſe things which are neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of the poor. The price of all neceſſaries being thus enhanced, the wages of the tradeſman and manufacturer muſt be increaſed; and where theſe are high the manufacturers will be underſold by thoſe of cheaper countries. The trade muſt of conſequence be ruined; and it is not to be ſuppoſed that the landed gentleman would chooſe to ſave a ſhilling in the pound from the land-tax, by means of an expedient that would ruin the manufactures of his country, and decreaſe the value of his own fortune. They alledged that the ſalt-tax particularly affected the poor, who could not afford to eat freſh proviſions; and that, as it formerly occaſioned murmurs and diſcontents among the lower claſs of

people, the revival of it would, in all probability, exasperate them into open ſedition. They obſerved, that while it was exacted in England, a great number of merchants ſent their ſhips to Ireland, to be victualled for their reſpective voyages: that ſince it had been aboliſhed, many experiments had been ſucceſsfully tried with ſalt for the improvement of agriculture, which would be entirely defeated by the revival of this impoſition. They ſuggeſted that the land-tax was raiſed at a very ſmall expence, and ſubject to no fraud, whereas that upon ſalt would employ a great number of additional officers in the revenue, wholly depending upon the miniſtry, whoſe influence in elections they would proportionably increaſe. They even hinted, that this conſideration was one powerful motive for propoſing the revival of an odious tax, which was in effect an exciſe, and would be deemed a ſtep towards a general exciſe upon all ſorts of proviſions. Finally, they demonſtrated that the ſalt-tax introduced numberleſs frauds and perjuries in different articles of traffic. Sir Robert Walpole endeavoured to obviate all theſe objections in a long ſpeech, which was minutely anſwered and refuted in every article by mr. Pulteney. Nevertheleſs, the queſtion being put, the miniſter's motion was carried in the affirmative, and the duty revived: yet, before the bill paſſed, divers motions were made, and additional clauſes propoſed by the members in the oppoſition. New debates were raiſed on every new objection, and the courtiers were obliged to diſpute their ground by inches.

The penſion-bill was revived, and for the third time rejected in the houſe of lords. A bill for the encouragement of the ſugar colonies paſſed through the lower houſe with great difficulty, but was loſt amongſt the peers; another for the better ſecuring the freedom of parliaments, by further qualifying members to ſit in the houſe of commons, was read the third time, and thrown out upon the queſtion. A committee had been appointed to enquire into a ſale of an eſtate which had belonged to the late earl of Derwentwater. It appeared by the report, that the ſale had been fradulent: a bill was prepared to make it void: Dennis Bond, eſq. and ſerjeant Birch, commiſſioners for the ſale of the forfeited eſtates, were declared guilty of notorious breach of truſt, and expelled the houſe, of which they were members: George Robinſon, eſq. underwent the ſame ſentence, on account of the part he acted in the charitable corporation, as he and Thompſon had neglected to ſurrender themſelves, according to the terms ot a bill which paſſed for that purpoſe. During this ſeſſion, five members of parliament were expelled for the moſt ſordid acts of knavery: a ſure ſign of national degeneracy and diſhonour. All the ſupplies were granted, and among other articles, the ſum of 22,694l. 7s. 6d. for the agio or difference of the ſubſides payable to the crown of Denmark, in purſuance of the treaty ſubſiſting between the late king and that monarch: but this was not obtained without a violent diſpute. Mr Pulteney, who bore a conſiderable ſhare in all theſe debates, became in a little time ſo remarkable as to be thought worthy of a very particular mark of his majeſty's diſpleaſure. The king on the firſt day of July, called for the council-book, and with his own hand ſtruc the name of William Pulteney, eſq. out of the liſt of privy-councellors: his majeſty further ordered him to be put out of all the commiſſions of the peace. The ſeveral lord-lieutenants from whom he had received deputations were commanded to revoke them: and the lord-chancellor and ſecretaries of ſtate were directed to give the neceſſary orders for that purpoſe.

Nor did the houſe of peers tamely and unanimouſly ſubmit to the meaſures of the miniſtry. The penſion-bill being read, was again rejected, and a proteſt entered. A debate aroſe about the number of ſtanding forces; and the earl of Cheſterfield argued for the court motion. The earl of Oxford moved, that they might be reduced 12,000 effective men. The earl of Winchelſea obſerved, that a ſtanding army rendered miniſters of ſtate more daring than otherwiſe they would be, in contriving and executing projects that were grievous to the people: ſchemes that never could enter into the heads of any but thoſe who were drunk with exceſs of power. The marquis of Tweedale, in reaſoning againſt ſuch a number as the miniſty propoſed, took occaſion to obſerve, that not one ſhilling of the forfeited eſtates was ever applied to the uſe of the public: he likewiſe took notice that the 18,000 men, demanded as a ſtanding force, were modelled in ſuch a manner, that they might be ſpeedily augment to 40,000 men on any emergency. The duke of Argyle endeavoured to demonſtrate the danger of depending for the ſafety of the kingdom upon an undiſciplined militia, a fleet or any army of auxiliaries. Then he repreſented the neceſſity of having recourſe to a regular army in caſe of an invaſion; and after all acknowledged that the number propoſed was no way ſufficient for the purpoſe. All his arguments were anſwered and refuted in an excellent ſpeech by lord Carteret: nevertheleſs, victory declared for the miniſter.

[1732] The parliament having granted every branch of the ſupply towards the payment of which they borrowed a ſum from the ſinking-fund, and paſſed divers other acts for the encouragement of commerce and agriculture, the king on the firſt day of June, gave the royal aſſent to the bills that were prepared, and cloſed the ſeſſion, after having informed both houſes that the ſtates-general had acceded to the treaty of Vienna: that he had determined to viſit his German dominions, and to leave the queen regent in his abſence. He accordingly ſet out for Hanover in the beginning of June. By this time the pragmatic ſanction was confirmed by the diet of the empire, though not without a formal proteſt by the electors Palatine, Bavaria, and Saxony.

The moſt remarkable incident that diſtinguiſhed this year in England was a very uncommon inſtance of ſuicide; an act of deſpair ſo frequent among the Engliſh, that in other countries it is objected to them as a national reproach. Though it may be generally termed the effect of lunacy proceeding from natural cauſes operating on the human body, in ſome few inſtances it ſeems to have been the reſult of cool deliberation. Richard Smith, a bookbinder, and priſoner for debt within the liberties of the King's-bench, perſuaded his wife to follow his example in making away with herſelf, after they had murdered their little infant. This wretched pair were in the month of April found hanging in their bed-chamber, at about a yard's diſtance from each other; and in a ſeparate apartment the child lay dead in a cradle. They left two papers encloſed in a ſhort letter to their landlord, whoſe kindneſs they implored in favour of their dog and cat. They even left money to pay the porter who ſhould carry the incloſed papers to the perſon for whom they were addreſſed. In one of theſe the huſband thanked that perſon for the marks of friendſhip he had received at his hands; and complained of the ill offices he had undergone from a different quarter. The other paper, ſubſcribed by the huſband and wife, contained the reaſons which induced them to act ſuch a tragedy on themſelves and their offſpring. This letter was altogether ſurpriſing for the calm reſolution, the good humour, and the propriety with which it was written. They declared, that they withdrew themſelves from poverty and rags; evils that, through a train of unlucky accidents, were become inevitable. They appealed to their neighbours for the induſtry with which they had endeavoured to earn a livelihood. They juſtified the murder of their child, by ſaying, it was leſs cruelty to take her with them, than to leave her friendleſs in the world, expoſed to ignorance and miſery. They profeſſed their belief and confidence in an Almighty God, the fountain of goodneſs and beneficence, who could not poſſibly take delight in the miſery of his creatures: they, therefore, reſigned up their lives to him without any terrible apprehenſions; ſubmitting themſelves to thoſe ways which, in his goodneſs, he ſhould appoint after death. Thoſe unfortunate ſuicides had been always induſtrious and frugal, invincibly honeſt, and remarkable for conjugal affection.

Truſtees having been appointed by charter to ſuperintend a new ſettlement in Georgia, ſituated to the ſouthward of Carolina in America, Mr Oglethorp, as general, and governor of the province, embarked at Graveſend, with a number of poor families, to plant that colony. The king of Spain having equipped a very powerful armament, the fleet ſailed on the 4th day of June from the road of Alicant, under the command of the count de Montemar, and arrived on the coaſt of Barbary in the neighbourhood of Oran, where a conſiderable body of troops was landed without much oppoſition. Next day, however, they were attacked by a numerous army of Moors, over whom they obtained a complete victory. The Bey or governor of Oran immediately retired with his garriſon, and the Spaniards took poſſeſſion of the place, from which they had been driven in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and eight. The ſtrong fort of Mazalaquivir was likewiſe ſurrendered to the victors at the firſt ſummons; ſo that this expedition anſwered all the views with which it had been projected. Victor Amadæus, the abdicated king of Sardinia, having, at the inſtigation of his wife, engaged in ſome intrigues, in order to re-aſcend the throne, his ſon,

the reigning king, ordered his perſon to be ſeized at Montcalier, and conveyed to Rivoli, under a ſtrong eſcort. His wife, the marchioneſs de Spigno, was conducted to Seva. The old king's confeſſor, his phyſician, and 48 perſons of diſtinction were impriſoned. The citadel of Turin was ſecured with a ſtrong garriſon; and new inſtructions were given to the governor and ſenate of Chamberri. The diſpute which had long ſubſiſted between the king of Pruſſia and the young prince of Orange, touching the ſucceſſion to the eſtates poſſeſſed by king William III. as head of the houſe of Orange, was at laſt accommodated by a formal treaty ſigned at Berlin and Dieren. The Dutch were greatly alarmed about this time with an apprehenſion of being overwhelmed by an inundation, occaſioned by worms, which were ſaid to have conſumed the piles and timber-work that ſupported their dykes. They prayed and faſted with uncommon zeal, in terror of this calamity, which they did not know how to avert in any other manner. At length, they were delivered from their fears by a hard froſt, which effectually deſtroyed thoſe dangerous animals. About this time, mr. Dieden, plenipotentiary from the elector of Hanover, received, in the name of his maſter, the inveſtiture of Bremen and Verden from the hands of the emperor.

The hiſtory of England at this period cannot be very intereſting, as it chiefly conſiſts in an annual revolution of debates in parliament. Debates, in which the ſame argument, perpetually recur on the ſame ſubjects. When the ſeſſion was opened on the 16th day of January, the king declared, that the ſituation of affairs both at home and abroad rendered it unneceſſary for him to lay before the two houſes any other reaſons for calling them together, but the ordinary diſpatch of the public buſineſs, and his deſire of receiving their advice in ſuch affairs as ſhould require the care and conſideration of parliament. The motion made in the houſe of commons for an addreſs of thanks implied, that they ſhould expreſs their ſatisfaction at the preſent ſituation of affairs both at home and abroad. The motion was carried, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of thoſe who obſerved, that the nation had very little reaſon to be pleaſed with the preſent poſture of affairs; that the French were employed in fortifying and reſtoring the harbour of Dunkirk, contrary to the faith of the moſt ſolemn treaties: that the Britiſh merchants had received no redreſs for the depredations committed by the Spaniards: that the commerce of England daily decreaſed: that no ſort of trade throve but the traffic of Change-Alley, where the moſt abominable frauds were practiſed; and that every ſeſſion of parliament opened a new ſcene of villainy and impoſition.

The penſion bill was once more revived, and loſt again in the houſe of Peers. All the reaſons formerly advanced againſt a ſtanding army were now repeated; and a reduction of the number inſiſted upon with ſuch warmth, that the miniſterial party were obliged to have recourſe to the old phantom of the pretender. Sir Archer Croft ſaid a continuation of the ſame number of forces was the more neceſſary, becauſe, to his knowledge, popery was increaſing very faſt in the country; for, in one pariſh which he knew, there were ſeven popiſh prieſts; and that the danger from the pretender was the more to be feared, becauſe they did not know but he was then breeding his ſon a proteſtant. Sir Robert Walpole obſerved, that a reduction of the army was the chief things wiſhed for and deſired by all the jacobites in the kingdom, that no reduction had ever been made but what gave freſh hopes to that party, and encouraged them to raiſe tumults againſt the government; and he did not doubt but that if they ſhould reſolve to reduce any part of the army, there would be poſt-horſes employed that very night to carry the good news beyond ſea to the pretender. His brother Horatio added that the number of troops then propoſed was abſolutely neceſſary to ſupport his majeſty's government, and would be neceſſary as long as the nation enjoyed the happineſs of having the preſent illuſtrious family on the throne. The futility, the ſelf-contradiction, and the ridiculous abſurdity of theſe ſuggeſtions were properly expoſed: nevertheleſs, the army was voted without any reduction. Sir Wilfred Lawſon having made a motion for an addreſs to the king, to know what ſatisfaction had been made by Spain for the depredations committed on the Britiſh merchants, it was after a violent debate approved, and the addreſs preſented. The king, in anſwer to this remonſtrance, gave them to underſtand, that the meeting of the commiſſaries of the two crowns had been ſo long delayed by unforeſeen accidents; that the conferences were not opened till the latter end of the preceding February; and that as the courts of London and Madrid had agreed that the term of three years ſtipulated for finiſhing the commiſſion ſhould be computed from their firſt meeting, a perfect account of their proceedings could not as yet be laid before the houſe of commons. A bill had been long depending for granting encouragement to the ſugar colonies in the Weſt-Indies; but, as it was founded upon a prohibition that would have put a ſtop to all commerce between the French iſlands and the Britiſh ſettlements in North-America, it met with a very warm oppoſition from thoſe who had the proſperity of thoſe northern colonies at heart. But the bill being patroniſed and ſupported by the court intereſt, ſurmounted all objections; and afterwards paſſed into a law. While the commons deliberated upon the ſupply, ſir Robert Walpole moved, that 500,000l. ſhould be iſſued out of the ſinking fund for the ſervice of the enſuing year. Sir William Wyndham, mr. Pulteney, and ſir John Barnard, expatiated upon the iniquity of pillaging a ſacred depoſit, ſolemnly appropriated to the diſcharge of the national debt. They might have demonſtrated the egregious folly of a meaſure, by which the public, for a little tempory eaſe, loſt the advantage of the accumulating intereſt which would have ariſen from the ſinking fund if properly managed and reſerved. All objections vaniſhed before the powers of miniſterial influence, which nothing now could chec but the immediate danger of popular commotion. Such hazardous interpoſition actually defeated a ſcheme which had been adopted by the miniſter, and even before its appearance alarmed all the trading part of the nation.

The houſe having reſolved itſelf into a committee, to deliberate upon the moſt proper methods for the better ſecurity and improvement of the duties and revenues charged upon tobacco and wines, all the papers relating to theſe duties were ſubmitted to the peruſal of the members: the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms and exciſe were ordered to attend the houſe, the avenues of which were crowded with multitudes of people; and the members in the oppoſition waited impatiently for a propoſal, in which they thought the liberties of their country ſo deeply intereſted. In a word, there had been a call to the houſe on the preceding day. The ſeſſion was frequent and full; and both ſides appeared ready and eager for the conteſt, when ſir Robert Walpole broached his deſign. He took notice of the arts which had been uſed to prejudice the people againſt his plan before it was known. He affirmed that the clamours occaſioned by theſe prejudices had originally riſen from ſmugglers and fraudulent dealers, who had enriched themſelves by cheating the public; and theſe had been ſtrenuouſly aſſiſted and ſupported by another ſet of men, fond of every opportunity to ſtir up the people of Great-Britain to mutiny and ſedition. He expatiated on the frauds that were committed in that branch of the revenue ariſing from the duties on tobacco; upon the hardſhips to which the American planters were ſubjected by the heavy duties payable on importation, as well as by the ill uſage they had met with from the factors and correſpondents in England, who, from being their ſervants, were now become their maſters; upon the injury done to the fair trader; and the loſs ſuſtained by the public with reſpect to the revenue. He aſſerted that the ſcheme he was about to propoſe would remove all theſe inconveniences, prevent numberleſs frauds, perjuries, and falſe entries, and add two or three hundred thouſand pounds per annum to the public revenue. He entered into a long detail of frauds practiſed by the knaviſh dealer in thoſe commodies: he recited the ſeveral acts of parliament that related to the duties on wine and tobacco: he declared he had no intention to promote a general exciſe; he endeavoured to obviate ſome objections that might be made to his plan, the nature of which he at length explained. He propoſed to join the laws of exciſe to thoſe of the cuſtoms: that the further ſubſidy of three farthings per pound charged upon imported tobacco ſhould be ſtill levied at the cuſtom-houſe, and payable to his majeſty's civil-liſt as heretofore: that then the tobacco ſhould be lodged in warehouſes, to be appointed for that purpoſe by the commiſſioners of the exciſe: that the keeper of each warehouſe, appointed likewiſe by the commiſſioners, ſhould have one loc and key, and the merchant-importer have another: and that the tobacco ſhould be thus ſecured until the merchant ſhould find vent for it, either by exportation or home conſumption: that the part deſigned for exportation ſhould be weighed at the Cuſtom-houſe, diſcharged of the three farthings per pound which had been paid at its firſt importation, and then exported without further trouble: that the portion deſigned for home conſumption ſhould, in preſence of the warehouſe-keeper, be delivered to the purchaſer, upon his paying the inland duty of four-pence

per pound weight to the proper officer appointed to receive it; by which means the merchant would be eaſed of the inconvenience of paying the duty upon importation, or of granting bonds and finding ſureties for the payment, before he had found a market for the commodity: that all penalties and forfeitures, ſo far as they formerly belonged to the crown, ſhould for the future be applied to the uſe of the public: that appeals in this, as well as in all other caſes relating to the exciſe, ſhould be heard and determined by two or three of the judges, to be named by his majeſty; and in the country, by the judge of aſſize upon the next circuit, who ſhould hear and determine ſuch appeals in the moſt ſummary manner, without the formality of proceedings in courts of law or equity.

Such was the ſubſtance of the famous exciſe ſcheme, in favour of which ſir Robert Walpole moved that the duties and ſubſides on tobacco ſhould from and after the 24th day of June ceaſe and determine. The debate which enſued was managed and maintained by all able ſpeakers on both ſides of the queſtion. Sir Robert Walpole was anſwered by mr. Perry, member for the city of London. Sir Paul Methuen joined in the oppoſition. Sir John Barnard, another repreſentative of London, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſame cauſe. He was ſupported by mr. Pulteney, ſir William Wyndham, and other patriots. The ſcheme was eſpouſed by ſir Philip York; appointed lord-chief-juſtice of the King's-bench, and ennobled in the courſe of the enſuing year. Sir Joſeph Jekyll approved of the project, which was likewiſe ſtrenuouſly defended by lord Harvey, ſir Thomas Robinſon, ſir William Yonge, mr. Pelham, and mr. Winnington, which laſt excelled all his contempories of the miniſtry in talents and addreſs. Thoſe who argued againſt the ſcheme accuſed the miniſter of having miſrepreſented the frauds, and made falſe calculations. With reſpect to the ſuppoſed hardſhips under which the planters were ſaid to labour, they affirmed that no planter had ever dreamed of complaining, until inſtigated by letters and applications from London: that this ſcheme, far from relieving the planters, would expoſe the factors to ſuch grievous oppreſſion, that they would not be able to continue the trade, conſequently the planters would be entirely ruined; and after all it would not prevent thoſe frauds againſt which it was ſaid to be provided: that from the examination of the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms, it appeared that thoſe frauds did not exceed 40,000l. per annum, and might in a great meaſure be aboliſhed, by a due execution of the laws in being; conſequently this ſcheme was unneceſſary, would be ineffectual in augmenting the revenue, deſtructive to trade, and dangerous to the liberties of the ſubject, as it tended to promote a general exciſe, which was in all countries conſidered as a grievous oppreſſion. They ſuggeſted that it would produce an additional ſwarm of exciſe-officers and warehouſe-keepers, appointed and paid by the treaſury, ſo as to multiply the dependents on the crown, and enable it ſtill further to influence the freedom of elections: that the traders would become ſlaves to exciſemen and warehouſe-keepers, as they would be debarred all acceſs to their commodities, except at certain hours, when attended by thoſe officers: that the merchant, for every quantity of tobacco he could ſell, would be obliged to make a journey, or ſend a meſſenger to the office for a permit, which could not be obtained without trouble, expence, and delay: that ſhould a law be enacted in conſequence of this motion, it would in all probality be ſome time or other uſed as a precident for introducing exciſe laws into every branch of the revenue; in which caſe the liberty of Great-Britain would be no more. In the courſe of this debate, ſir Robert Walpole took notice of the multitudes which had beſet all the approaches to the houſe. He ſaid it would be an eaſy taſk for a deſigning ſeditious perſon to raiſe a tumult and diſorder among them: that gentlemen might give them what name they ſhould think fit, and affirm they were come as humble ſuppliants; but he knew whom the law called ſturdy beggars; and thoſe who brought them to that place could not be certain but that they might behave in the ſame manner. This inſinuation was reſented by ſir John Barnard, who obſerved that merchants of character had a right to come down to the Court of Requeſts, and lobby of the houſe of commons, in orde to ſollicit their friends and acquaintance againſt any ſcheme or project which they might think prejudicial to their commerce: that when he came into the houſe, he ſaw none but ſuch as deſerved the appellation of ſturdy beggars as little as the honourable gentleman himſelf, or any gentleman whatever. After a warm diſpute the motion was carried by a majority of 61 voices. Several reſolutions were founded on the propoſal; and to theſe the houſe agreed, though not without a violent conteſt.

[1733] The reſolution produced a bill, againſt which petitions were preferred by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, the cities of Coventry and Nottingham. A motion was made that counſel ſhould be heard for the city of London; but it was rejected by the majority, and the petitions were ordered to lie upon the table. Had the minister encountered no oppoſition but that which appeared within doors, his project would have certainly been carried into execution: but the whole nation was alarmed, and clamoured loudly againſt the exciſe-bill. The populace ſtill crowded around Weſtminſter-hall, blocking up all the avenues to the houſe of Commons. They even inſulted the perſons of thoſe members who had voted for the miniſtry on this occaſion; and ſir Robert Walpole began to be in fear of his life. He, therefore, thought proper to drop the deſign, by moving that the ſecond reading of the bill might be poſtponed till the twelfth day of June. Then complaint being made of the inſolence of the populace, who had ill-treated ſeveral members, divers reſolutions were taken againſt thoſe tumultuous crowds, and their abettors; theſe reſolves were communicated to the lord-mayor of London, the ſheriff of Middleſex, and the high-baliff of Weſtminſter. Some individuals were apprehended in the court of requeſts, as having fomented the diſturbances; but they were ſoon releaſed. The miſcarriage of the bill was celebrated with public rejoicings in London and Weſtminſter; and the miniſter was burned in effigy by the populace. After the miſcarriage of the exciſe-ſcheme, the houſe unanimouſly reſolved to enquire into the frauds and abuſes in the cuſtoms; and a committee of 21 perſons was choſen by ballot for this purpoſe.

The ſubſequent debates of this ſeſſion were occaſioned by a bill to prevent the infamous practice of ſtock-jobbing, which with great difficulty made its way to the houſe of lords, who propoſed ſome amendments, in conſequence of which it was laid aſide; and by another bill eſtabliſhing a lottery, to raiſe 500,000l. for the relief of thoſe who had ſuffered by the charitable corporation. After having undergone ſome alterations it paſſed through both houſes, and obtained the royal aſſent. The king, by a meſſage to parliament, had ſignified his intention to give the princeſs royal in marriage to the prince of Orange, promiſing himſelf their concurrence and aſſiſtance, that he might be enabled to beſtow ſuch a portion with his eldeſt daughter as ſhould be ſuitable to the occaſion. The commons immediately reſolved, that out of the monies ariſing from the ſale of lands in the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's his majeſty ſhould be empowered to apply 80,000l. as a marriage dower for his daughter; and a clauſe for this purpoſe was inſerted in the bill, for enabling his majeſty to apply 500,000l. out of the ſinking fund for the ſervice of the current year.

The oppoſition in the houſe of lords was ſtill more animated, though ineffectual. The debates chiefly turned upon the penſion-bill, the number of land-forces, and a motion made by lord Bathurſt, for an account of the produce of the forfeited eſtates which had belonged to the directors of the South-ſea company. The truſtees for theſe eſtates had charged themſelves with a great ſum of money, and the lords in the oppoſition thought they had a right to know how it had been diſpoſed. The miniſtry had reaſons to ſtifle this enquiry; and, therefore, oppoſed it with all their vigour. Nevertheleſs, the motion was carried, after a warm diſpute, and the directors of the South-ſea company were ordered to lay the account before the houſe. From this, it appeared that the large ſums of money ariſing from the forfeited eſtates had been diſtributed among the proprietors, by way of dividend, even before recourſe was had to parliament for directions in what manner that produce ſhould be applied: lord Bathurſt, therefore moved for a reſolution of the houſe, that the diſpoſal of this money by way of dividend, without any order or direction of a general court for that purpoſe, was a violation of the act of parliament made for the diſpoſal thereof, and a manifeſt injuſtice done to the proprietors of that ſtoc. The duke of Newcaſtle, in order to gain time, moved, that as the account was confuſed, and almoſt unintelligible, the preſent directors of the company might be ordered to lay before the houſe a further and more diſtinct account of the manner in which the money had been diſpoſed. A violent conteſt enſued, in the courſe of which the houſe divided, and of 57 peers, who voted for the delay, 46 were ſuch as enjoyed preferment in the church, commiſſions in the army, or civil employments under the government. At length lord Bathurſt waved his motion for that time: then the houſe

ordered that the preſent and former directors of the South-ſea company, together with the late inſpectors of their accounts, ſhould attend, and be examined. They were accordingly interrogated, and gave ſo little ſatisfaction, that lord Bathurſt moved for a committee of enquiry; but the queſtion being put, was carried in the negative: yet a very ſtrong proteſt was entered by the lords in the oppoſition.

The next ſubject of altercation was the bill for miſapplying part of the produce of the ſinking-fund. It was attacked with all the force of argument, wit, and declamation by the earl of Stafford, lords Bathurſt and Carteret, and particularly by the earl of Cheſterfield, who had by this time reſigned his ſtaff of lord-ſteward of the houſehold, and renounced all connexion with the miniſtry. Lord Bathurſt moved for a reſolution importing that, in the opinion of the houſe, the ſinking-fund ought for the future to be applied, in time of peace and public tranquility, to the redemption of thoſe taxes which were moſt prejudicial to the trade, moſt burthenſome on the manufactures and moſt oppreſſive on the poor of the nation. This motion was over-ruled, and the bill adopted by the majority. On the eleventh day of June, the king gave the royal aſſent to the bills that were prepared, and cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he took notice of the wicked endeavours that had been lately uſed to inflame the minds of the people, by the moſt unjuſt miſrepreſentations.

Europe was now re-involved in freſh troubles, by a vacancy on the throne of Poland. Auguſtus died at Warſaw in the end of January, and the neighbouring powers were immediately in commotion. The elector of Saxony, ſon to the late king, and Staniſlaus, whoſe daughter was married to the French monarch, declared themſelves candidates for the Poliſh throne. The emperor, the czarina, and the king of Pruſſia eſpouſed the intereſts of the Saxon: the king of France ſupported the pretenſions of his father-in-law. The foreign miniſters at Warſaw forthwith began to form intrigues among the electors; the marquis de Monti, ambaſſador from France, exerted himſelf ſo ſucceſsfully, that he ſoon gained over the primate, and a majority of the catholic dietines, to the intereſts of Staniſlaus; while the imperial and Ruſſian troops hovered on the frontiers of Poland. The French king no ſooner underſtood that a body of the emperor's forces was encamped at Sileſia, than he ordered the duke of Berwick to aſſemble an army on the Rhine, and take meaſures for entering Germany, in caſe the imperialiſts ſhould march into Poland. A French fleet ſet ſail for Dantzick, while Staniſlaus travelled through Germany in diſguiſe to Poland, and concealed himſelf in the houſe of the French ambaſſador at Warſaw. As the day of election approached, the imperial, Ruſſian, and Pruſſian miniſters delivered in their ſeveral declarations, by way of proteſt againſt the contingent election of Staniſlaus, as a perſon proſcribed, diſqualified, depending upon a foreign power, and connected with the Turks, and other infidels. The Ruſſian general Laſci entered Poland at the head of 50,000 men: the diet of the election was opened with the uſual ceremony on the 25th day of Auguſt. Prince Vieſazowiſki, chief of the Saxon intereſt, retired to the other ſide of the Viſtula, with 3,000 men, including ſome of the nobility who adhered to that party. Nevertheleſs, the primate proceeded to the election: Staniſlaus was unanimouſly choſen king; and appeared in the electoral field, where he was received with loud acclamation. The oppoſite party ſoon increaſed to 10,000 men; proteſted againſt the election, and joined the Ruſſian army, which advanced by ſpeedy marches. King Staniſlaus finding himſelf unable to cope with ſuch adverſaries retired with the primate and French ambaſſador to Dantzick, leaving the palatine of Kiow at Warſaw. This general attacked the Saxon palace, which was ſurrendered upon terms; then the ſoldiers and inhabitants plundered the houſes belonging to the grandees who had declared for Auguſtus, as well as the hotel of the Ruſſian miniſter. In the mean time, the Poles, who had joined the Muſcovites finding it impracticable to paſs the Viſtula before the expiration of the time fixed for the ſeſſion of the diet, erected a kolo at Grocow, where the elector of Saxony was choſen and proclaimed, by the biſhop of Cracow, king of Poland, under the name of Auguſtus III. on the ſixth day of October. They afterwards paſſed the river, and the palatine of Kiow retiring towards Cracow, they took poſſeſſion of Warſaw, where in their turn they plundered the palaces and houſes belonging to the oppoſite party.

During theſe tranſactions, the French king concluded a treaty with Spain and Sardinia, by which thoſe powers agreed to declare war againſt the emperor. Manifeſtos were publiſhed reciprocally by all contracting powers. The duke of Berwick paſſed the Rhine in October, and undertook the ſiege of fort Kehl, which in a few days was ſurrendered on capitulation; than he repaſſed the river, and returned to Verſailles. The king of Sardinia having declared war againſt the emperor, joined a body of French forces commanded by mareſchal de Villars, and drove the imperialiſts out of the Milaneſe. His imperial majeſty dreading the effects of ſuch a powerful confederacy againſt him, offered to compromiſe all differences with the crown of Spain, under the mediation of the king of Great-Britain; and mr. Keene, the Britiſh miniſter at Madrid propoſed an accommodation. Philip expreſſed his acknowledgments to the king of England, declaring, however, that the emperor's advances were too late; and that his own reſolutions were already taken. Nevertheleſs, he ſent orders to the count de Montijo, his ambaſſador at London to communicate to his Britannic majeſty the motives which had induced him to take theſe reſolutions. In the mean time, he detached a powerful armament to Italy where they inveſted the imperial fortreſs of Aula, the garriſon of which was obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. The republic of Venice declared ſhe would take no ſhare in the diſputes of Italy: the ſtates-genral ſigned a neutrality with the French king for the Auſtrian Netherlands, without conſulting the emperor or the king of Great-Britain: and the Engliſh councils ſeemed to be altogether pacific.

In November the prince of Orange arrived at Greenwich, in order to eſpouſe the princeſſes royal: but the marriage was poſtponed on account of his being taken ill, and he repaired to Bath in Somerſetſhire, to drink the waters for the recovery of his ſtrength. Henrietta the young dutcheſs of Malborough dying about this time, the title devolved to her ſiſter's ſon, the earl of Sunderland. Lord king reſigning his office of chancellor, it was conferred upon mr. Talbot, ſollicitor-general, together with the title of a baron; a promotion that reflected honour upon thoſe by whom it was adviſed. He poſſeſſed the ſpirit of a Roman ſenator, the elegance of an Atticus, and the integrity of a Cato. At the meeting of the parliament in January, the king told them, in his ſpeech, that though he was no way engaged in the war which had begun to rage in Europe, except by the good offices he had employed among the contending powers, he could not ſit regardleſs of the preſent events, or be unconcerned for the conſequences of a war undertaken and ſupported by ſuch a powerful alliance. He ſaid, he had thought proper to take time to examine the facts alledged on both ſides, and to wait the reſult of the councils of thoſe powers that were more immdiately intereſted in the conſequences of the rupture. He declared he would concert with his allies, more particularly with the ſtates-general of the united provinces, ſuch meaſures as ſhould be thought moſt adviſeable for their common ſafety, and for reſtoring the peace of Europe. In the mean time, he expreſſed his hope that they would make ſuch proviſion as ſhould ſecure his kingdom, rights, and and poſſeſſions from all dangers and inſults, and maintain the reſpect due to the Britiſh nation. He ſaid that whatever part it might in the end be moſt reaſonable for him to act, it would in all views be neceſſary, when all Europe was preparing for arms, to put his kingdoms in a poſture of defenſe. The motion for an addreſs of thanks produced, as uſual, a debate in both houſes, which, it muſt be owned, appears to have proceeded from a ſpirit of cavilling, rather than from any reaſonable cauſe of objection.

The houſe of commons reſolved to addreſs his majeſty for a copy of the treaty of Vienna. Sir John Ruſhout moved for another, deſiring that the letters and inſtructions relating to the execution of the treaty of Seville ſhould be ſubmitted to the inſpection of the commons; but, after a hard ſtruggle, it was over-ruled. The next motion was made by mr. Sandys, a gentleman who had for ſome time appeared ſtrenuous in the oppoſition, and wrangled with great perſeverance. He propoſed that the houſe ſhould examine the inſtructions which had been given to the Britiſh miniſter in Poland, ſome years before the death of king Auguſtus, that they might be the better able to judge of the cauſes which produced this new rupture among the powers of Europe. The motion being oppoſed by all the court members a conteſt enſued, in the courſe of which mr. Pulteney compared the miniſtry to an empyrick, and the conſtitution of England to his patient. "This pretender in phyſic (ſaid he) being conſulted, tells the diſtempered perſon, there were but two or three ways of treating his diſeaſe; and he was afraid that none of them would ſucceed. A vomit might throw him into convulſions that would occaſion immediate death; a purge might bring on a diarrœa that would carry him off in a ſhort time; and he had been already bled ſo much, and ſo often, that he could bear it no longer. The unfortunate patient ſhocked at this declaration, replies, 'Sir you have always pretended to be a regular doctor but I now find you

are an arrant quac. I had an excellent conſtitution when I firſt fell into your hands, but you have quite deſtroyed it; and now I find I have no other chance for ſaving my life, but by calling for the help of ſome regular phyſician." In the debate, the members on both ſides ſeemed to wander from the queſtion, and indulge themſelves with ludicrous perſonalities. Mr H. Walpole took occaſion to ſay, that the oppoſition treated the miniſtry as he himſelf was treated by ſome of his acquaintance, with reſpect to his dreſs. 'If I am in plain clothes (ſaid he) then they call me a ſlovenly, dirty fellow; and if by chance I wear a laced ſuit, they cry, What, ſhall ſuch an aukward fellow wear fine clothes?' He continued to ſport in this kind of idle buffoonery. He compared the preſent adminiſtration to a ſhip at ſea. As long as the wind was fair, and proper for carrying us to our deſigned port, the word was 'ſteady! ſteady!' but when the wind began to ſhift and change, the word was neceſſarily altered to 'thus, thus, and no near.' The motion was overpowered by the majority; and this was the fate of ſeveral other propoſals made by the members in the oppoſition.

Sir John Barnard preſented a petition from the druggiſts, and other dealers in tea, complaining of the inſults and oppreſſion to which they were ſubjected by the exciſe laws, and imploring relief. Sir John and mr. Perry, another of the city-members, explained the grievous hardſhips which thoſe traders ſuſtained, and moved that the petition might be referred to the conſideration of the whole houſe. They were oppoſed by mr. Winnington, ſir W. Yonge, and other partiſans of the miniſtry; and theſe ſkirmiſhes brought on a general engagement of the two parties, in which every weapon of ſatire, argument, reaſon, and truth was wielded againſt that odious, arbitrary, and oppreſſive method on collecting the public revenue. Nevertheleſs, the motion in favour of the ſufferers was rejected.

When the commons deliberated upon the ſupply, mr. Andrews, deputy-paymaſter of the army, moved for an addition of 1800 men to the number of land-forces which been continued ſince the preceeding year. The members in the oppoſition diſputed this ſmall augmentation with too much heat and eagerneſs. It muſt be acknowledged, they were by this time irritated into ſuch perſonal animoſity againſt the miniſter, that they reſolved to oppoſe all his meaſures, whether they might or might not be neceſſary for the ſafety and advantage of the kingdom. Nor indeed were they altogether blameable for acting on this maxim, if their ſole aim was to remove from the confidence and councils of their ſovereign a man whoſe conduct they thought prejudicial to the intereſt and liberties of their country. They could not however, prevent the augmentation propoſed: but they reſolved, if they could not wholly ſtop the career of the miniſter, to throw in ſuch a number of rubs as ſhould at leaſt retard their progreſs. The duke of Bolton and lord Cobham had been deprived of the regiments they commanded, becauſe they refuſed to concur in every project of the adminiſtration. It was in conſequence of their diſmiſſion that lord Morpeth moved for a bill to prevent any commiſſion-officer, not above the rank of a colonel, from being removed, unleſs by a court-martial, or by addreſs of either houſe of parliament. Such an attac on the prerogative might have ſucceeded in the latter part of the reign of the firſt Charles; but at this juncture could not fail to miſcarry: yet it was ſuſtained with great vigour and addreſs. When the propoſal was ſet aſide by the majority, mr. Sandys moved for an addreſs to the king, deſiring to know who adviſed his majeſty to remove the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham from their reſpective regiments. He was ſeconded by mr. Pulteney and ſir William Wyndham: but the miniſtry foreſeeing another tedious diſpute called for the queſtion, and the motion was carried in the negative. The next ſource of contention was a bill for ſecuring the freedom of parliament, by limiting the number of officers in the houſe of commons. It was read a firſt and ſecond time; but, when a motion was made for its being committed, it met with a powerful oppoſition, and produced a warm debate that iſſued in a queſtion, which, like the former, paſſed in the negative. A clergyman having inſinuated in converſation, that ſir William Milner, baronet, member for York, received a penſion from the miniſtry, the houſe took cognizance of this report: the clergyman acknowledged at the bar that he might have dropped ſuch a hint from hearſay. The accuſed member proteſted, upon his honour, that he never did, or ever would receive, place, penſion, gratuity, or reward from the court, either directly or indirectly, for voting in parliament, or upon any other account whatever. The accuſation was voted falſe and ſcandalous, and the accuſer taken into cuſtody: but in a few days he was diſcharged upon his humble petition, and his begging pardon of the member whom he had calumniated. The duty upon ſalt was prolonged for eight years; and a bill paſſed againſt ſtoc-jobbing.

But the ſubject which of all others employed the eloquence and abilities on both ſides to the moſt vigorous exertion, was a motion made by mr. Bromely, who propoſed that a bill ſhould be brought in for repealing the ſeptennial act, and for the more frequent meeting and calling of parliaments. The arguments for and againſt ſeptennial parliaments have already been ſtated. The miniſtry now inſiſted upon the increaſe of papiſts and jacobites, which rendered it dangerous to weaken the hands of the government: they challenged the oppoſition to produce one inſtance in which the leaſt encroachment had been made on the liberties of the people ſince the ſeptennial act took place; and they defied the moſt ingenious malice to prove that his preſent majeſty had ever endeavoured to extend any branch of the prerogative beyond its legal bounds. Sir John Hinde Cotton affirmed that in many parts of England the papiſts had already begun to uſe all their influence in favour of thoſe candidates who were recommended by the miniſters as members in the enſuing parliament. With reſpect to his majeſty's conduct, he ſaid he would not anſwer one word: but as to the grievances introduced ſince the law was enacted for ſeptennial parliaments, he thought himſelf more at liberty to declare his ſentiments. He aſſerted that the ſeptennial law itſelf was an encroachment on the rights of the people: a law paſſed by a parliament that made itſelf ſeptennial. He obſerved, that the laws of treaſon with regard to trials were altered ſince that period: that in former times a man was tried by a jury of his neighbours, within the country where the crimes alledged againſt him were ſaid to be committed; but by an act of a ſeptennial parliament he might be removed and tried in any place where the crown, or rather the miniſtry, could find a jury proper for their purpoſe; where the priſoner could not bring any witneſs in his juſtification, without an expenſe which perhaps his circumſtances would not bear. He aſked if the riot act was not an encroachment on the rights of the people? an act by which a little dirty juſtice of the peace, the meaneſt and vileſt tool a miniſter can uſe, who perhaps ſubſiſts by his being in the commiſſion, and may be deprived of that ſubſiſtence at the pleaſure of his patron, had it in his power to put 20 or 30 of the beſt ſubjects in England to immediate death, without any trial or form but that of reading a proclamation. 'Was not the fatal South-ſea ſcheme (ſaid he) eſtabliſhed by the act of a ſeptennial parliament? and can any man aſk, whether that law was attended with any inconvenience? To the glorious catalogue I might have added the late exciſe bill, if it had paſſed into a law; but, thank heaven, the ſeptennial parliament was near expiring before that famous meaſure was introduced.'

Sir William Wyndham concluded an excellent ſpeech, that ſpoke him the unrivalled orator, the uncorrupted Briton, and the unſhaken patriot, in words to this effect: 'let us ſuppoſe a man abandoned to all notions of virtue and honour, of no great family, and but a mean fortune, raiſed to be chief miniſter of ſtate, by the concurrence of many whimſical events; afraid, or unwilling, to truſt any but creatures of his own making; loſt to all ſenſe of ſhame and reputation; ignorant of his country's true intereſt; purſuing no aim but that of aggrandizing himſelf and his favourites; in foreign affairs, truſting none but thoſe who, from the nature of their education, cannot poſſibly be qualified for the ſervice of their country, or give weight and credit to their negotiations. Let us ſuppoſe the true intereſt of the nation, by ſuch means neglected or miſunderſtood, her honour tarniſhed, her importance loſt, her trade inſulted, her merchants plundered, and her ſailors murdered; and all theſe circumſtances over-looked, leſt his adminiſtration ſhould be endangered. Suppoſe him next poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, the plunder of the nation, with a parliament chiefly compoſed of members whoſe ſeats are purchaſed, and whoſe votes are bought at the expence of the public treaſure. In ſuch a parliament, ſuppoſe all attempts made to enquire into his conduct, or to relieve the nation from the diſtreſs which has been entailed upon it by his adminiſtration. Suppoſe him ſcreened by a corrupt majority of his creatures, whom he retains in daily pay, or engages in his particular intereſt, by diſtributing among them thoſe poſts and places which ought never to be beſtowed upon any but for the good of the public. Let

him plume himſelf upon his ſcandalous victory, becauſe he has obtained a parliament like a packed jury ready to acquit him at all adventures. Let us ſuppoſe him domineering with inſolence over all the men of ancient families, over all the men of ſenſe, figure, or fortune in the nation: as he has no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to deſtroy or corrupt it in all. With ſuch a miniſter, and ſuch a parliament, let us ſuppoſe a caſe which I hope will never happen: a prince upon the throne, uninformed, ignorant, and unacquainted with the inclinations and true intereſt of his people, weak, capricious, tranſported with unbounded ambition, and poſſeſſed with inſatiable avarice. I hope ſuch a caſe will never occur; but as it poſſibly may, could any greater curſe happen to a nation than ſuch a prince on the throne, adviſed, and ſolely adviſed, by ſuch a miniſter, and that miniſter ſupported by ſuch a parliament. The nature of mankind cannot be altered by human laws: the exiſtence of ſuch a prince or ſuch a miniſter we cannot prevent by act of parliament; but the exiſtence of ſuch a parliament I think we may prevent; as it is much more likely to exiſt, and may do more miſchief while the ſeptennial law remains in force, than if it were repealed: therefore I am heartily for its being repealed.' Notwithſtanding the moſt warm, the moſt nervous, the moſt pathetic remonſtrances in favour of the motion, the queſtion was put, and it was ſuppreſſed by mere dint of number.

[1734] The triumph of the miniſtry was ſtill more complete in the ſucceſs of a meſſage delivered from the crown in the latter end of the ſeſſion, when a great many members of the other party had retired to their reſpective habitations in the country. Sir Robert Walpole delivered this commiſſion to the houſe, importing, that his majeſty might be enabled to augment his forces, if occaſion ſhould require ſuch an augmentation, between the diſſolution of this parliament and the election of another. Such an important point, that was ſaid to ſtrike at the foundation of our liberties, was not tamely yielded; but on the contrary, conteſted with uncommon ardour. The motion for taking the meſſage into conſideration was carried in the affirmative; and an addreſs preſented to the king, ſignifying their compliance with his deſire. In conſequence of a ſubſequent meſſage, they prepared and paſſed a bill, enabling his majeſty to ſettle an annuity of 5000l. for life on the princeſs royal, as a mark of his paternal favour and affection.

The oppoſition in the houſe of peers kept pace with that in the houſe of commons, and was ſupported with equal abilities, under the auſpices of the lords Bathurſt and Carteret, the earls of Cheſterfield and Abingdon. The duke of Marlborough made a motion for a bill to regulate the army, equivalent to that which had been rejected in the lower houſe; and it met with the ſame fate after a warm diſpute. Then lord Carteret moved for an addreſs to the king, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to acquaint the houſe who adviſed his majeſty to remove the duke of Bolton and lord viſcount Cobham from their reſpective regiments: and what crimes were laid to their charge. This propoſal was likewiſe rejected, at the end of a debate in which the duke of Argyle obſerved, that two lords had been removed, but only one ſoldier loſt his commiſſion. Such a great majority of the Scottiſh repreſentatives had always voted for the miniſtry, ſince the acceſſion of the late king; and ſo many of theſe enjoyed places and preferments in the gift of the crown, that ſeveral attempts were made by the lords in the oppoſition, to prevent for the future the miniſterial influence from extending itſelf to the elections of North-Britain. Accordingly, two motions for this purpoſe were made by the earl of Marchmont and the duke of Bedford; and ſuſtained by the earls of Cheſterfield, Winchelſea, and Stair, lords Willoughby de Broke, Bathurſt, and Carteret. They were oppoſed by the dukes of Newcaſtle and Argyle, the earl of Cholmondely, earl Paulet, lord Hervey, now called up by writ to the houſe of peers, and lord Talbot. The queſtion being put on both, they were of courſe defeated; and the earl of Stair was deprived of his regiment of dragoons, after having performed the moſt ſignal ſervices to the royal family, and exhauſted his fortune in ſupporting the intereſts and dignity of the crown. Strenuous proteſts were entered againſt the deciſion of the majority concerning the king's meſſage demanding a power to augment his forces during the receſs of parliament; as alſo againſt a bill for enabling his majeſty to apply the ſum of 1,200,000l. out of the ſinking-fund, for the ſervice of the current year.

The buſineſs of the ſeſſion being diſpatched, the king repaired to the houſe of lords on the 16th day of April, and having paſſed all the bills that were ready for the royal aſſent, took leave of this parliament, with the warmeſt acknowledgement of their zeal, duty, and affection. It was at firſt prorogued, then diſſolved, and another convoked by the ſame proclamation. On the 14th day of March the nuptuals of the prince of Orange and the princeſs royal were ſolemnized with great magnificence; and the match was attended with addreſſes of congratulation to his majeſty from different parts of the kingdom.

The powers at war upon the continent acted with ſurpriſing vigour. The Ruſſian and Saxon army inveſted the city of Dantzick, in hopes of ſecuring the perſon of king Staniſlaus. The town was ſtrong, the garriſon numerous, and, animated by the examples of the French and Poles, made a very obſtinate defence. For ſome time they were ſupplied by ſea with recruits, arms, and ammunition. On the 11th day May a re-enforcement of 1500 men was landed from two French ſhips of war and ſome tranſports, under Fort Wechſelmunde, which was ſo much in want of proviſions, that they were not admitted: they, therefore, re-embarked, and ſailed bac to Copenhagen. But afterwards a larger number were landed in the ſame place, and attacked the Ruſſian entrenchments, in order to force their way into the city. They were repulſed in this attempt, but retired in good order. At length the Ruſſian fleet arrived, under the command of admiral Gordon; and now the ſiege was carried on with great fury. Fort Wechſelmonde ſurrendered: the French troops capitulated, and were embarked in the Ruſſian ſhips to be conveyed to ſome port in the Baltic. Staniſlaus eſcaped in the diſguiſe of a peaſant to Marienwarder in the Pruſſian territories. The city of Danzick ſubmitted to the dominion of Auguſtus III. king of Poland, and was obliged to defray the expence of the war to the Ruſſian general, count de Munich, who had aſſumed the command after the ſiege was begun. The Poliſh lords at Danzick ſigned an act of ſubmiſſion to king Auguſtus, who, on the 10th day of July, arrived at the convent of Olivia. There a council was held in his preſence. The recuſant noblemen took the oath which he propoſed. Then a general anneſty was proclaimed; and the king ſet out on his return to Dreſden.

On the Rhine the French arms bore down all reſiſtance. The count de Belleiſle beſieged and took Trarbach. The duke of Berwick, at the head of 60,000 men, inveſted Philipſburgh, whilſt prince Eugene was obliged to remain on the defenſive, in the ſtrong camp at Heilbron, waiting for the troops of the empire. On the 12th day of June, the duke of Berwick, in viſiting the trenches, was killed by a cannon-ball, and the command devolved upon the marquis d'Aſfeldt, who carried on the operations of the ſiege with equal vigour and capacity. Prince Eugene being joined by the different re-enforcements he expected, marched towards the French lines; but found them ſo ſtrong, that he would not hazard an attac; and ſuch precautions taken, that all his military talents he could not relieve the beſieged. At length general Watgenau, the governor, capitulated, after having made a noble defence, and obtained the moſt honourable conditions. Prince Eugene retired to Heidelberg: and the compaign ended about the beginning of October. The imerial arms were not more ſucceſsful in Italy. The infant, don Carlos had received ſo many invitations from the Neapolitan nobility, that he reſolved to take poſſeſſion of that kingdom. He began his march in February, at the head of the Spaniſh forces; publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring he was ſent by his father to relieve the kingdom of Naples from the oppreſſion under which it groaned; and entered the capital amidſt the acclamations of the people; while the count de Viſcounti, the German viceroy, finding himſelf unable to cope up with the invaders, thought proper to retire, after having thrown ſuccours into Gaeta and Capua. When he arrived at Nocera, he began to aſſemble the militia, with intent to form a camp at Barletta. The count de Montemar marched with a body of forces againſt this general, and obtained over him a complete victory at Bitonto in Apuglia, on the 25th of May, when the imperialiſts were entirely routed, and a great number of principal officers taken priſoners. Don Carlos being proclaimed, and acknowledged king of Naples, created the count de Montemar duke of Bitonto; reduced Gaeta, and all other parts of the kingdom which were garriſoned with imperial troops; and reſolved to ſubdue the iſland of Sicily. About 20,000 troops being deſtined for this expedition were landed in the road of Solanto in Auguſt, under the command of the new duke of Bitonto, who being favoured by the natives, proceeded in his conqueſts

with great rapidity. The people acknowledged don Carlos as their ſovereign, and took arms in ſupport of his government; ſo that the imperial troops were driven before them, and the Spaniards poſſeſſed the whole kingdom, except Meſſina, Syracuſe, and Trepani, when the infant determined to viſit the iſland in perſon.

While don Carlos was thus employed in the conqueſt of Naples and Sicily, the imperialiſts were hard preſſed in Lombardy by the united forces of France and Piedmont, commanded by the king of Sardinia and the old mareſchal duke de Villars. In the month of January they undertook the ſiege of Tortona, which they reduced; while the troops of the emperor began to pour in great numbers into the Mantuan. In the beginning of May, count Merci, who commanded them, paſſed the Po in the face of the allies, notwithſtanding all the ſkill of Villers, obliged him to retreat from the banks of that river, and took the caſtle of Colorno. The old French general being taken ill, quitted the army, and retired to Turin, where in a little time he died; and the king of Sardinia retiring to the ſame place, the command of the allied forces devolved upon the mareſchal de Coigny. The confederates were poſted at Sanguina, and the imperialiſts at Sorbola, when the count de Merci made a motion to San Proſpero, as if he intended either to attac the enemy, or take poſſeſſion of Parma. The mareſchal de Coigny forthwith made a diſpoſition for an engagement; and, on the 29th day of June, the imperial general having paſſed the Parma, began the attac with great impetuoſity. He charged in perſon at the head of his troops, and was killed ſoon after the battle began. Nevertheleſs, the prince of Wirtemberg aſſuming the command, both armies fought with great obſtinacy, from eleven in the forenoon to four in the afternoon, when the imperialiſts retired towards Monte Cirugalo, leaving 5000 men dead on the field of battle, and among theſe many officers of diſtinction. The loſs of the allies was very conſiderable, and they reaped no ſolid fruits from their victory.

The imperial forces retreated to Reggio, and from thence moved to the plains of Carpi, on the right of the Secchia, where they received ſome re-enforcements: then general count Konigſegg arriving in the camp, took upon himſelf the command of the army. His firſt ſtep was to take poſt at Quingentolo, by which motion he ſecured Mirandola, that was threatened with a ſiege. On the fifteenth of February he forded the river Secchia, and ſurprized the quarters of mareſchal de Broglio, who eſcaped in his ſhirt with great difficulty. The French retired with ſuch precipitation, that they left all their baggage behind, and above 2000 were taken priſoners. They poſted themſelves under Guaſtalla, where, on the 19th day of the month, they were vigorouſly attacked by the imperialiſts, and a general engagement enſued. Konigſegg made ſeveral deſperate efforts to break the French cavalry, upon which, however, he could make no impreſſion. The infantry on both ſides fought with uncommon ardour for ſix hours, and the field was covered with carnage. At length the imperial general retreated to Lazara, after having loſt above 5000 men, including the prince of Wirtemberg, the generals Valpareze and Colminero, with many other officers of diſtinction; nor was the damage ſuſtained by the French greatly inferior to that of the Germans, who repaſſed the Po, and took poſt on the banks of the Oglio. The allies croſſed the ſame river, and the marquis de Maillebois was ſent with a detachment to attac Mirandolo; but the imperialiſts marching to the relief of the place, compelled him to abandon the enterpriſe: then he rejoined his army, which retired under the walls of Cremona, to wait for ſuccours from don Carlos. So little reſpect did the French court pay to the Britiſh nation, at this juncture, that in the month of November an edict was publiſhed in Paris, commanding all the Britiſh ſubjects in France, who were not actually in employment, from the age of 18 to 50, to quit the kingdom in 15 days, or inliſt in ſome of the Iriſh regiments, on pain of being treated as vagabonds, and ſent to the gallies. This edict was executed with the utmoſt rigour. The priſons of Paris were crouded with the ſubjects of Great-Britain, who were ſurpriſed and cut off from all communication with their friends, and muſt have periſhed by cold and hunger, had not they been relieved by the active charity of the janſeniſts. The earl of Waldegrave, who then reſided at Paris as ambaſſador from the king of Great-Britain, made ſuch vigorous remonſtrances to the French miniſtry, upon this unheard-of outrage againſt a nation with which they had been ſo long in alliance, that they thought proper to ſet the priſoners at liberty, and publiſh another edict, by which the meaning of the former was explained away.

While theſe tranſactions occured on the continent, the king of Great-Britain augmented his land-forces; and warm conteſts were maintained through the whole united kingdom in electing repreſentatives for the new parliament. But in all theſe ſtruggles the miniſterial power predominated; and the new members appeared with the old complection. The two houſes aſſembled on the 14th day of January, and mr. Onſlow was re-elected ſpeaker. The leaders of both parties in all debates were the ſelf-ſame perſons who had conducted thoſe of the former parliament; and the ſame meaſures were purſued in the ſame manner. The king, in his ſpeech at the opening of the ſeſſion, gave them to underſtand, that he had concerted with the ſtates-general of the united provinces ſuch meaſures as were thought moſt adviſeable for their common ſafety, and for reſtoring the peace of Europe: that they had conſidered on one ſide the preſſing applications made by the imperial court both in England and Holland, for obtaining ſuccours againſt the powers at war with the houſe of Auſtria; and on the other ſide the repeated profeſſions made by the allies, of their ſincere diſpoſition to put an end to the preſent troubles upon honourable and ſolid terms: that he and the ſtates-general had concurred in a reſolution to employ their joint and earneſt inſtances to bring matters to a ſpeedy and happy accommodation; that their good offices were at length accepted; and in a ſhort time a plan would be offered to the conſideration of all parties engaged in the war, as a baſis for a general negotiation of peace. He told them he had uſed the power veſted in him by the laſt parliament with great moderation; and concluded a treaty with the crown of Denmark of great importance in the preſent conjuncture. He obſerved, that whilſt many of the principal powers of Europe were actually engaged in a war, Great-Britain muſt be more or leſs affected with the conſequences; and as the beſt concerted meaſures are liable to uncertainty, the nation ought to be prepared againſt all events. He, therefore, expreſſed his hope, that his good ſubjects would not repine at the neceſſary means of procuring the bleſſings of peace and univerſal tranquillity, or of putting him in a condition to act that part which it might be neceſſary and incumbent upon him to take. The addreſs of thanks produced a diſpute as uſual, which ended with an acquieſcence in the motion. The houſe, in a grand committee on the ſupply, reſolved, That 30,000 ſeamen ſhould be employed for the ſervice of the enſuing year; and that the land-forces ſhould be augmented to the number of 25744 effective men. But theſe reſolutions were not taken without diſpute and diviſion. The miniſter's opponents not only re produced all the reaſons which had been formerly advanced againſt a ſtanding army, but they oppoſed this augmentation with extraordinary ardour, as a hugh ſtride towards the eſtabliſhment of arbitrary power. They refuted thoſe fears of external broils on which the miniſtry pretended to ground the neceſſity of ſuch an augmentation; and they expoſed the weak conduct of the adminiſtration, in having contributed to deſtroy the balance of power, by aſſiſting Spain againſt the emperor in Italy, ſo as to aggrandize the houſe of Bourbon.

Sir William Wyndham moved, that the eſtimate of the navy for the enſuing year might be referred to a ſelect committee. He expreſſed his ſurpriſe, that notwithſtanding the vaſt ſums which had been yearly raiſed, and the long continuance of the peace, the people had not been quite delivered of any one tax incurred in the preceeding war. He ſaid, he could not comprehend how it was poſſible to to find pretences for expoſing the nation to ſuch exhorbitant charges; and he took notice of ſome unconſcionable articles in the accounts of the navy-debt that lay upon the table. He was ſeconded by mr. Sandys, and ſupported by ſir Joſeph Jekyll and mr. Pulteney: but after ſome debate the motion was carried in the negative. When the new treaty with Denmark fell under conſideration in a grand committee, mr. H. Walpole moved, that the ſum of 56,250l. ſhould be granted to his majeſty, as a ſubſidy to the Dane, purſuant to the ſaid treaty, for the ſervice of the enſuing year. The demand did not meet with immediate compliance. All the leaders in the oppoſition exclaimed againſt the ſubſidy as unneſſary and unreaſonable. They obſerved, that as the Engliſh had no particular intereſt of their own for inducing them to engage in the preſent war, but only the danger to which the balance of power might be expoſed by that event; and as all the powers of Europe were as much, if not more, intereſted than the Engliſh in the preſervation of that balance, ſhould it ever be really endangered, they would certainly engage in its defence, without receiving any valuable conſideration from Great-Britain; but ſhould

the Engliſh be always the firſt to take the alarm upon any rupture, and offer bribes and penſions to all the princes in Europe, the whole charge of preſerving that balance would fall upon Great-Britain: every ſtate would expect a gratification from her, for doing that which it would otherwiſe be obliged to do for its own preſervation: even the Dutch might at laſt refuſe to aſſiſt in trimming this balance, unleſs Britain ſhould ſubmit to make the grand penſionary of Holland a penſionary of England, and take a number of their forces into Engliſh pay. The debate having had its free courſe, the queſtion was put, and the motion approved by the majority. The miniſtry allowed a bill to be brought in for limiting the number of officers in the houſe of commons; but at the ſecond reading it was rejected upon a diviſion, after a learned debate, in which it appeared that the oppoſition had gained a valuable auxiliary in the perſon of lord Polwarth, ſon to the earl of Marchmont, a nobleman of elegant parts, keen penetration, and uncommon vivacity, who ſpoke with all the fluency and fervour of elocution.

The minority in the houſe of lords were not leſs vigilant and reſolute in detecting and oppoſing every meaſure which they thought would redound to the prejudice of their country. But the moſt remarkable object that employed their attention during this ſeſſion was a very extraordinary petition, ſubſcribed by the dukes of Hamilton, Queenſberry, and Montroſe, the earls of Dundonald, Marchmont, and Stair, repreſenting, that undue influence had been uſed for carrying on the election of the 16 peers for Scotland. The duke of Bedford, who delivered their petition to the houſe, propoſed a day for taking it into conſideration; and to this they agreed. It was afterwards moved, that the conſideration of it ſhould be adjourned to a ſhort day, before which the petitioners ſhould be ordered to declare whether they intended to controvert the laſt election of all the 16 peers, or the election of any, and which of them. This affair was of ſuch an unprecedented nature, that the houſe ſeemed to be divided in opinion about the manner in which they ought to proceed. The partiſans of the miniſtry would have willingly ſtifled the enquiry in the beginning; but the petitioners were ſo ſtrenuouſly ſupported in their claim to ſome notice, by the earls of Cheſterfield, Abingdon, and Strafford, the lords Bathurſt and Carteret, that they could not diſmiſs it at once with any regard to decorum. The order of the houſe, according to the motion explained above, being communicated by the lord-chancellor to the petitioners, they waited on him with a declaration, importing, that they did not intend to controvert the election or return of the 16 peers for Scotland; but they thought it their duty to lay before their lordſhips the evidence of ſuch facts and undue methods as appeared to them to be dangerous to the conſtitution; and might in future elections equally affect the right of the preſent 16 peers, as that of the other peers of Scotland, if not prevented by a proper remedy. This declaration being repeated to the houſe, the duke of Devonſhire made a motion, that the petitioners might be ordered to lay before the houſe in writing inſtances of thoſe undue methods and illegal practices upon which they intended to proceed, and the names of the perſons they ſuſpected to be guilty. He was warmly oppoſed by the country party; and a long debate enſued, after which the queſtion was carried in favour of the motion, and the order ſignified to the petitioners. Next day their anſwer was read to the houſe to this effect: that as they had no intention to ſtate themſelves accuſers, they could not take upon them to name particular perſons who might have been concerned in thoſe illegal practices; but who they were would undoubtedly appear to their lordſhips upon their taking the proper examinations: nevertheleſs they did humbly acquaint their lordſhips, that the petition was laid before them upon information that the liſt of the 16 peers for Scotland had been framed previous to the election, by perſons in high truſt under the crown: that this liſt was ſhown to peers, as a liſt approved by the crown; and was called the king's liſt, from which there was to be no variation, unleſs to make way for one or two particular peers, on condition they ſhould conform to meaſures: that peers were ſollicited to vote for this liſt, without the liberty of making any alteration: that endeavours were uſed to engage peers to vote for this liſt by promiſe of penſions, and offices civil and military to themſelves and relations, as well as by offers of money: that ſums were given for this purpoſe: that penſions, offices, and releaſes of debts owing to the crown were actually granted to peers who concurred in voting for this liſt, and to their relations: that on the day of election a battalion of his majeſty's troops was drawn up in the abbey-court of Edinburgh, contrary to cuſtom, and without any apparent cauſe but that of over-awing the electors. This anſwer gave riſe to another violent diſpute; but the majority voted it unſatisfactory, and the petition was rejected, though the reſolution was clogged with a vigorous proteſt.

[1735] Notwithſtanding this diſcouragement, the earl of Abingdon moved, That although the petition was diſmiſſed, an enquiry might be ſet on foot touching an affair of ſuch conſequence to the liberties of the kingdom. The earl of Ilay declaring his belief, that no ſuch illegal methods had been practiſed, the other produced a pamphlet, intituled, The proteſts of a great number of noble lords, entered by them at the laſt election of peers for Scotland. Exceptions being taken to a pamphlet, as an object unworthy of their notice, lord Bathurſt exhibited an authentic copy of thoſe proteſts, extracted from the journal of that election, ſigned by the two principal clerks, and witneſſed by two gentlemen then attending in the lobby. Theſe were accordingly read, and plainly demonſtrated the truth of the allegations contained in the petition. Nothing could be more ſcandalous, arrogant, and ſhamefully flagrant than the conduct and deportment of thoſe who acted the part of under-ſtrappers to the miniſtry on this occaſion. But all this demonſtration, adorned and enforced by the charms and energy of eloquence, was like preaching in a deſert. A motion was made for adjourning, and carried in the affirmative: a proteſt was entered, and the whole affair conſigned to oblivion. Divers other motions were made ſucceſſively by the lords in the oppoſition, and rejected by the invincible power of a majority. The uninterrupted ſucceſs of the miniſtry did not, however, prevent them from renewing the ſtruggle as often as an opportunity offered. They diſputed the continuation of the ſalt-tax, and the bill for enabling the king to apply the ſum of one million out of the ſinking-fund for the ſervice of the current year, though ſucceſs did not attend their endeavours. They ſupported with all their might a bill ſent up from the commons, explaining and amending an act of the Scottiſh parliament, for preventing wrongous impriſonment, and againſt undue delays in trials. This was all the natives of Scotland had in lieu of the Habeas Corpus act; though it did not ſcreen them from oppreſſion. Yet the earl of Ilay undertook to prove they were on a footing with their neighbours of England in this reſpect; and the bill was thrown out on a diviſion. The ſeſſion was cloſed on the 15th of May, when the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, declared, that the plan of pacification concerted between him and the ſtates-general had not produced the deſired effect. He thanked the commons for the ſupplies they had granted with ſuch chearfulneſs and diſpatch. He ſignified his intention to viſit his German dominions; and told them he ſhould conſtitute the queen regent of the realm in his abſence. Immediately after the prorogation his majeſty embarked for Holland, in his way to Hanover.

By this time the good underſtanding between the courts of Madrid and Liſbon was deſtroyed by a remarkable incident. The Portugueſe ambaſſador at Madrid having allowed his ſervants to reſcue a criminal from the officers of juſtice, all the ſervants concerned in that reſcue were dragged from his houſe to priſon, by the Spaniſh king's order, with circumſtances of rigour and diſgrace. His Portugueſe majeſty being informed of this outrage, ordered reprizals to be made upon the ſervants of the Spaniſh ambaſſador in Liſbon. The two miniſters withdrew abruptly to their reſpective courts. The two monarchs expreſſed their mutual reſentment. The king of Spain aſſembled a body of troops on the frontiers of Portugal and his Portugueſe majeſty had recourſe to the aſſiſtance of king George. Don Marcos Antonio d'Alzeveda was diſpatched to London, with the character of envoy extraordinary; and ſucceeded in his commiſſion according to his wiſh. In a litte time after the king's departure from England, ſir John Norris ſailed from Spithead with a powerful ſquadron, in order to protect the Portugueſe againſt the Spaniards; and on the 9th day of June arrived at Liſbon, where he was welcomed as a deliverer. Mr Keene, the Britiſh envoy at the court of Spain, had communicated to his catholic majeſty the reſolution of his maſter to ſend a powerful ſquadron to Liſbon, with orders to guard that coaſt from inſults, and ſecure the Brazil fleet, in which the merchants of Great-Britain were deeply intereſted. Don Joſeph Patinho, miniſter of his catholic majeſty, delivered a memorial to mr. Keene, repreſenting, that ſuch an expedition would affect the commerce of Spain, by intimidating foreign merchants from embarking their merchandiſe in the flota. But, in all probability, it prevented a rupture

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Her Royal Highness the
PRINCESS of WALES.

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between the two crowns and diſpoſed the king of Spain to liſten to terms of accommodation.

The powers in alliance againſt the houſe of Auſtria having rejected the plan of pacification concerted by the king of Great-Britain and the ſtates-general mr. Walpole, ambaſſador at the Hague, preſented a memorial to their high mightineſſes, deſiring they would, without loſs of time, put themſelves in a poſture of defence by an augmentation of their forces at ſea and land, that they might take ſuch vigorous ſteps in concert with Great-Britain, as the future conjuncture of affairs might require. But, before they would ſubject themſelves to ſuch expence, they reſolved to make further trial of their influence with the powers in alliance againſt the emperor; and conferences were renewed with the miniſters of thoſe allies. The affairs of Poland became more and more unfavourable to the intereſt of Staniſlaus; for though a great number of the Poliſh nobility engaged in a confederacy to ſupport his claim, and made repeated efforts in his behalf, the palatine of Kiow ſubmitted to Auguſtus; and even his brother the primate, after having ſuſtained a long impriſonment, and many extraordinary hardſhips was obliged to acknowledge that prince his ſovereign. In Italy the arms of the allies ſtill continued to proſper. Don Carlos landed in Sicily, and reduced the whole iſland, almoſt without oppoſition; while the imperialiſts were forced to abandon all the territories they poſſeſſed in Italy, except the Mantuan. The emperor being equally unable to cope with the French armies on the Rhine, implored ſuccours of the czarina, who ſent 30,000 men to his aſſiſtance. This vigorous interpoſition, and the ſucceſs of Auguſtus in Poland, diſpoſed the court of Verſailles to a pacification. A ſecret negotiation was begun between France and the houſe of Auſtria; and the preliminaries were ſigned without the concurrence or knowledge of Spain, Sardinia, and the maritime powers. In theſe articles it was ſtipulated, that France ſhould reſtore all the conqueſt ſhe had made in Germany; that the reverſion of the dukedom of Tuſcany ſhould be veſted in the duke of Lorraine: that Lorraine ſhould be allotted to king Staniſlaus; and after his death be united to the crown of France: that the emperor ſhould poſſeſs the Milaneſe, the Mantuan, and Parma: that the king of Sardinia ſhould enjoy Vigevano and Novara: that don Carlos ſhould be acknowledged king of Naples and Sicily, and retain the iſland of Elba, with all the Spaniſh territories on the coaſt of Tuſcany; and that France ſhould guarantee the pragmatic ſanction.

The king of Great-Britain returned from Hanover to England in the month of November; and on the 15th day of January opened the ſeſſion of parliament. On this occaſion he congratulated them on the near proſpect of a general peace in Europe, in conſequence of the preliminary articles in which the emperor and the king of France had agreed: and of which he had expreſſed his approbation, as they did not differ in any eſſential point from the plan of pacification which he and the ſtates-general had offered to the belligerent powers. He told them that he had already ordered a conſiderable reduction to be made in his forces both by ſea and land; but at the ſame time obſerved it would be neceſſary to continue ſome extraordinary expence, until a more perfect reconciliation ſhould be eſtabliſhed among the ſeveral powers of Europe. An addreſs of thanks was unanimouſly voted, preſented, and graciouſly received. After the houſe had received ſeveral petitions from different counties and gentlemen, complaining of undue influence in elections for members of parliament, it proceeded to conſider of the ſupply, and ſir Charles Wager moving that 15,000 ſeamen ſhould be employed for the ſervice of the enſuing year, the propoſal was approved without oppoſition. But this was not the caſe with a motion made by mr. Pulteney, 'that the ordinary eſtimate of the navy ſhould be referred to a ſelect committee.' The miniſtry diſcouraged all ſuch prying meaſures: a debate was produced, the houſe divided, and the motion was rejected. Such was the fate of a motion for raiſing the ſupplies within the year, made by mr. Sandys, and ſupported by ſir John Barnard, mr. Willimot, and other patriots, who demonſtrated, that this was a ſpeedy and practicable expedient for diſcharging the national debt, lowering the intereſt of money, reducing the price of labour, and encouraging a ſpirit of commerce.

The bill for limiting the number of officers in the houſe of commons was again revived. The king was empowered to borrow 600,000l. chargeable on the ſinking-fund, for the ſervice of the enſuing year, though this power was not eaſily granted; and the houſe reſolved to lay a duty of twenty ſhillings per gallon on all ſpirituous liquors, after it had appeared to the committee appointed for that purpoſe that thoſe ſpirits were pernicious to the health and morals of the people. To this reſolution was added another, which amounted to a total prohibition, namely, that 50l. ſhould be yearly paid to his majeſty for a licence to be annually taken out by every perſon who ſhould vend, barter, or utter any ſuch ſpirituous liquors. Mr Walter Plumer, in a well concerted ſpeech, moved for the repeal of ſome clauſes in the teſt act: theſe he repreſented as a ſpecies of perſecution, in which proteſtant diſſenters were confounded with the Roman catholics and enemies to the eſtabliſhment. He was ſuſtained by lord Polwarth and mr. Heathcote; but ſir Robert Walpole was joined by mr. Shippen againſt the motion as dangerous to the eſtabliſhed church: and the queſtion being put, it was carried in the negative.

[1736] When ſir Joſeph Jekyll preſented to the houſe, according to order, a bill founded on the reſolutions they had taken againſt ſpirituous liquors, ſir Robert Walpole acquainted them, by his majeſty's command, that as the alterations propoſed to be made by that bill in the duties charged upon all ſpirituous liquors might in a great degree affect ſome part of the civil-liſt revenues, his majeſty, for the ſake of remedying ſo great an evil as was intended by that bill to be prevented did conſent to accept any other revenue of equal value, to be ſettled and appropriated in lieu of his intereſt in the ſaid duties. The bill was read a ſecond time, and conſigned to a committee of the whole houſe; but that for limiting the number of officers in the houſe of commons was thrown out at the ſecond reading. Petitions againſt the bill touching the retail of ſpirituous liquors were preſented by the traders to the Britiſh ſugar colonies, by the merchants of Briſtol and Liverpool, repreſenting the hardſhips to which they would be expoſed by a law which amounted to a prohibition of rum and ſpirits diſtilled from melaſſes. In conſequence of theſe remonſtrances, a mitigating clauſe was inſerted, in favour of the compoſition known by the name of punch; and diſtillers were permitted to exerciſe any other employment. The ſum of 70,000l. was voted for making good the deficiencies that might happen in the civil-liſt by this bill, which at length paſſed through the houſe, though not without reiterated diſputes and warm altercation. Violent oppoſition was likewiſe made to a bill for the relief of the people called quakers, who offered a petition, repreſenting, that though, from motives of conſcience, they refuſed the payment of tithes, church-rates, oblations, and eccleſiaſtical dues, they were expoſed to grievous ſufferings by proſecution in the exchequer, eccleſiaſtical, and other courts, to the impriſonment of their perſons, and the ruin of them and their families. A bill being prepared for their relief, was read and printed: then petitions were preferred againſt it by the clergy of Middleſex, and of many other parts of the kingdom. Counſel was heard in behalf of theſe petitioners, and ſeveral alterations propoſed in the bill, which after long repeated debates ſurmounted all oppoſition, and was ſent up to the lords.

In the month of February the king had ſent two members of the privy-council to the prince of Wales, with a meſſage, propoſing a marriage between his royal highneſs and the princeſs of Saxegotha. The propoſal being agreeable to the prince, the marriage was celebrated on the 27th day of April. Upon this occaſion mr. Pulteney moved for an addreſs of congratulation to his majeſty, and was ſupported by mr. George Lyttelton and mr. William Pitt, who ſeiſed this opportunity of pronouncing elegant panegyrics on the prince of Wales and his amiable conſort. Theſe two young members ſoon diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the houſe by their eloquence and ſuperior talents. The attention of the houſe was afterwards converted to a bill for the preventing of ſmuggling; and another for explaining the act for the more effectual preventing bribery and corruption in the election of members to ſerve in parliament. Both made their way through the lower houſe, and were ſent up to the lords for their concurrence. The number of land-forces voted for the ſervice of the current year was reduced to 17,704 effective men. The ſupplies were raiſed by the malt-tax and land-tax, at two ſhillings in the pound, additional duties on mum, cyder, and perry, ſtamped vellum, parchment, and paper; and by an act empowering his majeſty to borrow 600,000l. of the ſinking-fund. In this ſeſſion the parliament repealed the old ſtatutes of England and Scotland againſt conjuration, witchcraft, and dealing with evil ſpirits. The commons likewiſe prepared a bill to reſtrain the diſpoſition of lands in Mortmain, whereby they became unalienable. Againſt this meaſure petitions were preſented by the two univerſities, the colleges of Eton, Wincheſter, and Weſtminſter, and divers hoſpitals that ſubſiſted by charitable donations. In favour of the univer-

ſities and colleges a particular exempting clauſe was inſerted. Several other amendments were made in the bill, which paſſed through both houſes, and obtained the royal aſſent. Among the acts paſſed in this ſeſſion, was one for naturaliſing her royal highneſs the princeſs of Wales; and another for building a bridge acroſs the Thames from New-Palace-yard, in the city of Weſtminſter, to the oppoſite ſhore in the county of Surrey. The points chiefly debated in the houſe of lords were the addreſs of thanks for his majeſty's ſpeech, the Mortmain-bill, the quakers-bill, which was thrown out, and that for the prevention of ſmuggling, which did not paſs without diviſion and proteſt. On the 20th day of May the king cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he told both houſes, that a further convention touching the execution of the preliminaries had been made and communicated to him by the emperor and moſt chriſtian king: and that negotiations were carrying on by the ſeveral powers engaged in the late war, in order to ſettle a general pacification. He expreſſed great concern at ſeeing ſuch ſeeds of diſſatisfaction ſown among his people: he proteſted it was his deſire, and ſhould be his care, to preſerve the preſent conſtitution in church and ſtate, as by law eſtabliſhed: he recommended harmony and mutual affection among all proteſtants of the nation, as the great ſecurity of that happy eſtabliſhment; and ſignified his intention to viſit his German dominions. Accordingly, the parliament was no ſooner prorogued than he ſet out for Hanover, after having appointed the queen regent in his abſence.

Such a degree of licentiouſneſs prevailed over the whole nation, that the kingdom was filled with tumult and riots, which might have been prevented by proper regulations of the civil government in a due execution of the laws. The moſt remarkable of theſe diſturbances happened at Edinburgh, on the 7th day of September. John Porteous, who commanded the guard paid by that city, a man of brutal diſpoſition and abandoned morals, had, at the execution of a ſmuggler, been provoked by ſome inſults from the populace to order his men, without uſing the previous formalities of the law, to fire with ſhot among the crowd; by which precipitate order ſeveral innocent perſons loſt their lives. Porteous was tried for murder, convicted and received ſentence of death; but the queen, as guardian of the realm, thought proper to indulge him with a reprieve. The common people of Edinburgh reſented this lenity ſhown to a criminal who was the object of their deteſtation. They remembered that pardons had been granted to divers military delinquents in that country, who had been condemned by legal trial. They ſeemed to think thoſe were encouragements to oppreſſion: they were fired by a national jealouſy: they were ſtimulated by the relations and friends of thoſe who had been murdered; and they reſolved to wreak their vengeance on the author of that tragedy, by depriving him of life on the very day which the judges had fixed for his execution. Thus determined, they aſſembled in different bodies, about ten o'clock at night. They blocked up the gates of the city, to prevent the admiſſion of the troops that were quartered in the ſuburbs. They ſurprized and diſarmed the town-guards: they broke open the priſon doors, dragged Porteous from thence to the place of execution, and leaving him hanging by the nec on a dyer's pole, quietly diſperſed to their ſeveral habitations. This exploit was performed with ſuch conduct and deliberation as ſeemed to be the reſult of a plan formed by ſome perſons of conſequence: it, therefore, became the object of a very ſevere enquiry.

During this ſummer a rupture happened between the Turks and the Ruſſians, which laſt reduced the city of Aſoph on the Black-ſea, and over-ran the greateſt part of Crim Tartary. The czarina declared war againſt the Ottoman Porte, becauſe the Tartars of the Crimea had made incurſions upon her frontiers; and when ſhe complained of theſe diſorders to the vizir, ſhe received no ſatisfaction: beſides a large body of Tartars had, by order of that miniſter, marched through the Ruſſian provinces in deſpite of the empreſs, and committed terrible havock in their route. The emperor was obliged to engage as a party in this war, by a treaty offenſive and defenſive, which he had many years concluded with the czarina. Yet, before he declared himſelf, he joined the maritime powers in offering his mediation to the Sultan, who was very well diſpoſed to peace; but the czarina inſiſted upon her retaining Aſoph, which her forceſs had reduced; and this preliminary article being rejected, as diſhonourable to the Ottoman empire, the court of Vienna began to make preparations for war. By this time all the belligerent powers in Italy had agreed to the preliminaries of peace concluded between the emperor and France. The duke of Lorraine had eſpouſed the emperor's eldeſt daughter, the archduchеſs Maria Thereſa, and ceded Lorrain to France, even before he ſucceeded to Tuſcany. Don Carlos was crowned king of Sicily; Staniſlaus abdicated the crown of Poland, and Auguſtus was univerſally acknowledged ſovereign of that kingdom. The preliminaries were approved and accepted by the diet of the empire: the king of Spain ſent orders for his troops to evacuate Tuſcany; and the provinces in Italy yielded to the houſe of Auſtria. Prince Eugene, who had managed the intereſt of the emperor on this occaſion, did not live to ſee the happy fruits of his negotiation. He died at Vienna, in April, at the age of ſeventy-three, leaving behind him the character of an invincible hero and conſummate politician. He was not long ſurvived by count Staremberg, another imperial general, who ranked next to the prince in military reputation. About the ſame time Great-Britain ſuſtained a national loſs in the death of lord-chancellor Talbot, who by his worth, probity, and acquired accompliſhments, had dignified the great office to which he had been raiſed. He died univerſally lamented, in the month of February, at the age of fifty-two; and was ſucceeded on the bench by lord Hardwicke.

The king being indiſpoſed in conſequence of having been fatigued by a very tempeſtuous paſſage from Holland, the parliament was prorogued from the 21ſt day of January to the 1ſt of February, and then the ſeſſion was opened by commiſſion. The lord-chancellor, as one of the peers authoriſed by his commiſſion, made a ſpeech in his majeſty's name to both houſes. With reſpect to foreign affairs, he told them, that the reſpective acts of ceſſion being exchanged, and orders given for the evacuation and poſſeſſion of the ſeveral countries and places by the powers concerned, according to the allotment and diſpoſition of the preliminary articles, the great work of re-eſtabliſhing the general tranquillity was far advanced; that, however, common prudence called upon them to be very attentive to the final concluſion of the new ſettlement. He ſaid his majeſty could not without ſurpriſe and concern obſerve the many contrivances and attempts carried on, in various ſhapes, and in different parts of the nation, tumultuouſly to reſiſt and obſtruct the execution of the laws, and to violate the peace of the kingdom. He obſerved, that the conſideration of the height to which theſe audacious practices might riſe, if not timely ſuppreſſed, afforded a melancholy proſpect, and required particular attention, leſt they ſhould affect private perſons in the quiet enjoyment of their property, as well as the general peace and good order of the whole. After the commons had agreed to an addreſs, and heard counſel on ſome controverted elections, they proceeded to take the ſupply into conſideration. They voted 10,000 men for the ſea-ſervice. They continued for the land-ſervice the ſame number they had maintained in times of tranquillity, amounting to 17,704; but this meaſure was not adopted without oppoſition: the money was raiſed by the land and malt-taxes, re-enforced with one million granted out of the ſinking-fund.

The chief ſubject of contention that preſented itſelf in the courſe of this ſeſſion, was a motion which mr. Pulteney made for an addreſs to his majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to ſettle 100,000l. a-year upon the prince of Wales. He repreſented that ſuch a proviſion was conformable to the practice of ancient times: that what he propoſed had been enjoyed by his preſent majeſty in the life-time of his father; and that a ſettlement of this nature was reaſonable and neceſſary to aſcertain the independency of the apparent heir to the crown. The motion was vigorouſly oppoſed by ſir Robert Walpole, as an encroachment on the prerogative; as an officious intermeddling in the king's family affairs; and as an effort to ſet his majeſty and the prince at variance. But a miſunderſtanding, it ſeems, had already happened in the royal family. The miniſter in the midſt of his harangue told the houſe, by his majeſty's command, that on the preceeding day the king had ſent a meſſage to the prince by ſeveral noblemen of the firſt quality importing, that his majeſty had given orders for ſettling a jointure upon the princeſs of Wales, ſuitable to her high rank and dignity, which he would in a proper time lay before parliament, in order to be rendered more certain and effectual: that although his royal highneſs had not thought fit, by any application to his majeſty, to deſire that his allowance of 50,000l. might be rendered leſs precarious, the king, to prevent the bad conſequences which he apprehended might follow from the undutiful meaſures which his majeſty was

informed the prince had been adviſed to purſue, would grant to his royal highneſs, for his majeſty's life, the ſaid 50,000l. per annum, to be iſſued out of the civil-liſt revenues, over and above the prince's revenues ariſing from the duchy of Cornwall, which his majeſty thought a very competent allowance, conſidering his own numerous iſſue, and the great expence which did and muſt neceſſarily attend an honourable proviſion for the whole royal family: that the prince, by a verbal anſwer, deſired their lordſhips to lay him with all humility at his majeſty's feet: to aſſure him that he did, and ever ſhall retain the utmoſt duty for his royal perſon: that he was very thankful for any inſtance of his majeſty's goodneſs to him or to the princeſs, and particularly for his majeſty's gracious intention of ſettling a jointure upon her royal highneſs; but that, as to the meſſage, the affair was now out of his hand, and, therefore, he could give no anſwer to it; that his royal highneſs afterwards uſed many dutiful expreſſions towards his majeſty; adding, 'indeed, my lords, it is in other hands, and I am ſorry for it;' or words to that effect. Sir Robert Walpole then endeavoured to demonſtrate, that the annual ſum of 50,000l. pounds was as much as the king could afford to allow for the prince's maintenance; and he expatiated upon the bad conſequences that might enſue, if the ſon ſhould be rendered altogether independent of the father.

Theſe ſuggeſtions did not paſs unanſwered. Sir Robert Walpole had aſſerted, that the parliament had no right to interfere in the creation or maintenance of a prince of Wales; and that in the caſe of Richard II. who, upon the death of his father the Black Prince, was created prince of Wales, in conſequence of an addreſs or petition from parliament: that meaſure was in all probability directed by the king himſelf. In anſwer to this aſſertion it was obſerved, that probably the king would not have been ſo forward in creating his grandſon prince of Wales, if he had not been forced into this ſtep by his parliament; for Edward in his old age fell into a ſort of love-dotage, and gave himſelf entirely up to the management of his miſtreſs, Alice Pierce, and his ſecond ſon, the duke of Lancaſter; a circumſtance that raiſed a moſt reaſonable jealouſy in the black prince, at that time on his death bed, who could not but be anxious about the ſafety and right of his only ſon, whom he found he was ſoon to leave a child in the hands of a doating grandfather, and an ambituous, aſpiring uncle. The ſupporters of the motion obſerved, that the allowance of 50,000l. was not ſufficient to defray the prince's yearly expence, without allotting one ſhilling for acts of charity and munificence; and that the ſeveral deductions for land-taxes and fees reduced it to 43,000l. They affirmed, that his whole income, including the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, did not exceed to 52,000l. a-year, though by his majeſty's own regulation, the expence of the prince's houſehold amounted to 63,000l. They proved, that the produce of the civil-liſt exceeded 900,000l. a ſum above 100,000l. a-year more than was enjoyed by his late majeſty; and that in the firſt year of the late king the whole expence of his houſehold and civil government did not much exceed 450,000l. a-year. They obſerved, that the parliament added 140,000l. annually for acts of charity and bounty, together with the article of ſecret ſervice money; and allowed 100,000l. for the maintenance of the prince of Wales: that the article of ſecret ſervice money had prodigiouſly increaſed in the late reign: by an account which happened to be laid before the parliament, it appeared that vaſt ſums of money had been given for purpoſes which nobody underſtood, and to perſons whom nobody knew. In the beginning of the following ſeſſion ſeveral members propoſed that this extraordinary account ſhould be taken into conſideration; but the enquiry was warded off by the other party, who declared that the parliament could not examine any account which had been preſented to a former ſeſſion. The debate was fierce and long; and ended in a diviſion, by which the motion was rejected. A motion of the ſame nature was made by lord Carteret in the houſe of peers, and gave riſe to a very keen diſpute, maintained by the ſame arguments, and iſſuing in the ſame termination.

The next remarkable conteſt was occaſioned by a motion of ſir R. Walpole, who propoſed that the ſum of one million ſhould be granted to his majeſty, towards redeeming the like ſum of the increaſed capital of the South-ſea company, commonly called South-ſea annuities. Several members argued for the expediency of applying this ſum to the payment of the debt due to the Bank, as part of that incumbrance was ſaddled with an intereſt of ſix per cent. whereas the intereſt paid for the other ſums that conſtituted the public debt did not exceed four per cent. Many plauſible arguments were offered on both ſides of the queſtion; and at length the motion was carried in the affirmative. The houſe having reſolved itſelf into a committee to conſider of the national debt, ſir John Barnard made a motion, for enabling his majeſty to raiſe money either by the ſale of annuities, or by borrowing at an intereſt not exceeding three per cent. to be applied towards redeeming the South-ſea annuities; and that ſuch of the ſaid annuitants as ſhould be inclined to ſubſcribe their reſpective annuities, ſhould be preferred to all others. He ſaid, that even thoſe public ſecurities which bore an intereſt of three per cent. only were ſold at a premium in Change-Alley: he was, therefore, perſuaded, that all thoſe who were willing to give a premium for three per cent. ſecurity would gladly lend their money to the government at the ſame intereſt, ſhould books of ſubſcription be opened for that purpoſe, with an aſſurance that no part of the principal ſhould be paid off for fourteen years. He expatiated upon the national advantages that would accrue from a reduction of intereſt. From eaſy and obvious calculations he inferred, that in a very little time the intereſt upon all the South-ſea annuities would be reduced from four to three per cent. without any danger to public credit, or breach of public faith; that then the produce of the ſinking-fund would amount to 1400,000l. per annum. to be applied only towards redeeming the capital of the ſeveral trading companies: he proved that this meaſure would bring every one of them ſo much within the power of parliament, that they would be glad to accept of three per cent. intereſt to any reaſonable terms; in which caſe the ſinking-fund would riſe to one million ſix hundred thouſand pounds per annum. Then the parliament might venture to annihilate one half of it, by freeing the people from the taxes upon coales, candles, ſoap, leather, and other ſuch impoſitions as lay heavy upon the poor labourers and manufactures; the remaining part of the ſinking-fund might be applied towards the diſcharge of thoſe annuities and public debts which bore an intereſt of three per cent. only, and afterwards towards diminiſhing the capitals of the ſeveral trading companies till the term of fourteen years ſhould be expired; then the ſinking-fund would again amount to above a million yearly, which would be ſufficient for paying them off, and freeing the nation entirely from all its incumberances. This ſalutary ſcheme was violently oppoſed by alderman Heathcote, and other partiſans of the miniſtry: yet all their objections were refuted; and in order to defeat the project, they were obliged to have recourſe to artifice. Mr Winnington moved, that all the public creditors, as well as the South-ſea annuitants, ſhould be comprehended. Sir John Barnard demonſtrated, that it might be eaſy for the government to borrow money at three per cent. ſufficient for paying off ſuch of the proprietors of four-and-twenty millions as were not willing to accept of that intereſt, but it would be extremely difficult to borrow enough to ſatisfy the proprietors of four-and-forty millions, who might chooſe to have their principal rather than ſuch an intereſt. Nevertheleſs, reſolutions were founded on this and other alterations of the original ſcheme; and a bill was immediately prepared. It produced many other debates, and was at laſt poſtponed by dint of miniſteral influence. The ſame venerable patriot who projected this ſcheme moved, that as ſoon as the intereſt of all the national redeemable debt ſhould be reduced to three per cent. the houſe would take off ſome of the heavy taxes which oppreſſed the poor and the manufacturers: but this motion was rejected by the majority.

[1737] The laſt diſputes of this ſeſſion were excited by a bill ſent down from the lords for puniſhing the magiſtrates and city of Edingburgh, on account of the murder of John Porteous. In the beginning of the ſeſſion lord Carteret recapitulated the ſeveral tumults and riots which had lately happened in different parts of the kingdom he particularly inſiſted upon the atrocious murder of captain Porteous, as a flagrant inſult upon the goverment, and a violation of the public peace, ſo much the more dangerous, as it ſeemed to have been concerted and executed with deliberation and decency. He ſuſpected that ſome citizens of Edingburgh had been concerned in the murder, not only from this circumſtance, but likewiſe becauſe, notwithſtanding the reward of two hundred pounds which had been offered by proclamation for the diſcovery of any perſon who acted in that tragedy, not one individual as yet been detected. He ſeemed to think that the magiſtrates had encouraged the riot, and that the city had forfeited its charter; and he propoſed a minute enquiry into the particulars of the affair. He was ſeconded by the duke of Newcaſtle and the earl of

Hay: though this laſt nobleman differed in opinion from him with reſpect to the charter of the city, which, he ſaid, could not be juſtly forfeited by the fault of the magiſtracy. The lords reſolved, That the magiſtrates and other perſons from whom they might obtain the neceſſary information concerning this riot ſhould be ordered to attend; and, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, deſiring that the different accounts and papers relating to the murder of captain Porteous might be ſubmitted to the peruſal of the houſe. Theſe documents being accordingly examined, and all the witneſſes arrived, including three Scottiſh judges, a debate aroſe about the manner in which theſe laſt ſhould be interrogated, whether at the bar, at the table, or on the woolſacs. Some Scottiſh lords aſſerted, that they had a right to be ſeated next to the judges of England: but after a long debate this claim was rejected, and the judges of Scotland appeared at the bar in their robes.

A bill was brought in to diſable Alexander Wilſon, eſq. lord-provoſt of Edinburgh, from enjoying any office or place of magiſtracy in the city of Edinburgh, or elſewhere in Great-Britain; for impriſoning the ſaid Alexander Wilſon; for aboliſhing the guard of that city; and for taking away the gates of the Nether-Bow-Port, ſo as to open a communication between the city and the ſuburbs, in which the king's troops are quartered. The duke of Argyle, in arguing againſt this bill, ſaid he could not think of a proceeding more harſh or unprecedented than the preſent, as he believed there was no inſtance of the whole weight of parliamentary indignation, for ſuch he called a proceeding by a bill, ex poſt facto, falling upon any ſingle perſon, far leſs upon any community, for crimes that were within the reach of the inferior courts of juſtice: for this reaſon he obſerved, that if the lord-provoſt and citizens of Edinburgh ſhould ſuffer in the terms of the preſent bill, they would ſuffer by a cruel, unjuſt, and fantaſtical proceeding; a proceeding of which the worſt uſe might be made, if ever the nation ſhould have the misfortune to fall under a partial, ſelf-intereſted adminiſtration. He told them he ſat in the parliament of Scotland when that part of the treaty of union relating to the privileges of the royal burghs was ſettled on the ſame footing as religion, that is, they were made unalterable by any ſubſequent parliament of Great-Britain. Notwithſtanding the eloquence and warmth of his remonſtrance, the bill was ſent down to the houſe of commons, where it produced a violent conteſt. The commons ſet on foot a ſevere ſcrutiny into the particular circumſtances that preceded and attended the murder of Porteous: from the examination of the witneſſes it appeared that no freeman or citizen of Edinburgh was concerned in the riot, which was chiefly compoſed of country-people, excited by the relations of ſome unhappy perſons whom Porteous and his men had ſlain at the execution of the ſmuggler; and theſe were aſſiſted by prentice boys, and the loweſt claſs of vagabonds that happened to be at Edinburgh; that the lord-provoſt had taken all the precautions to prevent miſchief that his reflexion ſuggeſted: that he even expoſed his perſon to the rage of the multitude, in his endeavours to diſperſe them; and that if he had done amiſs, he erred from want of judgment, rather than from want of inclination to protect the unhappy Porteous. It likewiſe appeared, that mr. Lindſay, member for the city, of Edinburgh, had gone in perſon to general Moyle, commander of the forces in North-Britain, informed him of the riot, implored his immediate aſſiſtance, and promiſed to conduct his troops into the city; and that his ſuit was rejected, becauſe he could not produce a written order from the magiſtracy, which he neither could have obtained in ſuch confuſion, nor venture to carry about his perſon through the midſt of an enraged populace. The Scottiſh members exerted themſelves with uncommon vivacity in defence of their capital. They were joined by ſir John Barnard, lord Cornbury, mr. Shippen, and mr. Oglethorpe. Lord Polwarth declared, that if any gentleman would ſhow where one argument in the charge againſt the lord-provoſt and the city of Edinburgh had been proved, he would that inſtant give his vote for the commitment of the bill. He ſaid, if gentlemen would lay their hands upon their hearts, and aſk themſelves, whether they would have voted in this manner had the caſe of Edinburgh been that of the city of Briſtol, York, or Norwich, he was perſuaded they would have required that every tittle of the charge againſt them ſhould have been fully and undeniable proved. Some amendments and mitigations being inſerted in the bill, it paſſed the houſe, was ſent bac to the lords, who agreed to the alterations, and then received the royal aſſent.

The next effort of the miniſter was obliquely levelled at the liberty of the preſs, which it was much for his intereſt to abridge. The errors of his conduct, the miſtery of that corruption which he had ſo ſucceſsfully reduced to a ſyſtem, and all the blemiſhes of his adminiſtration, had been expoſed and ridiculed, not only in political periodical writings produced by the moſt eminent hands, but likewiſe in a ſucceſſion of theatrical pieces, which met with uncommon ſucceſs among the people. He either wanted judgment to diſtinguiſh men of genius, or could find none that would engage in his ſervice: he, therefore, employed a ſet of wretched authors, void of underſtanding and ingenuity. They undertook the defence of his miniſtry, and anſwered the animadverſions of his antagoniſts. The match was ſo extremely unequal, that, inſtead of juſtifying his conduct, they expoſed it to additional ridicule and contempt; and he ſaw himſelf in danger of being deſpiſed by the whole nation. He reſolved to ſeiſe the firſt opportunity to choak thoſe canals through which the torrent of cenſure had flowed upon his character. The manager of a play-houſe communicated to him a manuſcript farce, intituled, The Golded Rump, which was fraught with treaſon and abuſe upon the government, and had been preſented to the ſtage for exhibition. This performance was produced in the houſe of commons. The miniſter deſcanted upon the inſolence, the malice, the immorality, and the ſeditious calumny, which had been of late propagated in theatrical pieces. A bill was brought in to limit the number of play-houſes; to ſubject all dramatic writers to the inſpection of the lord-chamberlain; and to compel them to take out a licence for every production before it could appear on the ſtage. Notwithſtanding a vigorous oppoſition, this bill paſſed through both houſes with extraordinary diſpatch, and obtained the royal ſanction. In this debate the earl of Cheſterfield diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an excellent ſpeech, that will ever endear his character to all the friends of genius and literature, to all thoſe who are warmed with zeal for the liberties of their country. 'Our ſtage (ſaid he) ought certainly to be kept within due bounds; but, for this purpoſe, our laws as they ſtand at preſent are ſufficient. If our ſtage-players at any time exceed thoſe bounds, they ought to be proſecuted; they may be puniſhed. We have precedents, we have examples of perſons puniſhed for things leſs criminal than ſome pieces which have been lately repreſented: a new law muſt, therefore, be unneceſſary; and in the preſent caſe it cannot be unneceſſary without being dangerous. Every unneceſſary reſtraint is a fetter upon the legs, is a ſhackle upon the hands of liberty. One of the greateſt bleſſings we enjoy, one of the greateſt bleſſings a people can enjoy, is liberty. But every good in this life has its allay of evil. Licentouſneſs is the allay of liberty. It is an ebullition, an exceſſence; it is a ſpec upon the eye of the political body, which I can never touch but with a gentle, with a trembling hand, leſt I deſtroy the body; leſt I injure the eye upon which it is apt to appear. If the ſtage becomes at any time licentious, if a play appears to be a libel upon the government, or upon any particular man, the king's courts are open; the law is ſufficient to puniſh the offender. If poets and players are to be reſtrained, let them be reſtrained as other ſubjects are, by the known laws of their country; if they offend, let them be tried as every Engliſhman ought to be, by God and their country. Do not let us ſubject them to the arbitrary will and pleaſure of any one man. A power lodged in the hands of a ſingle man to judge and determine without limitation, control, or appeal, is a ſort of power unknown to our laws, inconſiſtent with our conſtitution. It is a higher, a more abſolute power than we truſt even to the king himſelf; and, and, therefore, I muſt think we ought not to veſt any ſuch power in his majeſty's lord-chamberlain.' His arguments had no effect, though the houſe admired his elocution; and the play-houſe bill paſſed into a law. On the 21ſt day of June the king made a ſhort ſpeech to both houſes, and the lord-chancellor prorogued the parliament.

A congreſs had been opened at Niemerow in Poland, to compromiſe the differences between the czarina and the grand ſignor; but this proving ineffectual, the emperor declared war againſt the Turks, and demanded aſſiſtance from the diet of the empire. He concerted the operations of the campaign with the empreſs of Muſcovy. It was agreed, that the imperialiſt under count Seckendorf ſhould attac Widen in Servia, while the Ruſſians, commanded by count de Munich, ſhould penetrate to the Ukraine, and beſiege Oczakow, on the Boriſthenes. They accordingly advanced againſt this place, which was garriſoned by 20,000 men; and on the ſide of the Boriſthenes defended by 81 gallies. The Muſcovites carried on their approaches

with ſuch impetuoſity and perſeverances that the Turks were terrified at their valour, and in a few days capitulated. Among thoſe who ſignalized themſelves by uncommon marks of proweſs in theſe attacs, was general Keith, new field-marſhal in the Pruſſian ſervice, who was dangerouſly wounded on this occaſion. Mean while count Seckendorf, finding it impoſſible to reduce Widin without a ſquadron of ſhips on the Danupe, turned his arms againſt Niſſa, which was ſurrendered to him on the 28th day of July: but this was the fartheſt verge of his good fortune. The Turks attacked the poſts which the imperialiſts occupied along the Danube. They took the fort of Padudil, burned the town of Ilas in Walachi, and plundered the neighbouring villages. The prince of Saxe-Hildburghauſen, who had inveſted Bagnalack in Boſnia, was defeated, and obliged to repaſs the Saave. Count Seckendorf was recalled to Vienna; and the command of the army devolved upon count Philippi. Count Kevenhuller was obliged to retreat from Servia; and Niſſa was re-taken by the Muſſulmen. The conferances at Niemerow were broken off; and the Turkiſh plenipotentiaries returned to Conſtantinople.

The king of Poland now enjoyed the moſt perfect repoſe under the dominion of Auguſtus. Ferdinand, the old duke of Courland, dying without iſſue, the ſucceſſion was diſputed by the Teutonick order and the kingdom of Poland, while the ſtates of Courland claimed a right of election, and ſent deputies to Peterſburgh, imploring the protection of the czarina. A body of Ruſſian troops immediately entered that country: and the ſtates elected the count de Biron, high-chamberlain to the empreſs of Muſcovy. The elector of Cologne, as grand maſter of the Teutonick order, proteſted againſt this election; but the king of Poland agreed to it, on certain conditions ſettled at Dantzick with the commiſſaries of the new duke and thoſe of the czarina. In the month of July, John Gaſton de Medicis, great duke of Tuſcany, died at Florence; and the prince de Craon took poſſeſſion of his territories, in the name of the duke of Lorraine, to whom the emperor had already granted the eventual inveſtiture of that duchy.

In England the attention of the public was attracted by an open breach in the royal family. The princeſs of Wales had advanced to the very laſt month of her pregnancy before the king and queen was informed of her being with child. She was twice conveyed from Hampton-court to the palace of St. James's, when her labour pains were ſuppoſed to be approaching; and at length was delivered of a princeſs in about two hours after her arrival. The king being appriſed of this event, ſent a meſſage by the earl of Eſſex to the prince, expreſſing his diſpleaſure at the conduct of his royal highneſs, as an indignity offered to himſelf and the queen. The prince deprecated his majeſty's anſwer in ſeveral ſubmiſſive letters, and implored the queen's mediation. The princeſs joined her entreaties to thoſe of his royal highneſs: but all their humility and ſupplication proved ineffectual. The king, in another meſſage ſent by the duke of Grafton, obſerved, that the prince had removed the princeſs twice in the week immediately preceding the day of her delivery from the place of his majeſty's reſidence, in expectation of her labour; and both times, on his return; induſtriouſly concealed from the knowledge of the king and queen every circumſtance relating to this important affair: that at laſt, without giving any notice to their majeſties, he had precipitately hurried the princeſs from Hampton-court, in the condition not to be named: and the whole tenour of his conduct, for a conſiderable time, had been ſo entirely void of all real duty to the king, that his majeſty had reaſon to be highly offended with him. He gave him to underſtand, that until he ſhould withdraw his regard and confidence from thoſe by whoſe inſtigation and advice he was directed and encouraged in this unwarrantable behaviour to his majeſty and the queen, and return to his duty, he ſhould not reſide in the palace: he therefore ſignified his pleaſure that he ſhould leave St. James's, with all his family, when it could be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the princeſs. In obedience to this order, the prince retired to Kew, and made other efforts to be re-admitted into his majeſty's favour, which, however, he could not retrieve. Whatever might have been his deſign in concealing ſo long from the king and queen the pregnancy of the princeſs, and afterwards hurrying her from place to place in ſuch a condition, to the manifeſt hazard of her life, his majeſty had certainly cauſe to be offended at this part of his conduct: though the puniſhment ſeems to have been ſevere, if not rigorous; for he was not even admitted into the preſence of the queen his mother, to expreſs his duty to her, in her laſt moments, to implore her forgiveneſs, and receive her laſt bleſſing. She died of a mortification in her bowels, on the 20th day of November, in the 55th year of her age, regretted as a princeſs of uncommon ſagacity, and as a pattern of conjugal virtue.

The king opened the ſeſſion of parliament on the 24th day of January, with a ſhort ſpeech, recommending the diſpatch of the public buſineſs with prudence and unanimity. Each houſe preſented a warm addreſs of condolance on the queen's death, with which he ſeemed to be extremely affected. Though the houſe of commons unanimouſly ſympathiſed with the king in his affliction, the miniſter ſtill met with contradiction in ſome of his favourite meaſures. One would imagine that all the arguments for and againſt a ſtanding army in time of peace had been already exhauſted; but when it was moved that the ſame number of land-forces which they had voted in the preceding year ſhould be continued in pay for the enſuing year the diſpute was renewed with ſurpriſing vivacity, and produced ſome reaſons which had not been ſuggeſted before. The adherents of the miniſter fairly owned that if the army ſhould be diſbanded, or even conſiderably reduced, they believed the tory intereſt would prevail: that the preſent number of forces was abſolutely neceſſary to maintain the peace of the kingdom, which was filled with clamour and diſcontent, as well to ſupport the whig intereſt; and that they would vote for keeping up four times the number, ſhould it be found expedient for that purpoſe. The members in the oppoſition replied, that this declaration was a ſevere ſatire on the miniſtry, whoſe conduct had given birth to ſuch a ſpirit of diſcontent. They ſaid it was in effect a tacit acknowledgment, that what they called the whig intereſt was no more than an inconſiderable party, which had engroſſed the adminiſtration by indirect methods; which acted contrary to the ſenſe of the nation; and depended for ſupport upon a military power, by which the people in general were over-awed, and conſequently enſlaved. They affirmed, that the diſcontent of which the miniſtry complained was in a great meaſure owing to that very ſtanding army, which perpetuated their taxes, and hung over their heads, as the inſtruments of arbitrary power and oppreſſion. Lord Polwarth explained the nature of whig principles, and demonſtrated that the party which diſtinguiſhed itſelf by this appellation no longer retained the maxims by which the whigs were originally characteriſed. Sir John Hynde Cotton, who then ſpoke with the courage and freedom of an old Engliſh baron, declared he never knew a member of that houſe who acted on true whig principles vote for a ſtanding army in time of peace. 'I have heard of whigs (ſaid he) who oppoſed all unlimited votes of credit: I have heard of whigs who looked upon corruption as the greateſt curſe that could befal any nation: I have heard of whigs who eſteemed the liberty of the preſs to be the moſt valuable privilege of a free people, and triennial parliaments as the greateſt bulwark of their liberties; and I have heard of a whig adminiſtration which has reſented injuries done to the trade of the nation, and revenged inſults offered to the Britiſh flag.' The miniſtry triumphed as uſual, and the ſame number of forces was continued.

Ever ſince the treaty of Seville, the Spaniards in America had almoſt inceſſantly inſulted and diſtreſſed the commerce of Great-Britain. They diſputed the right of Engliſh traders to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, and gather ſalt on the iſland of Tortugas; though that right was acknowledged by implication in all the treaties which had been lately concluded between the two nations. The captains of their armed veſſels, known by the name of guarda-coſtas had made a practice of boarding and plundering Britiſh ſhips, on pretence of ſearching for contraband commodities, on which occaſions they had behaved with the utmoſt inſolence, cruelty and rapine. Some of their ſhips of war had actually attacked a fleet of Engliſh merchant-ſhips of the iſland of Tortugas, as if they had been at open enmity with England. They had ſeized and detained a great number of Britiſh veſſels, impriſoned their crews, and confiſcated their cargoes, in violation of treaties, in defiance of common juſtice and humanity. Repeated memorials were preſented to the court of Spain, by the Britiſh ambaſſador at Madrid. He was amuſed with evaſive anſwers, vague promiſes of enquiry, and cedulas of inſtructions ſent to the Spaniſh governors in America, to which they paid no ſort of regard. Not but that the Spaniards had reaſon to complain, in their turn, of the illicit commerce which the Engliſh traders from Jamaica and other iſlands carried on with their ſubjects on the continent of South-

America: though this could not juſtify the depredations and cruelties which the commanders of the guarda-coſtas had committed, without provocation or pretence.

The merchants of England loudly complained of theſe outrages: the nation was fired with reſentment, and cried for vengeance; but the miniſter appeared cold, phlegmatic, and timorous. He knew that a war would involve him in ſuch difficulties as muſt of neceſſity endanger his adminiſtration. The treaſure which he now employed for domeſtic purpoſes muſt in that caſe be expended in military armaments: the wheels of that machine on which he had raiſed his influence would no longer move: the oppoſition would of conſequence gain ground, and the impoſition of freſh taxes, neceſſary for the maintenance of the war, would fill up the meaſure of popular reſentment againſt his perſon and miniſtry. Moved by theſe conſiderations, he induſtriouſly endeavoured to avoid a rupture, and to obtain ſome ſort of ſatisfaction by dint of memorials and negotiations, in which he betrayed his own fears to ſuch a degree as animated the Spaniards to perſiſt in their depredations, and encouraged the court of Madrid to diſregard the remonſtrances of the Britiſh ambaſſador. But his apprehenſion of war did not proceed from Spain only: the two branches of the houſe of Bourbon were now united by politics, as well as by conſanguinity; and he did not doubt, that in caſe of a rupture with Spain, they would join their forces againſt Great-Britain. Petitions were delivered to the houſe by merchans from different parts of the kingdom, explaining the repeated violences to which they had been expoſed, and imploring the relief of the parliament. Theſe were referred to a committee of the whole houſe; and an order was made to admit the petitioners, if they ſhould think fit to be heard by themſelves or by counſel. Sir John Barnard moved for an addreſs to the king, that all the memorials and papers relating to the Spaniſh depredations ſhould be laid before the houſe; and this with ſome alteration, propoſed by ſir Robert Walpole, was actually preſented. In compliance with the requeſt, an enormous multitude of letters and memorials was produced.

The houſe, in a grand committee, proceeded to hear counſel for the merchants, and examine evidence; by which it appeared that amazing acts of wanton cruelty and injuſtice had been perpetrated by Spaniards on the ſubjects of Great-Britain. Mr Pulteney expatiated upon the circumſtances of barbarity. He demonſtrated, from treaties, the right of the Britiſh traders to the logwood of Campeachy, and to the ſalt of Tortugas: he expoſed the puſillanimity of the miniſter, and the futility of his negotiations: he moved for ſuch reſolutions as would evince the reſentment of an injured nation, and the vigour of a Britiſh parliament. Theſe were warmly combated by ſir Robert Walpole, who affirmed they would cramp the miniſters in their endeavours to compromiſe theſe differences: that they would fruſtrate their negotiations, entrench upon the king's prerogative, and precipitate the nation into an unneceſſary and expenſive war. Anſwers produced replies, and a general debate enſued. A reſolution was reported; but the queſtion being put for recommitting it, was carried in the negative. The houſe, however, agreed to an addreſs, beſeeching his majeſty to uſe his endeavours to obtain effectual relief for his injured ſubjects, to convince the court of Spain that his majeſty could no longer ſuffer ſuch conſtant and repeated inſults and injuries to be carried on, to the diſhonour of his crown, and to the ruin of his trading ſubjects: and aſſuring him, that in caſe his royal and friendly inſtances with the catholic king ſhould miſcarry, the houſe would effectually ſupport his majeſty in taking ſuch meaſures as honour and juſtice ſhould make it neceſſary for him to purſue. To this addreſs the king made a favourable anſwer.

[1738] The next important ſubject on which both ſides exerciſed their talents, was a bill prepared and brought in by mr. Pulteney, for the more effectual ſecuring the trade of his majeſty's ſubjects in America. This was no other than the revival of part of two acts paſſed in the reign of queen Anne, by which the property of all prizes taken from the enemy was veſted in the captors: while the ſovereign was empowered to grant commiſſions or charters to any perſon or ſocieties, for taking any ſhips, goods, harbours, lands, or fortifications of the nation's enemies in America, and for holding and enjoying the ſame as their own property and eſtate for ever. The miniſtry endeavoured to evade the diſcuſſion of this bill, by amuſing the houſe with other buſineſs, until an end ſhould be put to the ſeſſion. A mean artifice was practiſed with this view; and ſome ſevere altercation paſſed between ſir Robert Walpole and mr. Pulteney. At length the bill was read, and gave riſe to a very long and warm conteſt, in which the greateſt orators of both ſides found opportunities to diſplay their eloquence and ſatire. Mr Pulteney defended the bill with all the ardour of paternal affection; but, notwithſtanding his warmeſt endeavours, it was rejected upon a diviſion.

When the mutiny-bill was ſent up to the houſe of lords, a long debate aroſe upon the number of troops voted for the enſuing year. Lord Carteret explained the ſituation of affairs, in almoſt every nation in Europe, with great conciſeneſs and preciſion. He demonſtrated the improbability of a rupture between Great-Britain and any power againſt which a land-army could be of any ſervice. He examined the domeſtic circumſtances of the nation; and proved, that whatever diſcontents there might be in the kingdom, there was little or no diſaffection, and no ſeeming deſign to overturn or diſturb the government. In anſwer to an argument, that ſuch a number of regular forces was neceſſary for preventing or quelling tumults, and for enabling the civil magiſtrate to execute the laws of his country, he expreſſed his hope that he ſhould never ſee the nation reduced to ſuch unfortunate circumſtances: he ſaid a law which the civil power was unable to execute muſt either be in itſelf oppreſſive; or ſuch a one as afforded a handle for oppreſſion. In arguing for a reduction of the forces, he took notice of the great increaſe of the national expence. He obſerved, that before the revolution, the people of England did not raiſe above two millions for the whole of the public charge; but now what was called the current expence, for which the parliament annually provided, exceeded that ſum, beſides the civil liſt, the intereſt due to the public creditors, and the ſinking-fund, which added together, compoſed a burthen of ſix millions yearly. The earl of Cheſterfield, on the ſame ſubject, affirmed that ſlavery and arbitrary power were the certain conſequences of keeping up a ſtanding army for any number of years. It is the machine by which the chains of ſlavery are riveted upon a free people. They may be ſecretly prepared by corruption; but unleſs a ſtanding army protected thoſe that forged them, the people would break them aſunder, and chop off the polluted hands by which they were perpared. By degrees a free people muſt be accuſtomed to be governed by an army: by degrees that army muſt be made ſtrong enough to hold them in ſubjection. England had for many years been accuſtomed to a ſtanding army, under pretence of its being neceſſary to aſſiſt the civil power; and by degrees the number and ſtrength of it have been increaſing. At the acceſſion of the late king it did not exceed 6000: it ſoon amounted to double that number, which has been ſince augmented under various pretences. He, therefore, concluded, that ſlavery, under the diſguiſe of an army for protecting the liberties of the people, was creeping in upon them by degrees: if no reduction ſhould be made, he declared he ſhould expect in few years to hear ſome miniſter, or favourite of a miniſter, terrifying the houſe with imaginary plots and invaſions, and making the tour of Europe in ſearch of poſſible dangers, to ſhow the neceſſity of keeping up a mercenery ſtanding army three times as numerous as the preſent. In ſpite of theſe ſuggeſtions, the ſtanding army maintained its ground. The ſame noblemen, aſſiſted by lord Bathurſt, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a debate upon the Spaniſh depredations, which comprehended the ſame arguments that were uſed in the houſe of commons. They met with the ſame ſucceſs in both. Reſolutions equivalent to thoſe of the lower-houſe were taken; an addreſs was preſented; and his majeſty aſſured them he would repeat, in the moſt preſſing manner, his inſtances at the court of Spain, in order to obtain ſatisfaction and ſecurity for his ſubjects trading to America. This aſſurance was renewed in the ſpeech at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, on the 20th of May, when the parliament was prorogued.

At this period the princeſs of Wales was delivered of a ſon, who was baptiſed by the name of George, now king of Great-Britain. His birth was celebrated with uncommon rejoicings: addreſſes of congratulation were preſented to the king by the two univerſities, and by almoſt all the cities and communities of the kingdom. But the prince of Wales ſtill laboured under the diſpleaſure of his majeſty, who had ordered the lord-chamberlain to ſignify in the Gazette, that no perſon who viſited the prince ſhould be admitted to the court of St. James's. His royal highneſs was diveſted of all the external marks of royalty, and lived like a private gentleman, cultivating the virtues of a ſocial life, and enjoying the beſt fruits of conjugal felicity. In the latter end of this month, rear-admiral Haddock ſet ſail with a ſtrong ſquadron for the Mediterranean, which it was hoped would give weight to the negotiation of the Britiſh miniſter at the

ourt of Madrid. The act to diſcourage the retail of ſpiritus liquors had incenſed the populace to ſuch a degree as occaſioned numberleſs tumults in the cities of London and Weſtminſter. They were ſo addicted to the uſe of that pernicious compound known by the appellation of gin or geneva, that they ran all riſques rather than forego it entirely; and ſo little regard was paid to the law by which it was prohibited, that in leſs than two years 12,000 perſons within the bills of mortality were convicted of having ſold it illegally. Nearly one-half of that number were caſt in the penalty of 100l. and 3000 perſons paid 10l. each, for an exemption from the diſgrace of being committed to the houſe of correction.

The war maintained by the emperor and the czarina againſt the Ottoman Porte had not yet produced any deciſive event. Count Seckendorf was diſgraced and confined, on account of the ill ſucceſs of the laſt campaign. General Doxat was tried by a council of war at Belgrade, and condemned to death, for having ſurrendered to the enemy the town of Niſſa, in which he commanded. The diet of the empire granted a ſubſidy of fifty Roman months to the emperor, who began to make vigorous preparations for the enſuing campaign: but, in the mean time, Ragotiki, vaivode of Tranſylvania, revolted againſt the houſe of Auſtria, and brought a conſiderable army into the field, under the protection of the grand ſignor. He was immediately proclaimed a rebel, and a price ſet upon his head by the court of Vienna. The Turks taking the field early, reduced the fort of Uſitza, and Meadia, and undertook the ſiege of Orſova, which, however, they abandoned at the approach of the imperial army, commanded by the grand duke of Tuſcany, aſſiſted by count Konigſegg. The Turks, being re-enforced, marched back, and attacked the imperialiſts, by whom they were repulſed after an obſtinate engagement. The Germans, notwithſtanding this advantage, repaſſed the Danube; and then the infidels made themſelves maſters of Orſova, where they found a fine train of artillery, deſigned for the ſiege of Widin. By the conqueſt of this place, the Turks laid the Danube open to their gallies and veſſels; and the Germans retired under the cannon of Belgrade. In the Ukraine, the Ruſſians under general count Munich obtained the advantage over the Turks in two engagements; and general Lacy routed the Tartars of the Crimea: but they returned in greater numbers, and harraſſed the Muſcovites in ſuch a manner, by intercepting their proviſions, and deſtroying the country, that they were obliged to abandon the lines of Precops.

In the month of October, an affair of very ſmall importance produced a rupture between the king of Denmark and the elector of Hanover. A detachment of Hanoverians took by aſſault the caſtle of Steinhorſt, belonging to the privy-counſellor Wederkop, and defended by thirty Daniſh dragoons, who had received orders to repel force by force. Several men were killed on both ſides, before the Hanoverians could enter the place, when the garriſon was diſarmed, and conducted to the frontiers. This petty diſpute, about a ſmall territory which did not yield the value of 1000l. a year, had well nigh involved Hanover in a war, which, in all probability, Great-Britain muſt have maintained: but this diſpute was compriſed by a convention between the kings of England and Denmark.

The ſeſſion of parliament was opened on the firſt day of February, when the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, gave them to underſtand, that a convention was concluded and ratified between him and the king of Spain, who had obliged himſelf to make reparation to the Britiſh ſubjects for their loſſes, by certain ſtipulated payments: the plenipotentiaries were named and appointed for regulating, within a limited time, all thoſe grievances and abuſes which had hitherto interrupted the commerce of Great-Britain in the American ſeas; and for ſettling all matters in diſpute, in ſuch a manner as might for the future prevent and remove all new cauſes and pretences of complaint. The motion for an addreſs of approbation was diſputed as uſual. Though the convention was not yet laid before the houſe, the nature of it was well known to the leaders of the oppoſition. Sir William Wyndham obſerved, that if the miniſtry had made the reſolutions taken by the parliament in the laſt ſeſſion the foundation of their demands; if they had diſcovered a reſolution to break off all treating, rather than depart from the ſenſe of parliament, either a defenſive treaty might have been obtained, or by this time the worſt would have been known: but, by what appeared from his majeſty's ſpeech, the convention was no other than a preliminary; and, in all probability, a very bad preliminary. He ſuppoſed the miniſter had ventured to clothe ſome of his creatures with full powers to give up the rights of the nation; for they might do it if they durſt. Sir Robert Walpole, in anſwer to theſe ſuggeſtions, affirmed, that the miniſtry had on this occaſion obtained more than ever on like occaſions was known to be obtained; that they had reconciled the peace of their country with her true intereſt that this peace was attended with all the advantages that the moſt ſucceſsful arms could have procured: that future ages would conſider this as the moſt glorious period of our hiſtory, and do juſtice to the councils that produced the happy event, which every gentleman diveſted of paſſion and prejudice was ready to do; and which, he believed, the preſent age, when rightly informed, would not refuſe. In a word, he extolled his own convention with the moſt extravagant encomiums.

The houſe reſolved to addreſs the king, that copies of all the memorials, repreſentations, letters, and papers, preſented to his majeſty, or his ſecretary of ſtate, relating to depredations ſhould be ſubmitted to the peruſal of the houſe: but ſome members in the oppoſition were not contented with this reſolution. Then mr. Sandys, who may, be termed the 'motion-maker,' moved for an addreſs, deſiring that the houſe might inſpect all letters written, and inſtructions given by the ſecretaries of ſtate, or commiſſioners of the admiralty, to any of the Britiſh governors of America, or any commander in chief, or captains of his majeſty's ſhips of war, or his majeſty's miniſter at the court of Spain, or any of his majeſty's conſuls in Europe, ſince the treaty of Seville, relating to loſſes which the Britiſh ſubjects had ſuſtained by means of depredations committed by the ſubjects of Spain in Europe and America. This was an unreaſonable propoſal, ſuggeſted by the ſpirit of animoſity and faction. Mr H. Walpole juſtly obſerved, that a compliance with ſuch an addreſs might lay open the moſt private tranſactions of the cabinet, and diſcover ſecrets that ought, for the good of the kingdom, to be concealed. It would diſcover to the court of Spain the ultimatum of the king's demands and conceſſions, and the nation would thereby be deprived of many advantages which it might reap, were no ſuch diſcovery made. He ſaid, that as ſoon as the differences betwixt the two courts ſhould arrive at ſuch a criſis, and not before, the conſuls were inſtructed to give notice to the merchants, that they might retire in time with their effects; but, ſhould ſuch inſtructions come to the knowledge of the Spaniards, it would be a kind of watch-word to put them on their guard, and unavoidably occaſion the ruin of many thouſands of Britiſh ſubjects. Certain it is, no government could act either in external or domeſtic affairs with proper influence, dignity, and diſpatch, if every letter and inſtruction relating to an unfiniſhed negotiation ſhould be expoſed to the view of ſuch a numerous aſſembly, compoſed of individuals actuated by motives in themſelves diametrically oppoſite. The motion being rejected by the majority, the ſame gentleman moved again for an addreſs, that his majeſty would give directions for laying before the houſe copies of ſuch memorials or repreſentations as had been made, either to the king of Spain or to his miniſters, ſince the treaty of Seville, relating to the depredations commmitted in Europe or America. A debate enſued; and, upon a diviſion, the queſtion paſſed in the negative.

The houſe, in a committee of ſupply, voted 12,000 ſeamen for the ſervice of the enſuing year, and the ſtanding army was continued without reduction, though powerfully attacked by the whole ſtrength of the oppoſition. The commons likewiſe ordered an addreſs to his majeſty, for the copies of ſeveral memorials ſince the treaty of Seville, touching the rights of Great-Britain, or any infraction of treaties which had not been laid before them. Theſe were accordingly ſubmitted to the inſpection of the houſe. By this time the convention itſelf was not only preſented to the commons, but alſo publiſhed for the information of the people. Divers merchants, planters, and others trading to America, the cities of London and Briſtol, the merchants of Liverpool, and the owners of ſundry ſhips which had been ſeiſed by the Spaniards, offered petitions againſt the convention, by which the ſubjects of Spain were ſo far from giving up their groundleſs and unjuſtifiable practice of viſiting and ſearching Britiſh ſhips ſailing to and from the Britiſh plantations, that they appeared to have claimed the power of doing it as a right: for they inſiſted that the differences which had ariſen concerning it ſhould be referred to plenipotentiaries, to be diſcuſſed by them, without even agreeing to abſtain from ſuch viſitation and ſearch during the time that the diſcuſſion of this affair might laſt. They, therefore, prayed that they might have an opportunity of being heard, and allowed to repreſent the great importance of the Britiſh trade to and from the plantations in America;

the clear indiſputable right which they had to enjoy it, without being ſtopped, viſited, or ſearched, by the Spaniards, on any pretence whatſoever; and the certain inevitable deſtruction of all the riches and ſtrength derived to Great-Britain from that trade, if a ſearch of Britiſh ſhips ſailing to and from their own plantations ſhould be tolerated upon any pretext, or under any reſtrictions, or even if the freedom of this navigation ſhould continue much longer in a ſtate of uncertainty. Theſe petitions were referred to the committee appointed to conſider of the covention. Another remonſtrance was likewiſe preſented by the truſtees for eſtabliſhing the colony of Georgia, ſetting forth, that the king of Spain claimed that colony as part of his territories; and that by the convention, the regulation of the limits of Carolina and Florida was referred to the determination of plenipotentiaries; ſo that the colony of Georgia, which undoubtedly belonged to the crown of Great-Britain, was left in diſpute, while the ſettlers remained in the moſt precarious and dangerous ſituation. It was moved that the merchants ſhould be heard by their counſel: but the propoſal was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by miniſtry, and rejected upon a diviſion.

This famous convention, concluded at the Pardo on the 14th day of January, imported, That within ſix weeks, to be reckoned from the day on which the ratifications were exchanged, two miniſters plenipotentiaris ſhould meet at Madrid, to confer and finally regulate the reſpective pretenſions of the two crowns, with relation to the trade and navigation in America and Europe and to the limits of Florida and Carolina, as well as concerning other points which remained likewiſe to be adjuſted, according to the former treaties ſubſiſting between the two nations; that the plenipotentiaries ſhould finiſh their conferrences within the ſpace of eight months: that in the mean time no progreſs ſhould be made in the fortifications of Florida and Carolina: that his catholic majeſty ſhould pay to the king of Great-Briton the ſum of 95,000l. for a balance due to the crown and ſubjects of Great-Britain, after deduction made of the demands of the crown and ſubjects of Spain: that this ſum ſhould be employed for the ſatisfaction, diſcharge, and payment of the demands of the Britiſh ſubjects upon the crown of Spain: that this reciprocal diſcharge, however, ſhould not extend or relate to the accounts and differences which ſubſiſted and were to be ſettled between the crown of Spain and the aſſiento company, nor to any particular or private contracts that might ſubſiſt between either of the two crowns, or their miniſters, with the ſubjects of the other; or between the ſubjects and ſubjects of each nation reſpectively: that his catholic majeſty ſhould cauſe the ſum of 95,000l. to be paid at London within four months, to be reckoned from the day on which the ratifications were exchanged. Such was the ſubſtance of that convention, which alarmed and provoked the merchants and traders of Great-Britain, excited the indignation of all thoſe who retained any regard for the honour of their country, and raiſed a general cry againſt the miniſter who ſtood at the helm of adminiſtration.

The eyes of the whole kingdom were now turned upon the houſe of commons. The two contending parties ſummoned their whole force for the approaching diſpute: on the day appointed for conſidering the convention, 400 members had taken their ſeats by eight in the morning. In a committee of the whole houſe, certain Weſt-India merchants and planters were heard againſt the convention: ſo that this and the following day were employed in reading papers and obtaining information. On the 8th day of March mr. H. Walpole having launched out in the praiſe of that agreement, moved for an addreſs of approbation to his majeſty. He was ſeconded by mr. Campbell, of Pembrokeſhire; and the debate began with extraordinary ardour. He who firſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the liſts was ſir Thomas Sanderſon, at that time treaſurer to the prince of Wales, afterwards earl of Scarborough. All the officers and adherents of his royal highneſs had joined the oppoſition; and he himſelf on this occaſion ſat in the gallery, to hear the debate on ſuch an important tranſaction. Sir Thomas Sanderſon obſerved, that the Spaniards by the convention, inſtead of giving us reparation, had obliged us to give them a general releaſe. They had not allowed the word 'Satisfaction' to be ſo much as once mentioned in the treaty. Even the Spaniſh pirate who had cut off the ear of captain Jenkins [e], and uſed the moſt inſulting expreſſion towards the perſon of the king—an expreſſion which no Britiſh ſubject could decently repeat—an expreſſion which no man that had regard for his ſovereign could ever forgive—even this fellow lived to enjoy the fruits of his rapine, and remained a living teſtimony of the cowardly tameneſs and mean ſubmiſſion of Great-Britain; of the triumphant haughtineſs, and ſtubborn pride of Spain. Lord Gage, one of the moſt keen, ſpirited, and ſarcaſtic orators in the houſe, ſtated in this manner the account of the ſatisfaction obtained from the court of Spain by the convention: the loſſes ſuſtained by the Spaniſh depredations amounted to 340,000l. The commiſſary, by a ſtroke of his pen, reduced this demand to 200,000l. then 45,000l. were ſtruc off for prompt payment. He next allotted 60,000l. as the remaining part of a debt pretended to be due to Spain, for the deſtruction of her fleet by ſir George Byng, though it appeared by inſtructions on the table, that Spain had been already amply ſatisfied on that head. Theſe deductions reduced the balance to 95,000l. but the king of Spain inſiſted upon the South-ſea company's paying immediately the ſum of 68,000l. as a debt due to him on one head of accounts, though, in other articles, his catholic majeſty was indebted to the company a million over and above this demand. The remainder to be paid by Spain did not exceed 27,000l. from which ſhe inſiſted upon deducting whatever ſhe might have already given in ſatisfaction for any of the Britiſh ſhips that had been taken; and on being allowed the value of the St. Thereſa, a Spaniſh ſhip which had been ſeized in the port of Dublin. Mr. W. Pitt, with an energy of argument and diction, peculiar to himſelf, declaimed againſt the convention, as inſecure, unſatisfactory, and diſhonourable to Great-Britain. He ſaid the great national objection, the ſearching of Britiſh ſhips, was not admitted, indeed, in the preamble; but ſtood there as the reproach of the whole, as the ſtrongeſt evidence of the fatal ſubmiſſion that followed: on the part of Spain, an uſurpation, an inhuman tyranny claimed and exerciſed over the American ſeas: on the part of England, an undoubted right by treaties, and from God and nature declared and aſſerted in the reſolutions of parliament, were now referred to the diſcuſſion of plenipotentiaries, upon one and the ſame equal foot. This undoubted right was to be diſguiſſed and regulated; and if to regulate be to preſcribe rules, as in all conſtruction it is, that right was, by the expreſs words of the convention to be given up and ſacrificed: for it muſt ceaſe to be any thing from the moment it is ſubmitted to limitation. Mr Lyttelton, with equal force and fluency, anſwered the ſpeech of mr. H. Walpole. 'After he had uſed many arguments to perſuade us to peace (ſaid he) to any peace, good or bad, by pointing out the dangers of a war, dangers I by no means allow to be ſuch as he repreſents them, he crowned all thoſe terrors with the name of the pretender. It would be the cauſe of the pretender. The pretender would come. Is the honourable gentleman ſenſible what this language imports? The people of England complain of the greateſt wrongs and indignities: they complain of the interruption, the deſtruction of their trade: they think the peace has left them in a worſe condition than before; and in anſwer to all theſe complaints, what are they told? why, that their continuing to ſuffer all this, is the price they muſt pay to keep the king and his family on the throne of theſe realms. If this were true, it ought not be owned; but it is far from truth; the very reverſe is true. Nothing can weaken the family; nothing ſhake the eſtabliſhment, but ſuch meaſures as theſe, and ſuch language as this.' He affirmed, that if the miniſters had proceeded conformably to the intentions of parliament, they would either have acted with vigour, or have obtained a real ſecurity in an expreſs acknowledgement of our right not to be ſearched, as a preliminary, ſine qua non, to our treating at all. Inſtead of this, they had referred it to plenipotentiaries. 'Would you, ſir, (ſaid he) ſubmit to a reference, whether you may travel unmoleſted from your houſe in town to your

[e] Captain Jenkins was maſter of a Scottiſh merchant ſhip. He was boarded by the captain of a Spaniſh guarda-coſtas, who treated him in the moſt barbarous manner. The Spaniards, after having rummaged his veſſel for what they called contraband commodities, without finding any thing to juſtify their ſearch, inſulted Jenkins with the moſt opprobrious invectives. They tore off one of his ears, bidding him carry it to his king, and tell him they would ſerve him in the ſame manner ſhould an opportunity offer: they tortured him with the moſt ſhocking cruelty, and threatened him with immediate death. This man was examined at the bar of the houſe of commons, and being aſked by a member, what he thought when he found himſelf in the hands of ſuch barbarians? 'I recommended my ſoul to God (ſaid he) and my cauſe to my country.' The behaviour of this brave ſeaman, the ſight of his ear, which was produced, with his account of the indignities which had been offered to the nation and ſovereign of Great-Britain, filled the whole houſe with indignation. Jenkins was afterwards employed in the ſervice of the Eaſt-India company: he approved himſelf worthy of his good fortune, in a long engagement with the pirate Angria, during which he behaved with extraordinary courage and conduct; and ſaved his own ſhip, with three others that were under his convoy.

houſe in the country? Your right is clear and undeniable, why would you have it diſcuſſed; but much leſs would you refer it; if two of your judges belonged to a gang which has often ſtopped and robbed you in your way thither before.' The miniſters, in vindication of the convention, aſſered, that the ſatisfaction granted by Spain was adequate to the injury received: that it was only the preliminary of a treaty which would remove all cauſes of complaint: that war was always expenſive and detrimental to a trading nation, as well as uncertain in its events: that France and Spain would certainly join their forces in caſe of a rupture with Great-Britain that there was not one power in Europe upon which the Engliſh could depend for effectual aſſiſtance; and that war would favour the cauſe and deſigns of a popiſh pretender. The houſe, upon a diviſion, agreed to the addreſs; but when a motion was made for its being recommitted, the two parties renewed the engagement with redoubled eagerneſs and impetuoſity. Sir William Wyndham and mr. Pulteney poured all the thunder of their eloquence againſt the inſolence of Spain, and the conceſſions of the Britiſh miniſtry. Sir Robert Walpole exerted all his fortitude and dexterity in defence of himſelf and his meaſures, and the queſtion being put, the reſolutions for the addreſs were carried by a ſmall majority.

Then ſir William Wyndham ſtanding up, made a pathetic remonſtrance upon this determination. 'This addreſs (ſaid he) is intended to convince mankind, that the treaty under our conſideration is a reaſonable and an honourable treaty. But if a majority of 28 in ſuch a full houſe ſhould fail of that ſucceſs; if the people ſhould not implicitly reſign their reaſon to a vote of this houſe, what will be the conſequence? Will not the parliament loſe its authority? Will it not be thought, that even in the parliament we are governed by a faction? and what the conſequence of this may be, I leave to thoſe gentlemen to conſider, who are now to give their vote for this addreſs: for my own part, I will trouble you no more; but, with theſe my laſt words, I ſincerely pray to Almighty God, who has ſo often wonderfully protected theſe kingdoms, that he will graciouſly continue his protection over them, by preſerving us from that impending danger which threatens the nation from without, and likewiſe from the impending danger which threaten our conſtitution from within.' The miniſter was on this occaſion deſerted by his uſual temper, and even provoked into perſonal abuſe. He declared, that the gentleman who was now the mouth of his opponents had been looked upon as the head of thoſe traitors, who 25 years before conſpired the deſtruction of their country and of the royal family, in order to ſet a popiſh pretender upon the throne: that he was ſeized by the vigilence of the then government, and pardoned by its clemency, but all the uſe he had ungratefully made of that clemency, was to qualify himſelf according to law, that he and his party might ſome time or other have an opportunity to overthrow all law. He branded them all as traitors, and expreſſed his hope, that their behaviour would unite all the true friends of the preſent happy eſtabliſhment. To ſuch a degree of mutual animoſity were both ſides inflamed, that the moſt eminent members of the minority actually retired from parliament; and were by the nation in general revered as martyrs to the liberty of the people.

The diſpute occaſioned by the convention in the houſe of lords, was maintained with equal warmth, and perhaps with more abilities. After this famous treaty had been conſidered, lord Carteret ſuggeſted, that poſſibly one of the contracting powers had preſented a proteſt or declaration, importing that ſhe acceded to ſuch or ſuch a meaſure, only upon condition that the terms of that proteſt or declaration ſhould be made good. He ſaid, that until his mind ſhould be free from the moſt diſtant ſuſpicion that ſuch paper might exiſt in the preſent caſe, he could not form a juſt opinion of the tranſaction himſelf, nor communicate to their lordſhips any light which might be neceſſary for that purpoſe. The adherents to the miniſtry endeavoured to evade his curioſity in this particular, by general aſſertions: but he inſiſted on his ſuſpicion with ſuch perſeverance, that at length the miniſtry produced the copy of a declaration made by the king of Spain before he ratified the convention, ſignifying that his catholic majeſty reſerved to himſelf, in its full force, the right of being able to ſuſpend the aſſiento of negroes, in caſe the company ſhould not pay within a ſhort time the ſum of 68,000l. ſterling, owing to Spain on the duty of negroes, or on the profit of the ſhip Caroline: That under the validity and force of this proteſt, the ſigning of the ſaid convention might be proceeded on, and in no other manner. In the debate that enſued, lord Carteret diſplayed a ſurpriſing extent of political knowledge, recommended by all the graces of elocution, chaſe, pure, dignified, and delicate. Lord Bathurſt argued againſt the articles of convention with his uſual ſpirit, integrity, and good ſenſe, particularly animated by an honeſt indignation, which the wrongs of his country had inſpired. The earl of Cheſterfield attacked this inglorious meaſure with all the weight of argument, and all the poignancy of ſatire. The duke of Argyle, no longer a partiſan of the miniſtry, inveighed againſt it as infamous, treacherous and deſtructive, with all the fire, impetuoſity, and enthuſiaſm of declamation. It was defended with unequal arms by the duke of Newcaſtle, the earl of Cholmondley, lord Harvey, the lord-chancellor, the Biſhop of Saliſbury, and in particular by the earl of Ilay, a nobleman of extenſive capacity and uncommon erudition; remarkable for his knowledge of the civil law, and ſeemingly formed by nature for a politician; cool, diſcerning, plauſible, artful, and enterpriſing; ſtanch to the miniſter, and invariably true to his own intereſt. The diſpute was learned, long, and obſtinate: but ended as uſual in the diſcomfiture of thoſe who had ſtigmatiſed the treaty. The houſe agreed to an addreſs, in which they thanked his majeſty for his gracious condeſcenſion in laying before them the convention. They acknowledged his great prudence in bringing the demands of his ſubjects for the paſt loſſes, which had been ſo long depending, to a final adjuſtment; in procuring an expreſs ſtipulation for a ſpeedy payment; and in laying a foundation for accompliſhing the great and deſireable ends of obtaining future ſecurity, and preſerving the peace between the two nations. They declared their confidence in his royal wiſdom, that in the treaty to be concluded in purſuance of the convention, proper proviſions would be made for the redreſs of the grievances of which the nation had ſo juſtly complained: they aſſured his majeſty, that in caſe his juſt expectations ſhould not be anſwered, the houſe would heartily and zealouſly concur in all ſuch meaſures as ſhould be neceſſary to vindicate his majeſty's honour, and to preſerve to his ſubjects the full enjoyment of all thoſe rights to which they were entitled by treaty and the law of nations. This was a hard-won victory. At the head of thoſe who voted againſt the addreſs we find the prince of Wales. His example was followed by ſix dukes, 22 earls, 4 viſcounts 18 barons, 4 biſhops, and their party was re-enforced by 16 proxies. A ſpirited proteſt was entered and ſubſcribed by 39 peers, comprehending all the noblemen of the kingdom who were moſt eminent for their talants, integrity, and virtue.

[1739] A meſſage having been delivered to the houſe from his majeſty, importing, That he had ſettled 39,000l. per annum on the younger children of the royal family; and deſiring their lordſhips would bring in a bill to enable his majeſty to make that proviſion good, out of the hereditary revenues of the crown, ſome lords in the oppoſition obſerved that the next heir to the crown might look upon this ſettlement as a mortgage of his revenue, which a parliament had no power to make: that formerly no daughter of the royal family was ever provided for by parliament, except the eldeſt, and that never was by way of annuity, but an expreſs proviſion of a determinate ſum of money paid by way of dowry. Theſe objections were over-ruled; and the houſe complied with his majeſty's requeſt. Then the duke of Newcaſtle produced a ſubſidy-treaty, by which his majeſty obliged himſelf to pay to the king of Denmark 70,000l. per annum, on condition of the Dane's furniſhing to his Britannic majeſty a body of 6000 men, when demanded. At the ſame time, his grace delivered a meſſage from the king, deſiring the houſe would enable him to fulfil his engagement; and alſo to raiſe what money and troops the exigency of affairs, during the approaching receſs, might require. Another vehement diſpute aroſe from this propoſal. With reſpect to the treaty, lord Carteret obſerved, that no uſe could be made of the Daniſh troops in any expedition undertaken againſt Spain, becauſe it was ſtipulated in the treaty, that they ſhould not be uſed either in Italy, or on board of the fleet, or be tranſported in whole or in part beyond the ſea, after they ſhould have marched out of the territories of Denmark, except for the defence of the kingdoms of Great-Britain and Ireland: nay, ſhould France join againſt the Engliſh, the Danes could not act againſt that power or Spain, except as part of an army formed in Germany or Flanders. This body of Danes may be ſaid, therefore, to have been retained for the defence and protection of Hanover: or, if the intereſt of Britain was at all conſulted in the treaty, it muſt have been in preventing the Danes from joining their fleets to thoſe of France

and Spain. Then he argued againſt the ſecond part of the meſſage with great vivacity. He ſaid nothing could be more dangerous to the conſtitution than a general and unlimited vote of credit. Such a demand our anceſtors would have heard with amazement, and rejected with ſcorn. He affirmed that the practice was but of a modern date in England: that it was never heard of before the revolution; and never became frequent until the nation was bleſſed with the preſent wiſe adminiſtration. He ſaid, if ever a general vote of credit and confidence ſhould become a cuſtomary compliment from the parliament to the crown at the end of every ſeſſion, or as often as the miniſter might think fit to deſire it, parliaments would grow deſpicable in the eyes of the people: then a proclamation might be eaſily ſubſtituted in its ſtead, and happy would it be for the nation if that ſhould be ſufficient; for when a parliament ceaſes to be a check upon miniſters, it becomes an uſeleſs and unneceſſary burthen on the people. The repreſentatives muſt always be paid ſome way or other: if their wages are not paid openly and ſurely by their reſpective conſtituents, as they were formerly, a majority of them may in future times be always ready to accept of wages from the adminiſtration, and theſe muſt come out of the pockets of the people. The duke of Argyle and the earl of Cheſterfield enlarged upon the ſame topics. Nevertheleſs, the houſe complied with the meſſage; and preſented an addreſs, in which they not only approved of the treaty with Denmark, but likewiſe aſſured his majeſty they would concur with his meaſures, and ſupport him in fulfilling his engagements, as well as in making ſuch further augmentation of his forces by ſea and land, as he ſhould think neceſſary for the honour, intereſt, and ſafety of theſe kingdoms.

The ſame meſſage being communicated to the commons, they voted 70,583l. for the ſubſidy to Denmark, and 500,000l. for augmenting the forces on any emergency. As Great-Britain ſtood engaged by the convention to pay to the crown of Spain the ſum of 60,000l. in conſideration of the ſhips taken and deſtroyed by ſir George Byng, which ſum was to be applied to the relief of the Britiſh merchants who had ſuffered by the Spaniſh depredations, the commons inſerted in a bill a clauſe, providing for this ſum to be paid by the parliament. When the bill was read in the houſe of lords a motion was made by lord Bathurſt for an addreſs, to know, whether Spain had paid the money ſtipulated by the convention, as the time limited for the payment of it was now expired? The duke of Newcaſtle, by his majeſty's permiſſion, acquainted the houſe, that it was not paid; and that Spain had as yet given no reaſon for the non-payment. Then a day was appointed to conſider the ſtate of the nation, when lord Carteret moved for a reſolution, that the failure of Spain in this particular was a breach of the convention, a high indignity to his majeſty, and an injuſtice to the nation: but after a warm debate, this motion was over-ruled by the majority. The miniſter, in order to atone in ſome meaſure for the unpopular ſtep he had taken in the convention, allowed a ſalutary law to paſs for the encouragement of the woolen manufacture; and two bills in behalf of the ſugar colonies, one permitting them, for a limited time, to export their produce directly to foreign parts, under proper reſtrictions; and the other making more effectual proviſions for ſecuring the duties laid upon the importation of foreign ſugars, rum, and melaſſes into Great-Britain, and his majeſty's plantations in America. The ſupplies being voted, the funds eſtabliſhed, and the crown gratified in every particular, the king cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech on the 14th day of June, when the chancellor in his majeſty's name prorogued the parliament. [f]

Letters of marque and repriſal were granted againſt the Spaniards: a promotion was made of general-officers: the troops were augmented: a great fleet was aſſembled at Spithead; a re-enforcement ſent out to admiral Haddock; and an embargo laid on all merchant ſhips outward bound. Notwithſtanding theſe preparations of war, mr. Keen, the Britiſh miniſter at Madrid, declared to the court of Spain, that his maſter, although he had permitted his ſubjects to make repriſals, would not be underſtood to have broken the peace; and that this permiſſion would be recalled as ſoon as his catholic majeſty ſhould be diſpoſed to make the ſatisfaction which had been ſo juſtly demanded. He was given to underſtand, that the king of Spain looked upon thoſe repriſals as acts of hoſtility; and that he hoped, with the aſſiſtance of heaven and his allies, he ſhould be able to ſupport a good cauſe againſt his adverſaries. He publiſhed a manifeſto in juſtification of his own conduct, complaining that admiral Haddock had received orders to cruiſe with his ſquadron between the capes St. Vincent and St. Mary, in order to ſurpriſe the aſſogue ſhips; that letters of repriſal had been publiſhed at London, in an indecent ſtyle, and even carried into execution in different parts of the world. He excuſed his non-payment of the 95,000l. ſtipulated in the convention, by affirming that the Britiſh court had firſt contravened the articles of that treaty, by the orders ſent to Haddock; by continuing to fortify Georgia, by re-enforcing the ſquadron at Jamaica; and by eluding the payment of the 68,000l. due to Spain from the South-ſea company, on the aſſiento for negroes. The French ambaſſador at the Hague, declared that the king his maſter was obliged by treaties to aſſiſt his catholic majeſty by ſea and land, in caſe he ſhould be attacked; he diſſuaded the ſtates-general from eſpouſing the quarrel of Great-Britain, and they aſſured him they would obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, though they could not avoid furniſhing his Britannic majeſty with ſuch ſuccours as he could demand, by virtue of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two powers. The people of England were inſpired with uncommon alacrity at the near proſpect of war, for which they had ſo long clamoured; and the miniſtry ſeeing it unavoidable, began to be earneſt and effectual in their preparations.

The events of war were ſtill unfavourable to the emperor. He had beſtowed the command of his army upon Velt-mareſchal count Wallis, who aſſembled his forces in the neighbourhood of Belgrade, and advanced towards Crotſka, where he was attacked by the Turks with ſuch impetuoſity and perſeverance, that he was obliged to give ground, after a long and obſtinate engagement, in which he loſt above 6000 men. The earl of Crawford, who ſerved as a volunteer in the imperial army, ſignalized his courage in an extraordinary manner on this occaſion, and received a dangerous wound, of which he never perfectly recovered. The Turks were afterwards worſted at Jabouka; nevertheleſs, their grand army inveſted Belgrade on the ſide of Servia, and carried on the operations of the ſiege with extraordinary vigour. The emperor, dreading the loſs of this place, ſeeing his finances exhauſted, and his army conſiderably diminiſhed, conſented to a negotiation for peace, which was tranſacted under the mediation of the French ambaſſador at the Ottoman Porte. The count de Neuperg, as imperial plenipotentiary, ſigned the preliminaries on the 1ſt day of September. They were ratified by the emperor, though he pretended to be diſſatisfied with the articles; and declared that his miniſter had exceeded his powers. By this treaty the houſe of Auſtria ceded to the grand ſignor Belgrade, Sabatz, Servia, Auſtrian Walachia, the iſle and fortreſs of Orſova, with the fort of St. Elizabeth; and the contracting powers agreed that the Danube and the Saave ſhould ſerve as boundaries to the two empires. The emperor publiſhed a circular letter, addreſſed to his miniſters at all the courts in Europe, blaming count Wallis for the bad ſucceſs of the laſt campaign, and diſowning the negotiations of count Neuperg: nay, theſe two officers were actually diſgraced, and confined in different caſtles. This, however, was no other than a ſacrifice to the reſentment of the czarina, who loudly complained, that the emperor had concluded a ſeparate peace, contrary to his engagements with the Ruſſian empire. Her general, count Munich, had obtained a victory over the Turks at Choczim in Moldavia, and made himſelf maſter of that place, in which he found 200 pieces of artillery: but the country was ſo ruined by the incurſions of the Tartars, that the Muſcovites could not ſubſiſt in it during the winter. The czarina finding herſelf abandoned by the emperor, and unable to cope with the whole power of the Ottoman empire, took the firſt opportunity of putting an end to the war upon honourable terms. After a ſhort negotiation, the conferences ended in a treaty, by which ſhe was left in poſſeſſion of Aſoph, on

[f] Among the laws enacted in the courſe of this ſeſſion was an act againſt gaming, which had become univerſal through all ranks of people, and likely to prove deſtructive of all morals, induſtry, and ſentiments. Another bill paſſed, for granting a reward to Joanna Stevens, on her diſcovering, for the benefit of the public, a noſtrum for the cure of perſons afflicted with the ſtone; a medicine which has by no means anſwered the expectations of the legiſlature.

In the houſe of lords complaint was made by lord Delawar of a ſatire, intituled, Manners, written by mr. Whitehead; in which ſome characters of diſtinction were ſeverely laſhed, in the true ſpirit of poetry. It was voted a libel; a motion was made to take the author into cuſtody: but he having withdrawn himſelf, the reſentment of the houſe fell upon R. Dodſley, the publiſher of the work, who was committed to the uſher of the black rod, though lord Carteret, the earl of Abingdon, and lord Talbot, ſpoke in his behalf.

condition that its fortifications ſhould be demoliſhed; and the ancient limits were re-eſtabliſhed between the two empires.

A rupture between Great-Britain and Spain was now become inevitable. The Engliſh ſquadron in the Mediterranean had already made prize of two rich Carracca ſhips. The king had iſſued orders for augmenting his land-forces, and raiſing a body of marines: and a great number of ſhips of war were put in commiſſion. Admiral Vernon had been ſent to the Weſt-Indies, to aſſume the command of the ſquadron in thoſe ſeas; and to annoy the trade and ſettlements of the Spaniards. This gentleman had rendered himſelf conſiderable in the houſe of commons, by loudly condemning all the meaſures of the miniſtry, and bluntly ſpeaking his ſentiments, whatever they were, without reſpect of perſons, and ſometimes without any regard to decorum. He was counted a good officer, and this boiſterous manner ſeemed to enhance his character. As he had once commanded a ſquadron in Jamaica, he was perfectly well acquainted with thoſe ſeas; and in a debate upon the Spaniſh depredations, he chanced to affirm, that Porto-Bello, on the Spaniſh main, might be eaſily taken: nay, he even undertook to reduce it with ſix ſhips only. This offer was echoed from the mouths of all the members in the oppoſition. Vernon was extolled as another Drake or Raleigh: he became the idol of a party, and his praiſe reſounded from all corners of the kingdom. The miniſter, in order to appeaſe the clamours of the people on this ſubject, ſent him as commander in chief to the Weſt-Indies. He was pleaſed with an opportunity to remove ſuch a troubleſome cenſor from the houſe of commons; and perhaps, he was not without hope, that Vernon would diſgrace himſelf and his party, by failing in the exploit he had undertaken. His catholic majeſty having ordered all the Britiſh ſhips in his harbours to be ſeiſed and detained, the king of England would keep meaſures with him no longer, but denounced war againſt him on the 23d day of October. Many Engliſh merchants began to equip privateers, and arm the trading veſſels, to protect their own commerce, as well as to diſtreſs that of the enemy. The ſeſſion of parliament was opened in November, when the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, declared that he had augmented his forces by ſea and land, purſuant to the power veſted in him by parliament for the ſecurity of his dominions, the protection of trade, and the annoyance of the enemy; and he expreſſed his apprehenſion, that the heats and animoſities which had been induſtriouſly fomented throughout the kingdom encouraged Spain to act in ſuch a manner as rendered it neceſſary for him to have recourſe to arms. In anſwer to this ſpeech, affectionate addreſſes were preſented by both houſes, without any conſiderable oppoſition.

The ſeceding members had again reſumed their ſeats in the houſe of commons; and mr. Pulteney thought proper to vindicate the extraordinary ſtep which they had taken. He ſaid, they thought that ſtep was neceſſary, as affairs then ſtood, for clearing their characters to poſterity from the imputation of ſitting in an aſſembly where a determined majority gave a ſanction to meaſures evidently to the diſgrace of his majeſty and the nation. He obſerved, that their conduct was ſo fully juſtified by the declaration of war againſt Spain, that any further vindication would be ſuperfluous; for every aſſertion contained in it had been almoſt in the ſame words inſiſted upon by thoſe who oppoſed the convention: 'every ſentence in it (added he) is an echo of what was ſaid in our reaſoning againſt that treaty: every poſitive truth which the declaration lays down was denied with the utmoſt confidence by thoſe who ſpoke for the convention; and, ſince that time, there has not one event happened which was not then foreſeen and foretold.' He propoſed, that in maintaining the war, the Spaniſh ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies ſhould be attacked; and that the miniſtry ſhould not have the power to give up the conqueſt that might be made. He ſaid he heartily wiſhed, for his majeſty's honour and ſervice, that no mention had been made of heats and animoſities in the king's ſpeech; and gave it as his opinion, that they ſhould take no notice of that clauſe in their addreſs. He was anſwered by ſir Robert Walpole, who took occaſion to ſay, he was in no great concern leſt the ſervice of his majeſty or the nation ſhould ſuffer by the abſence of thoſe members who had quitted the houſe: he affirmed the nation was generally ſenſible, that the many uſeful and popular acts which paſſed towards the end of the laſt ſeſſion were greatly forwarded and facilitated by the ſeceſſion of thoſe gentlemen; and, if they were returned only to oppoſe and perplex, he ſhould not be at all ſorry to ſee them recede again.

Mr Pulteney revived the bill which he had formerly prepared for the encouragement of ſeamen. After a long diſpute and eager oppoſition by the miniſtry, it paſſed both houſes, and obtained the royal aſſent. Mr Sandys having obſerved, that there could be no immediate uſe for a great number of forces in the kingdom; and explained how little ſervice could be expected from raw and undiſciplined men; propoſed an addreſs to the king, deſiring that the body of marines ſhould be compoſed of drafts from the old regiments: that as few officers ſhould be appointed as the nature of the caſe would permit; and he expreſſed his hope, that the houſe would recommend this method to his majeſty, in tender compaſſion to his people, already burthened with many heavy and grievous taxes. This ſcheme was repugnant to the intention of the miniſtry, whoſe aim was to increaſe the number of their dependents, and extend their parliamentary intereſt, by granting a great number of commiſſions. The propoſal was, therefore, after a long debate, rejected by the majority. Motions were made for an enquiry into the conduct of thoſe who concluded the convention; but they were over-ruled. The penſion-bill was revived, and ſo powerfully ſupported by the eloquence of ſir William Wyndham, mr. Pulteney, and mr. Littelton, that it made its way through the commons to the upper houſe, where it was again loſt, upon a diviſion, after a very long debate. As the ſeamen of the kingdom expreſſed uncommon averſion to the ſervice of the government, and the fleet could not be manned without great difficulty, the miniſtry prepared a bill, which was brought in by ſir Charles Wager, for regiſtering all ſeamen, watermen, fiſhermen, and lightermen, throughout his majeſty's dominions. Had this bill paſſed into a law, a Britiſh ſailor would have been reduced to the moſt abject degree of ſlavery: had he removed from a certain diſtrict allotted for the place of his reſidence, he would have been deemed a deſerter, and puniſhed accordingly: he muſt have appeared, when ſummoned, at all hazards, whatever might have been the circumſtances of his family, or the ſtate of his private affairs: had he been incumbered with debt, he muſt either have incurred the penalties of this law, or lain at the mercy of his creditors: had he acquired by induſtry, or received by inheritance, an ample fortune, he would have been liable to be torn from his poſſeſſions, and ſubjected to hardſhips which no man would endure but from the ſenſe of fear or indigence. The bill was ſo vigorouſly oppoſed by ſir John Barnard and others, as a flagrant encroachment on the liberties of the people, that the houſe rejected it on the ſecond reading.

The king having by meſſage communicated to the houſe his intenſion of diſpoſing the princeſs Mary in marriage to prince Frederick of Heſſe; and expreſſing his hope, that the commons would enable him to give a ſuitable portion to his daughter; they unanimouſly reſolved to grant 40,000l. for that purpoſe; and preſented an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty, for having communicated to the houſe this intended marriage. On the 13th day of March a ſhip arrived from the Weſt-Indies, diſpatched by admiral Vernon, with an account of his having taken Porto-Bello, on the iſthmus of Darien, with ſix ſhips only, and demoliſhed all the fortification of the place. The Spaniards acted with ſuch puſillanimity on this occaſion, that their forts were taken almoſt without bloodſhed. The two houſes of parliament joined in an addreſs of congratulation upon this ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms; and the nation in general was wonderfully elated by an exploit which was magnified much above its merit. The commons granted every thing the crown thought proper to demand. They provided for 28,000 land-forces, beſides 6000 marines. They enabled his majeſty to equip a very powerful navy; they voted the ſubſidy to the king of Denmark; and they empowered their ſovereign to defray certain extraordinary expences not ſpecified in the eſtimates. To anſwer theſe uncommon grants, they impoſed a land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound; and enabled his majeſty to deduct 1200,000l. from the ſinking-fund; in a word, the expence of the war, during the courſe of the enſuing year amounted to about four millions. The ſeſſion was cloſed on the 29th day of April, when the king thanked the commons for the ſupplies they had ſo liberally granted, and recommended union and moderation to both houſes.

[1740] During the greateſt part of this winter, the poor had been grievouſly afflicted in conſequence of a ſevere froſt, which began at Chriſtmas and continued till the latter end of February. The river Thames was covered with ſuch a cruſt of ice, that a multitude of people dwelled upon it in tents, and a great number of booths were erected for the entertainment of the populace. The navigation was entirely ſtopped: the watermen and fiſhermen were diſabled

from earning a livelihood: the fruits of the earth were deſtroyed by the cold, which was ſo extreme, that many perſons were chilled to death; and this calamity was the more deeply felt, as the poor could not afford to ſupply themſelves with coals and fuel, which were advanced in price, in proportion to the ſeverity and continuance of the froſt. The lower claſs of labourers, who worked in the open air, were now deprived of all means of ſubſiſtence: many kinds of manufactures were laid aſide, becauſe it was found impracticable to carry them on. The price of all ſorts of proviſion roſe almoſt to a dearth: even water was ſold in the ſtreets of London. In this ſeaſon of diſtreſs, many wretched families muſt have periſhed by cold and hunger, had not thoſe of opulent fortunes, been inſpired with remarkable ſpirit of compaſſion and humanity. Nothing can more redound to the honour of the Engliſh nation, than did thoſe inſtances of benevolence and well conducted charity which were then exhibited. The liberal hand was not only opened to the profeſſed beggar, and the poor that owned their diſtreſs: but uncommon pains were taken to find out and relieve thoſe more unhappy objects, who from motives of falſe pride, or ingenuous ſhame, endeavoured to conceal their miſery. Theſe were aſſiſted almoſt in their own deſpite. The ſolitary habitations of the widow, the fatherleſs, and the unfortunate, were viſited by the beneficent, who felt for the woes of their fellow-creatures; and, to ſuch as refuſed to receive a portion of the public charity, the neceſſaries of life were privately conveyed, in ſuch a manner as could leaſt ſhoc the delicacy of their diſpoſitions.

In the beginning of May, the king of Great-Britain ſet out for Hanover, after having appointed a regency, and concerted vigorous meaſures for diſtreſſing the enemy. In a few days after his departure, the eſpouſals of the princeſs Mary were celebrated by proxy, the duke of Cumberland repreſenting the prince of Heſſe, and in June, the princeſs embarked for the continent. About the ſame time, a ſloop arrived in England with diſpatches from admiral Vernon, who, ſince his adventure at Porto-Bello, had bombarded Carthagena, and taken the fort of San Lorenzo, on the the river of Chagre, in the neighbourhood of his former conqueſt. This month was likewiſe marked by the death of his Pruſſian majeſty, a prince by no means remarkable for great or amiable qualities. He was ſucceeded on the throne by Frederick his eldeſt ſon, the late king of that realm, who has ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a warrior and legiſlator. In Auguſt the king of Great-Britain concluded a treaty with the landgrave of Heſſe, who engaged to furniſh him with a body of 6000 men for four years, in conſideration of an annual ſubſidy of 250,000 crowns.

Mean while, preparations of war were vigorouſly carried on by the miniſtry in England. They had wiſely reſolved to annoy the Spaniards in their American poſſeſſions. Three ſhips of war cruiſing in the bay of Biſcay, fell in with a large Spaniſh ſhip of the line ſtrongly manned, and took her after a very obſtinate engagement: but the aſſogue ſhips arrived, with the treaſure in Spain, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the Engliſh commanders, who were ſtationed in a certain latitude to intercept that flota. One camp was formed on Hounſlow-heath; and 6000 marines lately levied were encamped on the iſle of Wight, in order to be embarked for the Weſt-Indies. Intelligence being received that a ſtrong ſquadron of Spaniſh ſhips of war waited at Ferrol for orders to ſail to their American ſettlements, ſir John Norris ſailed with a powerful fleet from Spithead, to diſpute their voyage; and the duke of Cumberland ſerved in perſon as a volunteer in this expedition: but after divers fruitleſs efforts, he was by contrary winds obliged to lie inactive for the greateſt part of the ſummer in Torbay; and, upon the advice that the French and Spaniſh ſquadrons had ſailed to the Weſt-Indies in conjunction, the deſign againſt Ferrol was wholly laid aſide. In September, a ſmall ſquadron of Ships, commanded by commodore Anſon, ſet ſail for the South-ſea in order to act againſt the enemy on the coaſt of Chilli and Peru, and co-operate occaſionally with admiral Vernon acroſs the iſthmus of Darien. The ſcheme was well laid, but ruined by unneceſſary delays, and unforeſeen accidents. But the hopes of the nation centered chiefly in a formidable armament deſigned for the northern coaſt of new Spain, and his catholic majeſty's other ſettlements on that ſide of the Atlantick. Commiſſions had been iſſued for raiſing a regiment of four battalions in the Engliſh colonies of North-America, that they might be tranſported to Jamaica, and join the forces from England. Theſe, conſiſting of the marines, and detachments from ſome old regiments, were embarked in October at the iſle of Wight, under the command of lord Cathcart, a nobleman of approved honour, and great experience in the art of war; and they ſailed under convoy of ſir Chaloner Ogle, with a fleet of 27 ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips, bomb-ketches, and tenders. They were likewiſe furniſhed with hoſpital-ſhips, and ſtore-ſhips, laden with proviſion, ammunition, all ſorts of warlike implements, and every kind of convenience. Never was an armament more completely equipped; and never had the nation more reaſon to hope for extraordinary ſucceſs.

On the 20th day of October, Charles VI. emperor of Germany, the laſt prince of the houſe of Auſtria, died at Vienna, and was ſucceeded in his hereditary dominions by his eldeſt daughter, the archduchеſs Maria Thereſa, married to the grand duke of Tuſcany. Though this princeſs ſucceeded as queen of Hungary, by virtue of the pragmatic ſanction guaranteed by all the powers in Europe, her ſucceſſion produced ſuch conteſts as kindled a cruel war in the empire. The young king of Pruſſia was no ſooner informed of the emperor's death, than he entered Sileſia at the head of 20,000 men; ſeized the fiefs to which his family laid claim; and publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring that he had no intention to contravene the pragmatic ſanction. The elector of Bavaria refuſed to acknowledge the archduchеſs as queen of Hungary and Bohemia, alledging that he himſelf had pretenſions to thoſe countries, as the deſcendant of the emperor Ferdinand I. who was head of the German branch of the houſe of Auſtria. Charles VI. was ſurvived but a few days before his ally, the czarina Anne Iwnowna, who died in the 45th year of her age, after having bequeathed her crown to Iwan, or John, the infant ſon of her neice, the princeſs Anne of Mecklenburgh, who had been married to Anthony Ulrick, duke of Brunſwick Lunenburgh-Bevern. She appointed the duke of Courland regent of the empire, and even guardian of the young czar, though his own parents were alive: but this diſpoſition was not long maintained.

The king of Great-Britain having returned to England from his German dominions, the ſeſſion of the parliament was opened in November. His majeſty aſſured them, on this occaſion, that he was determined to proſecute the war vigorouſly, even though France ſhould eſpouſe the cauſe of Spain, as her late conduct ſeemed to favour this ſuppoſition. He took notice of the emperor's death, as an event which in all likelihood would open a new ſcene of affairs in Europe: he therefore, recommended to their conſideration the neceſſary ſupplies for putting the nation in ſuch a poſture that it ſhould have nothing to fear from any emergency. Finally, he deſired them to conſider of ſome proper regulations for preventing the exportation of corn, and for more effectual methods to man the fleet at this conjunction. The commons, after having voted an addreſs of thanks, brought in a bill for prohibiting the exportation of corn and proviſions, for a limited time, out of Great-Britain, Ireland, and the American plantations. This was a meaſure calculated to diſtreſs the enemy, who were ſuppoſed to be in want of theſe neceſſaries. The French had contracted for a very large quantity of beef and pork in Ireland, for the uſe of their own and the Spaniſh navy; and an embargo had been laid upon the ſhips of that kingdom. The bill met with a vigorous oppoſition: yet the houſe unanimouſly reſolved, that his majeſty ſhould be addreſſed to lay an immediate embargo upon all ſhips laden with corn, grain, ſtarch, rice, beef, pork, and other proviſions, to be exported to foreign parts. They likewiſe reſolved that the thanks of the houſe ſhould be given to vice-admiral Vernon, for the ſervice he had done to his king and country in the Weſt-Indies. One William Cooley was examined at the bar of the houſe, and committed to priſon, after having owned himſelf author of a paper intitled, 'Conſiderations upon the embargo on proviſion or victual.' The performance contained many ſhrewd and ſevere animadverſions upon the government, for having taken a ſtep which, without anſwering the purpoſe of diſtreſſing the enemy, would prove a grievous diſcouragement to trade, and ruin all the graſiers of Ireland. Notwithſtanding the arguments uſed in this remonſtrance, and ſeveral petitions were preſented againſt the corn-bill, it paſſed by mere dint of miniſterial influence. The other party endeavoured, by various motions, to ſet on foot an enquiry into the orders, letters, and inſtructions, which had been ſent to admiral Vernon and admiral Haddock: but all ſuch inveſtigations were carefully avoided.

A very hot conteſt aroſe from a bill which the miniſtry brought in under the ſpecious title of, A bill for the encouragement and increaſe of ſeamen, and for the better and

ſpeedier manning his majeſty's fleet. This was a revival of the oppreſſive ſcheme which had been rejected in the former ſeſſion; a ſcheme by which the juſtices of the peace were empowered to iſſue warrants to conſtables and headboroughs, to ſearch by day or night for ſuch ſea-faring men as ſhould conceal themſelves within their reſpective juriſdictions. Theſe ſearchers were veſted with authority to force open doors, in caſe of reſiſtance; and encouraged to this violence by a reward for every ſeaman they ſhould diſcover; while the unhappy wretches ſo diſcovered were dragged into the ſervice, and their names entered in a regiſter to be kept at the Navy or the Admiralty-office. Such a plan of tyranny did not paſs uncenſured. Every exceptionable clauſe produced a warm debate, in which ſir John Barnard, mr. Pulteney, mr. Sandys, lord Gage, mr. Pitt, and mr. Lyttelton, ſignalized themſelves nobly in defending the liberties of their fellow-ſubjects. Mr Pitt having expreſſed a laudable indignation at ſuch a large ſtride towards deſpotic power, in juſtification of which nothing could be urged but the plea of neceſſity, mr. H. Walpole thought proper to attac him with ſome perſonal ſarcaſms. He reflected upon his youth; and obſerved that the diſcovery of truth was very little promoted by pompous diction and theatrical emotion. Theſe inſinuations expoſed him to a ſevere reply. Mr Pitt ſtanding up again, ſaid 'he would not undertake to determine whether youth could be juſtly imputed to any man as a reproach: but he affirmed, that the wretch, who after having ſeen the conſequences of repeated errors, continues ſtill to blunder, and whoſe age has only added obſtinacy to ſtupidity, is ſurely the object of either abhorrence or contempt, and deſerves not that his grey head ſhould ſecure him from inſults: much more is he to be abhorred, who, as he has advanced in age, has receded from virtue, and becomes more wicked with leſs temptation; who proſtitutes himſelf for money which he cannot enjoy; and ſpends the remains of his life in the ruin of his country.'—Petitions were preſented from the city of London, and county of Gloceſter, againſt the bill, as detrimental to the trade and navigation of the kingdom, by diſcouraging rather than encouraging ſailors, and deſtructive to the liberties of the ſubjects: but they were both rejected, as inſults upon the houſe of commons. After very long debates, maintained on both ſides with extraordinary ardour and emotion, the ſevere clauſes were dropped, and the bill paſſed with amendments.

But the moſt remarkable incident of this ſeſſion was an open and perſonal attac upon the miniſter, who was become extremely unpopular all over the kingdom. The people were now more than ever ſenſible of the grievous taxes under which they groaned; and ſaw their burthens daily increaſing. No effectual attempt had as yet been made to annoy the enemy. Expenſive ſquadrons had been equipped; had made excurſions, and returned without ſtriking a blow. The Spaniſh fleet had ſailed firſt from Cadiz, and then from Ferrol, without any interruption from admiral Haddock, who commanded the Britiſh ſquadron in the Mediterranean, and who was ſuppoſed to be reſtricted by the inſtructions he had received from the miniſtry, though in fact his want of ſucceſs was owing to accident. Admiral Vernon had written from the Weſt-Indies to his private friends, that he was neglected, and in danger of being ſacrificed. Notwithſtanding the numerous navy which the nation maintained, the Spaniſh privateers made prizes of the Britiſh merchant ſhips with impunity. In violation of treaties, and in contempt of that intimate connexion which had been ſo long cultivated between the French and Engliſh miniſtry, the king of France had ordered the harbour and fortifications of Dunkirk to be repaired: his fleet had ſailed to the Weſt-Indies, in conjunction with that of Spain; and the merchants of England began to tremble for Jamaica: finally, commerce was in a manner ſuſpended, by the practice of preſſing ſailors into the ſervice, and by the embargo which had been laid upon ſhips in all the ports of Great-Britain and Ireland. Theſe cauſes of popular diſcontent, added to other complaints which had been ſo long repeated againſt the miniſter, exaggerated and inculcated by his enemies with unwearied induſtry, at length rendered him ſo univerſally odious, that his name was ſeldom or never mentioned with decency, except by his own dependents.

The country-party in parliament ſeiſed this opportunity of vengeance. Mr Sandys went up to ſir Robert Walpole in the houſe, and told him, that on Friday next he ſhould bring a charge againſt him in public. The miniſter ſeemed to be ſurpriſed at this unexpected intimation: but, after a ſhort pauſe, thanked him politely for this previous notice, and ſaid he deſired no favour, but fair play.[g] Mr Sandys, at the time which he had appointed for this accuſation, ſtood up, and in a ſtudied ſpeech entered into a long deduction of the miniſter's miſconduct. He inſiſted upon the diſcontents of the nation, in conſequence of the meaſures which had been for many years purſued at home and abroad. He profeſſed his belief that there was not a gentleman in the houſe who did not know that one ſingle perſon in the adminiſtration was the chief, if not the ſole adviſer and promoter of all thoſe meaſures. 'This (added he) is known without doors, as well as within; therefore, the diſcontents, the reproaches, and even the curſes of the people, are all directed againſt that ſingle perſon. They complain of preſent meaſures: they have ſuffered by paſt meaſures: they expect no redreſs; they expect no alteration or amendment, whilſt he has a ſhare in directing or adviſing our future adminiſtration. Theſe, ſir, are the ſentiments of the people in regard to that miniſter: theſe ſentiments we are in honour and duty bound to repreſent to his majeſty; and the proper method for doing this, as eſtabliſhed by our conſtitution, is to addreſs his majeſty to remove him from his councils.' He then proceeded to explain the particulars of the miniſter's miſconduct in the whole ſeries of his negotiations abroad. He charged him with having endeavoured to ſupport his own intereſt, and to erect a kind of deſpotic government, by the practice of corruption; with having betrayed the intereſt and honour of Great-Britain in the late convention; with having neglected to proſecute the war againſt Spain; and he concluded with a motion for an addreſs to the king, that he would be pleaſed to remove ſir Robert Walpole from his preſence and councils for ever. He was anſwered by mr. Pelham, who undertook to defend or excuſe all the meaſures which the other had condemned; and acquitted himſelf as a warm friend and unſhaken adherent. Againſt this champion ſir John Barnard entered the liſts, and was ſuſtained by mr. Pulteney, who, with equal ſpirit and preciſion, pointed out and expoſed all the material errors and mal-practices of the adminiſtration. Sir Robert Walpole ſpoke with great temper and deliberation in behalf of himſelf. With reſpect to the article of bribery and corruption, he ſaid if any one inſtance had been mentioned; if it had been ſhown that he ever offered a reward to any member of either houſe, or ever threatened to deprive any member of his office or employment, in order to influence his voting in parliament, there might have been ſome ground for this charge; but when it was ſo generally laid, he did not know what he could ſay to it, unleſs to deny it as generally and as poſitively as it had been aſſerted.—Such a declaration as this, in the hearing of ſo many perſons, who not only knew, but ſubſiſted by his wages of corruption, was a ſtrong proof of the miniſter's being dead to all ſenſe of ſhame, and all regard to veracity. The debate was protracted by the court members till three o'clock in morning, when above 60 of the oppoſite party having retired, the motion was rejected by a conſiderable majority.

A bill was brought in for prohibiting the practice of inſuring ſhips belonging to the enemies of the nation; but it was vigorouſly oppoſed by ſir John Barnard and mr. Willimot, who demonſtrated that this kind of traffic was advantageous to the kingdom; and the ſcheme was dropped. Another warm conteſt aroſe upon a clauſe of the mutiny-bill relating to the quartering of ſoldiers upon inn-keepers and publicans, who complained of their being diſtreſſed in furniſhing thoſe gueſts with proviſions and neceſſaries at the rates preſcribed by law or cuſtom. There were not wanting advocates to expatiate upon the nature of this grievance, which, however, was not redreſſed. A new trade was at this time opened with Perſia, through the dominions of the czar, and veſted with an excluſive privilege in the Ruſſia company, by an act of parliament. The commons voted 40,000 ſeamen for the ſervice of the enſuing year, and about 30,000 men for the eſtabliſhment of land-forces. They provided for the ſubſidies granted to the king of Denmark and the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel; and took every ſtep which was ſuggeſted for the eaſe and the convenience of the government.

The parties in the houſe of lords were influenced by the ſame motives which actuated the commons. The duke of Argyle, who had by this time reſigned all his places, declared open war againſt the miniſtry. In the beginning of

[g] Upon this occaſion he miſquoted Horace. 'As I am not conſcious of any crime (ſaid he) I do not doubt of being able to make a proper defence. Nil conſcire ſibi nulli pallescere culpæ.' He was corrected by by mr. Pulteney; but inſiſted upon his being in the right, and actually laid a wager on the juſtneſs of his quotation.

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the ſeſſion, the king's ſpeech was no ſooner reported by the chancellor, than this nobleman ſtood up, and moved that a general addreſs of thanks ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, inſtead of a recapitulation of every paragraph of the king's ſpeech, re-echoed from the parliament to the throne, with expreſſions of blind approbation, implying a general concurrence with all the meaſures of the miniſter. He ſpoke on this ſubject with an aſtoniſhing impetuoſity of eloquence, that rolled like a river which had overflowed its banks and deluged the whole adjacent country. The motion was ſupported by lord Bathurſt, lord Carteret, the earl of Cheſterfield, and lord Gower, who, though they diſplayed all the talents of oratory, were out-voted by the oppoſite party, headed by the duke of Newcaſtle, the earl of Cholmondely, lord Hervey, and the lord-chancellor. The motion was rejected, and the addreſs compoſed in the uſual ſtrain. The ſame motions for an enquiry into orders and inſtructions, which had miſcarried in the lower-houſe, were here repeated with the ſame bad ſucceſs: in the debates which enſued, the young earls of Hallifax and Sandwich acquired a conſiderable ſhare of reputation, for the ſtrength of argument and elocution with which they contended againſt the adherents of the miniſtry. When the houſe took into conſideration the ſtate of the army, the duke of Argyle having harangued with equal ſkill and energy on military affairs, propoſed that the forces ſhould be augmented by adding new levies to the old companies, without increaſing the number of officers; as ſuch an augmentation ſerved only to debaſe the dignity of the ſervice, by raiſing the loweſt of mankind to the rank of gentlemen; and to extend the influence the miniſter, by multiplying his dependents. He, therefore, moved for a reſolution, that the augmenting the army by raiſing regiments, as it is the moſt unneceſſary and moſt expenſive method of augmentation, was alſo the moſt dangerous to the liberties of the nation. This propoſal was likewiſe over-ruled, after a ſhort though warm contention. This was the fate of all the other motions made by the lords in the oppoſition, though the victory of the courtiers was always clogged with a nervous and ſpirited proteſt. Two days were expended in the debate produced by lord Carteret's motion for an addreſs, beſeeching his majeſty to remove ſir Robert Walpole from his preſence and councils for ever. The ſpeech that uſhered in this memorable motion would not have diſgraced a Cicero. It contained a retroſpect of all the public meaſures which had been purſued ſince the revolution. It explained the nature of every treaty, whether right or wrong, which had been concluded under the preſent adminiſtration. It deſcribed the political connexions ſubſiſting between the different powers in Europe. It expoſed the weakneſs, the miſconduct, and the iniquity of the miniſter, both in his foreign and domeſtic tranſactions. It was embelliſhed with all the ornaments of rhetoric, and warmed with a noble ſpirit of patriot indignation. The duke of Argyle, lord Bathurſt, and his other colleagues, ſeemed to be animated with uncommon fervour, and even inſpired, by the ſubject. A man of imagination, in reading their ſpeeches, will think himſelf tranſported into the Roman ſenate, before the ruin of that republic. Nevertheleſs, the miniſter ſtill triumphed by dint of numbers; though his victory was dearly purchaſed. Thirty peers entered a vigorous proteſt; and Walpole's character ſuſtained ſuch a rude ſhoc from this oppoſition, that his authority ſeemed to be drawing near a period.

[1741] Immediately after this conteſt was decided, the duke of Marlborough moved for a reſolution, that any attempt to inflict any kind of puniſhment on any perſon, without allowing him an opportunity to make his defence, or without any proof of any crime or miſdemeanour committed by him, is contrary to natural juſtice, the fundamental laws of the realm, and the ancient eſtabliſhed uſage of parliament; and is a high infringement of the liberties of the ſubject. It was ſeconded by the duke of Devonſhire and lord Lovel; and oppoſed by lord Gower, as an intended cenſure on the proceedings of the day. This ſentiment was ſo warmly eſpouſed by lord Talbot, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the former debate, that he ſeemed to be tranſported beyond the bounds of moderation. He was interrupted by the earl of Cholmondely, who charged him with having violated the order and decorum which ought to be preſerved in ſuch an aſſembly. His paſſion was inflamed by this rebuke: he declared himſelf an independent lord; a character which he would not forfeit for the ſmiles of a court, the profit of an employment, or the reward of a penſion: he ſaid when he was engaged on the ſide of truth, he would trample on the inſolence that ſhould command him to ſuppreſs his ſentiments.—On a diviſion, however, the motion was carried.

In the beginning of April, the king repairing to the houſe of peers, paſſed ſome acts that were ready for the royal aſſent. Then, in his ſpeech to both houſes, he gave them to underſtand, that the queen of Hungary had made a requiſition of 12,000 men ſtipulated by treaty; and that he had ordered the ſubſidy-troops of Denmark and Heſſe-Caſſel to be in readineſs to march to her aſſiſtance. He obſerved, that in this complicated and uncertain ſtate of affairs, many incidents might ariſe, and render it neceſſary for him to incur extraordinary expences for maintaining the pragmatic ſanction, at a time when he could not poſſibly have recourſe to the advice and aſſiſtance of his parliament. He therefore, demanded of the commons ſuch a ſupply as might be requiſite for theſe ends; and promiſed to manage it with all poſſible frugality. The lower-houſe, in their addreſs, approved of all his meaſures; declared they would effectually ſupport him againſt all inſults and attacs that might be made upon any of his territories, though not belonging to the crown of Great-Britain; and that they would enable him to contribute, in the moſt effectual manner, to the ſupport of the queen of Hungary. Sir Robert Walpole moved that an aid of 200,000l. ſhould be granted to that princeſs. Mr Shippen proteſted againſt any interpoſition in the affairs of Germany. He expreſſed the diſlike of the promiſe which had been made to defend his majeſty's foreign dominions; a promiſe in his opinion, inconſiſtent with that important and inviolable law, the act of ſettlement: a promiſe which, could it have been foreknown, would perhaps have for ever precluded from the ſucceſſion that illuſtrious family, to which the nation owed ſuch numberleſs bleſſings, ſuch continued felicity. The motion however paſſed, though not without further oppoſiton: and the houſe reſolved, that 300,000l. ſhould be granted to his majeſty, to enable him effectually to ſupport the queen of Hungary. Towards the expence of this year, a million was deducted from the ſinking-fund: and the land-tax continued at four ſhillings in the pound. The preparations for this war had already coſt five millions. The ſeſſion was cloſed on the 25th of April, when the king took his leave of this parliament, with warm expreſſions of tenderneſs and ſatisfaction. Henry Bromley, Stephen Fox, and John Howe, three members of the lower-houſe, who had ſignalized themſelves in defence of the miniſter, were now enobled, and created barons of Montfort, Ilcheſter, and Chedworth. A camp was formed near Colcheſter; and the king having appointed a regency, ſet out in May for his German dominions. [h]

The Britiſh armament had by this time proceeded to action in the Weſt-Indies. Sir Chaloner Ogle, who ſailed from Spithead, had been overtaken by a tempeſt in the bay of Biſcay, by which the fleet, conſiſting of about 170 ſail, were ſcattered and diſperſed. Nevertheleſs, he proſecuted his voyage, and anchored with a view to provide wood and water, in the neutral iſland of Dominica, where the intended expedition ſuſtained a terrible ſhoc in the death of the gallant lord Cathcart, who was carried off by a dyſentery. The loſs of this nobleman was the more ſeverely felt, as the command of the land-forces devolved upon general Wentworth, an officer without experience, authority, and reſolution. As the fleet ſailed along the iſland of Hiſpaniola, in its way to Jamaica, four large ſhips of war were diſcovered; and ſir Chaloner detached an equal number of his ſquadron to give them chaſe, while he himſelf proceeded on his voyage. As thoſe ſtrange ſhips refuſed to bring to, lord Auguſtus Fitzroy, the commodore of the four Britiſh ſhips, ſaluted one of them with a broadſide, and a ſmart engagement enſued. After they had fought during the beſt part of the night, the enemy hoiſted their colours in the morning, and appeared to be part of the French ſquadron, which had ſailed from Europe, under the command of the marquis d'Antin, with orders to aſſiſt the Spaniſh admiral, de Torres, in attacking and diſtreſſing the Engliſh ſhips and colonies. War was not yet declared between France and England; therefore hoſtilities ceaſed: the Engliſh and French commanders complimented each other;

[h] Sir William Wyndham died in the preceding year, deeply regretted as an orator, a patriot, and a man, the conſtant aſſertor of Britiſh liberty, and one of the chief ornaments of the Engliſh nation. In the courſe of the ſame year, general Oglethorpe, governor of Georgia, had, with ſome ſuccours, obtained from the colony of Carolina, and a ſmall ſquadron of the king's ſhips, made an attempt upon fort Auguſtine, the capital of Spaniſh Florida; and actually reduced ſome ſmall forts in the neighbourhood of the place; but the Carolinians withdrawing in diſguſt, diſſentions prevailing among the ſea officers, the hurricane months approaching, and the enemy having received a ſupply and re-enforcement, he abandoned the enterpriſe, and returned to Georgia.

excuſed themſelves mutually, for the miſtake which had happened; and parted as friends, with a conſiderable loſs of men on both ſides.

In the mean time ſir Chaloner Ogle arrived at Jamaica, where he joined vice-admiral Vernon, who now found himſelf at the head of the moſt formidable fleet and army that ever viſited thoſe ſeas, with full power to act at diſcretion. The conjoined ſquadrons conſiſted of 29 ſhips of the line, with almoſt an equal number of frigates, fireſhips, and bomb-ketches, well manned, and plentifully ſupplied with all kinds of proviſion, ſtores and neceſſaries. The number of ſeamen amounted to 15,000: that of the land-forces, including the American regiment of four battalions, and a body of negroes inliſted at Jamaica, did not fall ſhort of 12,000. Had this armament been ready to act in the proper ſeaſon of the year, under the conduct of wiſe experienced officers, united in councils, and ſteadily attached to the intereſt and honour of their country, the Havannah, and whole iſland of Cuba, might have been eaſily reduced: the whole treaſure of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies would have been intercepted; and Spain muſt have been humbled into the moſt abject ſubmiſſion. But ſeveral unfavourable circumſtances concurred to fruſtrate the hopes of the public. The miniſtry had detained ſir Chaloner Ogle at Spithead, without any viſible cauſe, until the ſeaſon for action was almoſt exhauſted; for, on the continent of New Spain, the periodical rains begin about the end of April; and this change in the atmoſphere is always attended with epidemical diſtempers, which render the climate extremely unhealthy: beſides the rain is ſo exceſſive, that for the ſpace of two months no army can keep the field.

Sir Chalomer Ogle arrived at Jamaica on the 9th day of January; and admiral Vernon did not ſail on his intended expedition till towards the end of the month. Inſtead of directing his courſe to the Havannah, which lay to leeward, and might have been reached in leſs than three days, he reſolved to beat up againſt the wind to Hiſpaniola, in order to obſerve the motion of the French ſquadron, commanded by the marquis d'Antin. The 15th day of February had elapſed before he received certain information that the French admiral had ſailed for Europe in great diſtreſs, for want of men and proviſions, which he could not procure in the Weſt-Indies. Admiral Vernon, thus diſappointed, called a council of war, in which he was determined to proceed for Carthagena. The fleet being ſupplied with wood and water at Hiſpaniola, ſet ſail for the continent of New Spain, and on the 4th of March anchored in Playa Grande, to the windward of Carthagena. Admiral de Torres had already ſailed to the Havannah: but Carthagena was ſtrongly fortified, and the garriſon re-enforced by the crews of a ſmall ſquadron of large ſhips, commanded by don Blas de Leſo, an officer of experience and reputation. Here the Engliſh admiral lay inactive till the ninth, when the troops were landed on the iſland of Tierra Bomba, near the mouth of the harbour, known by the name of Bochica, or Little-mouth, which was ſurpriſingly fortified with caſtles, batteries, booms, chains, cables, and ſhips of war. The Britiſh forces erected a battery on ſhore, with which they made a breach in the principal fort, while the admiral ſent in a number of ſhips to divide the fire of the enemy, and co-operate with the endeavours of the army. Lord Aubrey Beauclerc, a gallant officer, who commanded one of theſe ſhips, was ſlain on this occaſion. The breach being deemed practicable, the forces advanced to the attac; but the forts and batteries were abandoned: the Spaniſh ſhips that lay athwart the harbour's mouth were deſtroyed or taken: the paſſage was opened, and the fleet entered without further oppoſition. Then the forces were re-embarked with the artillery, and landed within a mile of Carthagena, where they were oppoſed by about 700 Spaniards, whom they obliged to retire. The admiral and general had contracted a hearty contempt for each other, and took all opportunities of expreſſing their mutual diſlike: far from acting vigorouſly in concert, for the advantage of the community, they maintained a mutual reſerve, and ſeparate cabals; and each proved more eager for the diſgrace of his rival, than zealous for the honour of the nation.

The general complained that the fleet lay idle, while his troops were harraſſed and diminiſhed by hard duty and diſtemper. The admiral affirmed that his ſhip could not lie near enough to batter the town of Carthagena: he upbraided the general with inactivity and want of reſolution to attac the fort of St. Lazor, which commanded the town, and might be taken by ſcalade. Wentworth, ſtimulated by theſe reproaches, reſolved to try the experiment. His forces marched up to the attac; but the guides being ſlain, they miſtook their rout, and advanced to the ſtrongeſt part of the fortification, where they were moreover expoſed to the fire of the town. Colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadeers, was mortally wounded: the ſcaling-ladders were found too ſhort: the officers were perplexed for want of orders and directions: yet the ſoldiers ſuſtained a ſevere fire for ſeveral hours with ſurpriſing intrepidity, and at length retreated, leaving about 600 killed or wounded on the ſpot. The number was now ſo much reduced, that they could no longer maintain their footing on ſhore: beſides, the rainy ſeaſon had begun with ſuch violence, as rendered it impoſſible for them to live in camp. They were, therefore, re-embarked: and all hope of further ſucceſs immediately vaniſhed. The admiral, however, in order to demonſtrate the impracticability of taking the place by ſea, ſent in the Gallicia, one of the Spaniſh ſhips which had been taken at Boca-chica, to cannonade the town, with 16 guns mounted on one ſide, like a floating battery. This veſſel, manned by detachments of volunteers from different ſhips, and commanded by captain Hore, was warped into the inner harbour, and moored before day, at a conſiderable diſtance from the walls, in very ſhallow water. In this poſition ſhe ſtood the fire of ſeveral batteries for ſome hours, without doing or ſuſtaining much damage: then the admiral ordered the men to be brought off in boats, and the cables to be cut; ſo that ſhe drove with the ſea-breeſe upon a ſhoal, where ſhe was ſoon filled with water. This exploit was abſurd, and the inference which the admiral drew from it altogether fallacious. He ſaid it plainly proved, that there was not depth of water in the inner harbour, ſufficient to admit large ſhips near enough to batter the town, with any proſpect of ſucceſs. This, indeed, was the caſe in that part of the harbour to which the Gallicia was conducted: but a little farther to the left he might have ſtationed four or five of his largeſt ſhips abreaſt, within piſtol-ſhot of the walls; and if this ſtep had been taken, when the land-forces marched to the attac of St. Lezar, in all probability the town would have been ſurrendered.

After the re-embarkation of the troops, the diſtempers peculiar to the climate and ſeaſon began to rage with redoubled fury; and great numbers of thoſe who eſcaped the vengeance of the enemy periſhed by a more painful and inglorious fate. Nothing was heard but complaints and execrations: the groans of the dying, and the ſervice for the dead: nothing was ſeen but objects of woe, and images of dejection. The conductors of this unfortunate expedition agreed in nothing but the expediency of a ſpeedy retreat from this ſcene of miſery and diſgrace. The fortifications of the harbour were demoliſhed, and the fleet returned to Jamaica. The miſcarriage of this expedition, which had coſt the nation an immenſe ſum of money, was no ſooner known in England, than the kingdom was filled with murmurs and diſcontent, and the people were depreſſed, in proportion to that ſanguine hope by which they had been elevated. Admiral Vernon, inſtead of undertaking any enterpriſe which might have retrieved the honour of the Britiſh arms, ſet ſail for Jamaica with the forces in July, and anchored at the ſouth-eaſt part of Cuba, in a bay, on which he beſtowed the appellation of Cumberland Harbour. The troops were landed and encamped at the diſtance of 20 miles farther up the river, where they remained totally inactive, and ſubſiſted chiefly on ſalt and damaged proviſions, till the month of November, when, being conſiderably diminiſhed by ſickneſs, they were put on board again, and reconveyed to Jamaica. He was afterwards re-enforced from England by four ſhips of war, and about 3000 ſoldiers: but he performed nothing worthy of the reputation he had acquired; and the people began to perceive that they had miſtaken his character.

The affairs on the continent of Europe were now more than ever embroiled. The king of Pruſſia had demanded of the court of Vienna part of Sileſia, by virtue of old treaties of cofraternity, which were either abſolete or annulled; and promiſed to aſſiſt the queen with all his forces, in caſe ſhe ſhould comply with his demand: but this being rejected with diſdain, he entered Sileſia at the head of an army, and proſecuted his conqueſts with great rapidity. In the mean time, the queen of Hungary was crowned at Preſburg, after having ſigned a capitulation, by which the liberties of that kingdom were confirmed; and the grand duke her conſort was, at her requeſt, aſſociated with her for ten years in the government. At the ſame time the ſtates of Hungary refuſed to receive a memorial from the elector of Bavaria. During theſe tranſactions, his Pruſſian majeſty made his public entrance into Breſlau, and confirmed all the privileges of the in-

habitants. One of his generals ſurprized the town and fortreſs of Jablunka, on the confines of Hungary: prince Leopold of Anhalt-Deſſau, who commanded another army, which formed the blockade of great Glogau on the order, took the place by ſcalade, made the generals Wallis and Reyſki priſoners, with a thouſand men that were in garriſon: here, likewiſe, the victor found the military cheſt, 50 pieces of braſs cannon, and a great quantity of ammunition.

The queen of Hungary had ſollicited the maritime powers for aſſiſtance, but found them fearful and backward. Being obliged, therefore, to exert herſelf with the more vigour, ſhe ordered count Neuperg to aſſemble a body of forces, and endeavour to ſtop the progreſs of the Pruſſians in Sileſia. The two armies encountered each other in the nighbourhood of Neiſs, at a village called Molwitz; and, after an obſtinate diſpute, the Auſtrians were obliged to retire, with the loſs of 4000 men killed, wounded, or taken. The advantage was dearly purchaſed by the king of Pruſſia. His kinſman, Frederick Margrave of Brandenburgh, and lieutenant-general Schuylemberg were killed in the engagement, together with a great number of general officers, and about 2000 ſoldiers. After this action, Brieg was ſurrendered to the Pruſſian, and he forced the important paſs of Fryewalde, which was defended by 4000 Auſtrian huſſars. The Engliſh and Dutch miniſters, who accompained him in his progreſs, ſpared no pains to effect an accommodation: but the two ſovereigns were too much irritated againſt each other to acquieſce in any terms that could be propoſed. The queen of Hungary was incenſed to find herſelf attacked, in the day of her diſtreſs, by a prince to whom ſhe had given no ſort of provocation; and his Pruſſian majeſty charged the court of Vienna with a deſign either to aſſaſſinate, or carry him off by treachery: a deſign which was diſowned with expreſſions of indignation and diſdain. Count Neuperg being obliged to abandon Sileſia, in order to oppoſe the Bavarian arms in Bohemia, the king of Pruſſia ſent thither a detachment to join the elector, under the command of count Deſſau, who, in his rout, reduced, Glatz and Neiſs, almoſt without oppoſition: then his maſter received the homage of the Sileſian ſtate at Breſlaw, and returned to Berlin. In December, the Pruſſian army was diſtributed in winter-quarters in Moravia, after having taken Olmutz, the capital of that province; and in March his Pruſſian majeſty formed a camp of obſervation in the neighbourhood of Magedburg.

The elector of Hanover was alarmed at the ſucceſs of the king of Pruſſia, in apprehenſion that he would become too formidable a neighbour. A ſcheme was ſaid to have been propoſed to the court of Vienna, for attacking that prince's electoral dominions, and dividing the conqueſt: but it never was put in execution. Nevertheleſs, the troops of Hanover were augmented: the auxilary Danes and Heſſians in the pay of Great-Britain were ordered to be in readineſs to march; and a good number of Britiſh forces encamped and prepared for embarkation. The ſubſidy of 300,000l. granted by parliament, was remitted to the queen of Hungary; and every thing ſeemed to preſage the vigorous interpoſition of his Britannic majeſty. But in a little time after his arrival at Hanover, that ſpirit of action ſeemed to flag, even while her Hungarian majeſty tottered on the verge of ruin. France reſolved to ſeize this opportunity of cruſhing the houſe of Auſtria. In order to intimidate the elector of Hanover, mareſchal Malleboís was ſent with a numerous army into Weſtphalia; and this expedient proved effectual. A treaty of neutrality was concluded; and the king of Great-Britain engaged to vote for the elector of Bavaria at the enſuing election of an emperor. The deſign of the French court was to raiſe this prince to the imperial dignity, and furniſh him with ſuch ſuccours as ſhould enable him to deprive the queen of Hungary of her hereditary dominions.

While the French miniſter at Vienna endeavoured to amuſe the queen with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his maſter's friendſhip, a body of 35,000 men began their march for Germany, in order to join the elector of Bavaria: another French army was aſſembled upon the Rhine; and the count de Belleiſle being provided with large ſums of money, was ſent to negotiate with different electors. Having thus ſecured a majority of voices, he proceeded to Munich, where he preſented the elector of Bavaria with a commiſſion, appointed him generaliſſimo of the French troops marching to his aſſiſtance; and now the treaty of Nymphenburg was concluded. The French king engaged to aſſiſt the elector with his whole power, towards raiſing him to the imperial throne: the elector promiſed, that after his elevation he would never attempt to recover any of the towns or provinces of the empire which France had conquered: that he would, in his imperial capacity, renounce the barrier-treaty; and agree that France ſhould irrevocably retain whatever places ſhe ſhould ſubdue in the Auſtrian Netherlands. The next ſtep of Belleiſle was to negotiate another treaty between France and Pruſſia, importing, that the elector of Bavaria ſhould poſſeſs Bohemia, Upper-Auſtria, and the Tyroleſe: that the king of Poland ſhould be gratified with Moravia and Upper-Sileſia; and that his Pruſſian majeſty ſhould retain Lower-Sileſia, with the town of Neiſs and the county of Glatz. Theſe precautions being taken, the count de Belleiſle repared to Franckfort, in quality of ambaſſador and plenipotentiary from France, at the imperial diet of election. It was in this city that the French king publiſhed a declaration, ſignifying, that as the king of Great-Britain had aſſembled an army to influence the approaching election of an emperor, his moſt chriſtian majeſty, as guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia, had ordered ſome troops to advance towards the Rhine, with a view to maintain the tranquillity of the Germanick body, and ſecure the freedom of the imperial election.

In July, the elector of Bavaria, being joined by the French forces under mareſchal Broglio, ſurpriſed the imperial city of Paſſau, upon the Danube: and entering Upper-Auſtria, at the head of 70,000 men, took poſſeſſion of Lintz, where he received the homage of the ſtates of that country. Underſtanding that the garriſon of Vienna was very numerous, and that count Palfi had aſſembled 30,000 Hungarians in the neighbourhood of this capital, he made no farther progreſs in Auſtria, but marched into Bohemia, where he was re-enforced by a conſiderable body of Saxons, under the command of count Rutowſki, natural ſon to the late king of Poland. By this time his Poliſh majeſty had acceeded to the treaty of Nymphenburg, and declared war againſt the queen of Hungary, on the moſt frivolous pretences. The elector of Bavaria advanced to Prague, which was taken in the night by ſcalade; an achievement in which Maurice count of Saxe, another natural ſon of the king of Poland, diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the head of the French forces. In December the elector of Bavaria made his public entry into his capital, where he was proclaimed king of Bohemia, and inaugurated with the uſual ſolemnities; then he ſet out for Franckfort, to be preſent at the diet of election.

At this period the queen of Hungary ſaw herſelf abandoned by all her allies, and ſeemingly devoted to deſtruction. She was not, however, forſaken by her courage; nor deſtitute of good officers, and an able miniſtry. She retired to Preſburg, and in a pathetic Latin ſpeech to the ſtates, expreſſed her confidence in the loyalty and valour of her Hungarian ſubjects. The nobility of that kingdom, touched with her preſence and diſtreſs, aſſured her unanimouſly, that they would ſacrifice their lives and fortunes in her defence. The ban being raiſed, that brave people crowded to her ſtandard; and the diet expreſſed their reſentment againſt her enemy by a public edict, excluding for ever the electoral houſe of Bavaria from the ſucceſſion to the crown of Hungary: yet, without the ſubſidy ſhe received from Great-Britain, their courage and attachment would have proved ineffectual. By this ſupply ſhe was enabled to pay her army, erect magazines, complete her warlike preparations, and put her ſtrong places in a poſture of defence. In December her generals, Berenclau and Mentzel, defeated count Thoring, who commanded 8000 men, at the paſs of Scardingen, and opening their way into Bavaria, laid the whole country under contribution; while count Kievenhuller retook the city of Lintz, and drove the French troops out of Auſtria. The grand ſignor aſſured the queen of Hungary, that far from taking advantage of her troubles, he ſhould ſeize all opportunities to convince her of his friendſhip: the pope permitted her to levy a tenth on the revenues of the clergy within her dominions; and even to uſe all the church-plate for the ſupport of the war.

As the czarina expreſſed an inclination to aſſiſt this unfortunate princeſs, the French court reſoved to find her employment in another quarter. They had already gained over to their intereſt count Gyllenburg, prime-miniſter and preſident of the chancery in Sweeden. A diſpute happening between him and mr. Burnaby, the Britiſh reſident at Stockholm, ſome warm altercation paſſed: mr. Burnaby was forbid the court, and publiſhed a memorial in his own vindication: on the other hand, the king of Sweeden juſtified his conduct in a reſcript ſent to all the foreign miniſters. The king of Great-Britain had propoſed a ſubſidy-treaty to Sweeden, which, from the influence of French councils, was rejected. The Sweeds having aſſembled a numerous army in Finland, and equipped a large ſquadron of ſhips,

declared war againſt Ruſſia, upon the moſt trifling pretences; and the fleet putting to ſea, commenced hoſtilities by blocking up the Ruſſian ports in Livonia. A body of 11,000 Swedes, commanded by general Wrangel, having advanced to Willmenſtrane, were in Auguſt attacked and defeated by general Laſci, at the head of 30,000 Ruſſians. Count Lewenhaupt, who commanded the main army of the Swedes, reſolved to take vengeance for this diſgrace, after the Ruſſian troops had retired into winter-quarters. In December he marched towards Wybourg: but, receiving letters from the prince of Heſſe-Homburg, and the marquis de la Chetardie, the French ambaſſador at Peterſburgh, informing him of the ſurpriſing revolution which had juſt happened in Ruſſia, and propoſing a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities; he retreated with his army, in order to wait for further inſtructions; and the two courts agreed to a ceſſation of arms for three months.

The Ruſſians had been for ſome time diſcontented with their government. The late czarina was influenced chiefly by German councils, and employed a great number of foreigners in her ſervice. Theſe cauſes of diſcontent produced factions and conſpiracies; and when they were diſcovered, the empreſs treated the authors of them with ſuch ſeverity as increaſed the general diſaffection. Beſides, they were diſpleaſed at the manner in which ſhe had ſettled the ſucceſſion. The prince of Brunſwick-Lunenburgh-Bevern, father to the young czar, was not at all agreeable to the Ruſſian nobility, and his conſort, the princeſs Anne of Mecklenburgh, having aſſumed the reins of government during her ſon's minority, ſeemed to follow the maxims of her aunt, the late czarina. The Ruſſian grandees and generals, therefore, turned their eyes upon the princeſs Elizabeth, who was daughter of Peter the great, and the darling of the empire. The French ambaſſador gladly concurred in a project for depoſing a princeſs who was well affected to the houſe of Auſtria. General Laſci approved of the deſign, which was chiefly conducted by the prince of Heſſe-Homburgh, who, in the reigns of the empreſs Catharina and Peter II. had been generaliſſimo of the Ruſſian army. The good will and concurrence of the troops being ſecured, two regiments of guards took poſſeſſion of all the avenues of the imperial palace at Peterſburgh. The princeſs Elizabeth, putting herſelf at the head of 1000 men, on the 5th day of December entered the winter-palace, where the princeſs of Mecklenburgh and the infant czar reſided. She advanced into the chamber where the princeſs and her conſort lay and deſired them to riſe, and quit the palace, adding, that their perſons were ſafe; and that they could not juſtly blame her for aſſerting her right. At the ſame time, the counts Oſterman, Golofkin, Mingden, and Munich were arreſted; their papers and effects were ſeiſed, and their perſons conveyed to Schliſſelbourg, a fortreſs on the Neva. Early in the morning the ſenate aſſembling, declared all that had paſſed ſince the reign of Peter II. to be uſurpation; and that the imperial dignity belonged of right to the princeſs Elizabeth; ſhe was immediately proclaimed empreſs of all the Ruſſias, and recognized by the army in Finland. She forthwith publiſhed a general act of indemnity: ſhe created the prince of Heſſe-Homburgh generaliſſimo of her armies: ſhe reſtored the Dolgorucky family to their honours and eſtates: ſhe recalled and rewarded all thoſe who had been baniſhed for favouring her pretenſions: ſhe mitigated the exile of the duke of Courland, by indulging him with a maintenance more ſuitable to his rank: ſhe releaſed general Wrangel, count Waſaburg, and the other Swediſh officers who had been taken at the battle of Willmenſtrand: and the princeſs Anne of Mecklenburgh, with her conſort and children, were ſent under a ſtrong guard, to Riga, the capital of Livonia.

Amidſt theſe tempeſts of war and revolution, the ſtates-general wiſely determined to preſerve their own tranquillity. It was, doubtleſs, their intereſt to avoid the dangers and expence of a war, and to profit by that ſtagnation of commerce which would neceſſarily happen among their neighbours that were at open enmity with each other; beſides, they were overawed by the declarations of the French monarch on one ſide; by the power, activity, and pretenſions of his Pruſſian majeſty on the other; and they dreaded the proſpect of a Stadtholder at the head of their army. Theſe at leaſt were the ſentiments of many Dutch patriots, re-enforced by others that acted under French influence. But the prince of Orange numbered among his partiſans and adherents many perſons of dignity and credit in the commonwealth: he was adored by the populace, who loudly exclaimed againſt their governors, and clamoured for a war, without ceaſing. This national ſpirit, joined to the remonſtrances and requiſitions made by the courts of Vienna and London, obliged the ſtates to iſſue orders for an augmentation of their forces; but theſe were executed ſo ſlowly, that neither France nor Pruſſia had much cauſe to take umbrage at their preparations. In Italy the king of Sardinia declared for the houſe of Auſtria: the republic of Genoa was deeply engaged in the French intereſt: the pope, the Venetians, and the dukedom of Tuſcany were neutral: the king of Naples reſolved to ſupport the claim of his family to the Auſtrian dominions in Italy, and began to make preparations accordingly. His mother, the queen of Spain, had formed a plan for erecting theſe dominions into a monarchy for her ſecond ſon don Philip; and a body of 15,000 men being embarked at Barcelona, were tranſported to Orbitello, under the convoy of the united ſquadrons of France and Spain. While admiral Haddock, with 12 ſhips of the line, lay at anchor in the bay of Gibraltar, the Spaniſh fleet paſſed the ſtraits in the night, and was joined by the French ſquadron from Toulon. The Britiſh admiral ſailing from Gibraltar, fell in with them in a few days, and found both ſquadrons drawn up in line of battle. As he bore down upon the Spaniſh fleet, the French admiral ſent a flag of truce, to inform him, that as the French and Spaniards were engaged in a joint-expedition, he ſhould be obliged to act in concert with his maſter's allies. This interpoſition prevented an engagement. The combined fleets amounting to double the number of the Engliſh ſquadron, Admiral Haddock was obliged to deſiſt; and proceeded to Port-Mahon, leaving the enemy to proſecute their voyage without moleſtation. The people of England were incenſed at this tranſaction, and did not ſcruple to affirm, that the hands of the Britiſh admiral were tied up by the neutrality of Hanover.[i]

The court of Madrid ſeemed to have ſhaken off that indolence and phlegm which had formerly diſgraced the councils of Spain. They no ſooner learned the deſtination of commodore Anſon, who had ſailed from Spithead in the courſe of the preceding year, than they ſent don Pizzaro, with a more powerful ſquadron, upon the ſame voyage, to defeat his deſign. He accordingly ſteered the ſame courſe, and actually fell in with one or two ſhips of the Britiſh armament, near the ſtraits of Magellen: but he could not weather a long and furious tempeſt, through which mr. Anſon proceeded into the South-ſea. One of the Spaniſh ſhips periſhed at ſea: another was wrecked on the coaſt of Brazil; and Pizzaro bore away for the Pio de la Plata, where he arrived with the three remaining ſhips, in a ſhattered condition, after having loſt 1200 men by ſickneſs and famine. The Spaniards exerted the ſame vigilance and activity in Europe. Their privateers were ſo induſtrious and ſucceſsful, that in the beginning of this year they had taken, ſince the commencement of the war, 407 ſhips belonging to the ſubjects of Great-Britain, valued at near four millions of piaſtres. The traders had, therefore, too much cauſe to complain, conſidering the formidable fleets which were maintained for the production of commerce. In the courſe of the ſummer, ſir John Norris had twice ſailed towards the coaſt of Spain, at the head of a powerful ſquadron, without taking any effectual ſtep for annoying the enemy, as if the ſole intention of the miniſtry had been to expoſe the nation to the ridicule and contempt of its enemies. The inactivity of the Britiſh arms appears the more inexcuſable, when we conſider the great armaments which had been prepared. The land-forces of Great-Britain, excluſive of the Daniſh and Heſſian auxiliaries, amounted to 60,000 men; and the fleet conſiſted of above 100 ſhips of war, manned by 54,000 ſailors.

The general diſcontent of the people had a manifeſt influence upon the election of members for the new parliament, which produced one of the moſt violent conteſts between the two parties, which had happened ſince the revolution. All the adherents of the prince of Wales concurred with the country-party, in oppoſition to the miniſter; and the duke of Argyle exerted himſelf ſo ſucceſsfully among

[i] In the month of July two ſhips of Haddock's ſquadron falling in with three French ſhips of war, captain Barnet, the Engliſh commodore, ſuppoſing them to be Spaniſh regiſter ſhips, fired a ſhot, in order to bring them to; and they refuſing to comply with this ſignal, a ſharp engagement enſued: after they had fought ſeveral hours, the French commander ceaſed firing, and thought proper to come to an explanation, when he and Barnet parted with mutual apologies.

In the courſe of this year a dangerous conſpiracy was diſcovered at New-York, in North-America. One Hewſon a low publican, had engaged ſeveral negroes in a deſign to deſtroy the town, and maſſacre the people. Fire was ſet to ſeveral parts of the city: nine or ten negroes were apprehended, convicted, and burned alive. Hewſon, with his wife, and a ſervant-maid, privy to the plot, were found guilty and hanged, though they died proteſting their innocence.

the ſhires and boroughs of Scotland, that the partizans of the miniſtry could not ſecure ſix members out of the whole number returned from North-Britain. They were, however, much more fortunate in the election of the 16 peers, who were choſen literally according to the liſt tranſmitted from court. Inſtructions were delivered by the conſtituents to a great number of members returned for cities and counties, exhorting and requiring them to oppoſe a ſtanding army in time of peace; to vote for the mitigation of exciſe laws; for the repeal of ſeptennial parliaments; and for the limitation of placemen in the houſe of commons. They, likewiſe, inſiſted upon their examining into the particulars of the public expence, and endeavoured to redreſs the grievances of the nation. Obſtinate ſtruggles were maintained in all parts of the united kingdom with uncommon ardour and perſeverance; and ſuch a national ſpirit of oppoſition prevailed, that, notwithſtanding the whole weight of miniſterial influence, the contrary intereſt ſeemed to preponderate in the new parliament.

The king returned to England in the month of October; and on the 1ſt day of December the ſeſſion was opened. Mr Onſlow being re-choſen ſpeaker was approved of by his majeſty, who ſpoke in the uſual ſtile to both houſes. He obſerved, that the former parliament had formed the ſtrongeſt reſolutions in favour of the queen of Hungary, for the maintenance of the pragmatic ſanction; for the preſervation of the balance of power, and the peace and liberties of Europe; and that if the other powers which were under the like engagements with him had anſwered the juſt expectations ſo ſolemnly given, the ſupport of the common cauſe would have been attended with leſs difficulty. He ſaid, he had endeavoured, by the moſt proper and early applications, to induce other powers that were united with him by the ties of common intereſt to concert ſuch meaſures as ſo important and critical a conjuncture required; that where an accommodation ſeemed neceſſary, he had laboured to reconcile princes whoſe union would have been the moſt effectual means to prevent the miſchiefs which had happened, and the beſt ſecurity for the intereſt and ſafety of the whole. He owned his endeavours had not hitherto produced the deſired effect; though he was not without hope, that a juſt ſenſe of approaching danger would give a more favourable turn to the councils of other nations. He repreſented the neceſſity of putting the kingdom in ſuch a poſture of defence as would enable him to improve all opportunities of maintaining the liberties of Europe, and defeat any attempts that ſhould be made againſt him and his dominions; and he recommended unanimity, vigour, and diſpatch. The houſe of commons having appointed their ſeveral committees, the ſpeaker reported the king's ſpeech; and mr. Herbert moved for an addreſs of thanks, including an approbation of the means by which the war had been proſecuted. The motion being ſeconded by mr. Trevor, lord Noel Somerſet ſtood up and moved, that the houſe would in their addreſs deſire his majeſty not to engage theſe kingdoms in a war for the preſervation of his foreign dominions. He was ſupported by that incorruptible patriot mr. Shippen, who declared he was neither aſhamed nor afraid to affirm, that 30 years had made no change in any of his political opinions. He ſaid he was grown old in the houſe of commons; that time had verified the predictions he had formerly uttered; and that he had ſeen his conjectures ripened into knowledge. 'If my country (added he) has been ſo unfortunate as once more to commit her intereſt to men who propoſe to themſelves no advantage from their truſt but that of ſelling it, I may, perhaps, fall once more under cenſure for declaring my opinion, and be once more treated as a criminal, for aſſerting what they who puniſh me cannot deny; for maintaining that Hanoverian maxims are inconſiſtent with the happineſs of this nation; and for preſerving the caution ſo ſtrongly inculcated by thoſe patriots who framed the act of ſettlement, and conferred upon the preſent royal family their title to the throne.' He particularized the inſtances in which the miniſtry had acted in diametrical oppoſition to that neceſſary conſtitution; and he inſiſted on the neceſſity of taking ſome ſtep to remove the apprehenſion of the people, who began to think themſelves in danger of being ſacrificed to the ſecurity of foreign dominions. Mr Gibbon, who ſpoke on the ſame ſide of the queſtion, expatiated upon the abſurdity of returning thanks for the proſecution of a war which had been egregiouſly miſmanaged. 'What! (ſaid he) are our thanks to be ſolemnly returned for defeats, diſgrace, and loſſes, the ruin of our merchants, the impriſonment of our ſailors, idle ſhows of armaments, and uſeleſs expences?' Sir Robert Walpole having made a ſhort ſpeech in defence of the firſt motion for an addreſs, was anſwered by mr. Pulteney, who ſeemed to be animated with a double proportion of patriot indignation. He aſſerted, that from a review of that miniſter's conduct ſince the beginning of the diſpute with Spain, it would appear that he had been guilty not only of ſingle errors, but of deliberate treachery: that he had always co-operated with the enemies of his country, and ſacrificed to his private intereſt the happineſs and honour of the Britiſh nation. He then entered into a detail of that conduct againſt which he had ſo often declaimed; and being tranſported by an over-heated imagination, accuſed him of perſonal attachment and affection to the enemies of the kingdom. A charge that was doubtleſs the reſult of exaggerated animoſity, and ſerved only to invalidate the other articles of imputation that were much better founded. His objections were over-ruled; and the addreſs, as at firſt propoſed, was preſented to his majeſty.

This ſmall advantage, however, the miniſter did not conſider as a proof of his having aſcertained an undoubted majority in the houſe of commons. There was a great number of diſputed elections; and the diſcuſſion of theſe was the point on which the people had turned their eyes, as the critarion of the miniſter's power and credit. In the firſt, which was heard at the bar of the houſe, he carried his point by a majority of ſix only; and this he looked upon as a defeat rather than a victory. His enemies exulted in their ſtrength: as they knew they ſhould be joined, in matters of importance, by ſeveral members who voted againſt them on this occaſion. The inconſiderable majority that appeared on the ſide of the adminiſtration plainly proved that the influence of the miniſter was greatly diminiſhed, and ſeemed to prognoſticate his further decline. This conſideration induced ſome individuals to declare againſt him as a ſetting ſun, from whoſe beams they could expect no further warmth. His adherents began to tremble; and he himſelf had occaſion for all his art and equanimity. The court-intereſt was not ſufficient to ſupport the election of their own members for Weſtminſter. The high-bailiff had been guilty of ſome illegal practices at the poll; and three juſtices of the peace had, on pretence of preventing riots, ſent for a military force to over-awe the election. A petition preſented by the electors of Weſtminſter was taken into conſideration by the houſe; and the election was declared void by a majority of four voices. The high-bailiff was taken into cuſtody: the officer who ordered the ſoldiers to march, and the three juſtices who ſigned the letter, in conſequence of which he acted, were reprimanded on their knees at the bar of the houſe.

The country-party maintained the advantage they had gained in deciding upon ſeveral other controverted elections; and ſir Robert Walpole tottered on the brink of ruin. He knew that the majority of a ſingle vote would at any time commit him priſoner to the Tower, ſhould ever the motion be made; and he ſaw that his ſafety could be effected by no other expedient but that of dividing the oppoſition. Towards the accompliſhment of this purpoſe he employed all his credit and dexterity. His emiſſaries did not fail to tamper with thoſe members of the oppoſite party who were the moſt likely to be converted by their arguments. A meſſage was ſent by the biſhop of Oxford to the prince of Wales, importing, That if his royal highneſs would write a letter of condeſcention to the king, he and all his counſellors ſhould be taken into favour; that 50,000l. ſhould be added to his revenue; four times that ſum be diſburſed immediately for the payment of his debts; and ſuitable proviſion be made in due time for all his followers. The prince declined this propoſal. He declared that he would accept no ſuch conditions while ſir Robert Walpole continued to direct the public affairs: that he looked upon him as a bar between his majeſty and the affections of his people; as the author of the national grievances both at home and abroad; and as that ſole cauſe of the contempt which Great-Britain had incurred in all the courts of Europe. His royal highneſs was now chief of this formidable party, revered by the whole nation—a party which had gained the aſcendancy in the houſe of commons; which profeſſed to act upon the principles of public virtue; which demanded the fall of an odious miniſter, as a ſacrifice due to an injured people; and declared that no temptation could ſhake their virtue; that no art could diſſolve the cement by which they were united. Sir Robert Walpole, though repulſed in his attempt upon the prince of Wales, was more ſucceſsful in his other endeavours. He reſolved to try his ſtrength once more in the houſe of commons, in another diſputed election; and had the mortification to ſee the majority augmented to 16 voices. He declared he would never more ſit in that

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houſe, and next day which was the 3d of February, the king adjourned both houſes of parlirment to the 18th day of the ſame month. In this interim ſir Robert Walpole was created earl of Orford, and reſigned all his employments.

At no time of his life did he acquit himſelf with ſuch prudential policy as he now diſplayed. He found means to ſeparate the parts that compoſed the oppoſition, and to transfer the popular odium from himſelf to thoſe who had profeſſed themſelves his keeneſt adverſaries. The country-party conſiſted of the tories, re-enforced by diſcontented whigs, who had either been diſappointed in their own ambitious views, or felt for the diſtreſſes of their country, occaſioned by a weak and worthleſs adminiſtration. The old patriots and the whigs whom they had joined, acted upon very different, and indeed upon oppoſite principles of government; and, therefore, they were united only by the ties of convenience. A coalition was projected between the diſcontented whigs and thoſe of the ſame denomination who acted in the miniſtry. Some were gratified with titles and offices; and all were aſſured, that in the management of affairs a new ſyſtem would be adopted, according to the plan they themſelves ſhould propoſe. The court required nothing of them, but that the earl of Orford ſhould eſcape with impunity. His place of chancellor of the Exchequer was beſtowed upon mr. Sandys, who was likewiſe appointed a lord of the treaſury: and the earl of Wilmington ſucceeded him as firſt commiſſioner of that board. Lord Harrington being dignified with the title of earl, was declared preſident of the council; and in his room lord Carteret became ſecretary of ſtate. The duke of Argyle was made maſter-general of the ordnance, colonel of his majeſty's royal regiment of horſe-guards, field-marſhal and commander in chief of all the forces in South-Britain; but finding himſelf diſappointed in his expectations of the coalition, he, in leſs than a month, renounced all theſe employments. The marquis of Tweedale was appointed ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, a poſt which had been long ſuppreſſed: mr. Pulteney was ſworn of the privy-councellor, and afterwards created earl of Bath. The earl of Winchelſea and Nottingham was preferred to the head of the Admiralty, in the room of ſir Charles Wager; and after the reſignation of the duke of Argyle, the earl of Stair was appointed field-marſhal of all his majeſty's forces, as well as ambaſſador-extraordinary to the ſtates-general. On the 17th day of February the prince of Wales, attended by a numerous retinue of his adherents, waited on his majeſty, who received him graciouſly, and ordered his guards to be reſtored. Lord Carteret and mr. Sandys were the firſt who embraced the offers of the court, without the conſent or privity of any other leaders in the oppoſition, except that of mr. Pulteney; but they declared to their friends, they would ſtill proceed upon patriot principles: that they would concur in promoting an enquiry into paſt meaſures; and in enacting neceſſary laws to ſecure the conſtitution from the practices of corruption. Theſe profeſſions were believed, not only by their old coadjutors in the houſe of commons, but alſo by the nation in general. The reconciliation between the king and the prince of Wales, together with the change in the miniſtry, were celebrated with public rejoicings all over the kingdom; and immediately after the adjournment nothing but concord appeared in the houſe of commons.

But this harmony was of ſhort duration. It ſoon appeared, that thoſe who had declaimed the loudeſt for the liberties of their country had been actuated ſolely by the moſt ſordid, and even the moſt ridiculous motives of ſelf-intereſt. Jealouſy and mutual diſtruſt enſued between them and their former confederates. The nation complained, that, inſtead of a total change of men and meaſures, they ſaw the old miniſtry ſtrengthened by this coalition; and the ſame intereſt in parliament predominating with redoubled influence. They branded the new converts as apoſtates and betrayers of their country; and, in the tranſports of their indignation, they entirely over-looked the old object of their reſentment. That a nobleman of pliant principles, narrow fortune, and unbounded ambition, ſhould forſake his party for the blandiſhments of affluence, power, and authority, will not appear ſtrange to any perſon acquainted with the human heart; but the ſenſible part of mankind will always reflect with amazement upon the conduct of a man, who ſeeing himſelf idolized by his fellow-citizens, as the firſt and firmeſt patriot in the kingdom, as one of the moſt ſhining ornaments of his country, could give up all his popularity, and incur the contempt or deteſtation of mankind, for the wretched conſideration of an empty title, without office, influence, or the leaſt ſubſtantial appendage. One cannot, without an emotion of grief, contemplate ſuch an inſtance of infatuation—one cannot but lament, that ſuch glory ſhould have been ſo weakly forfeited: that ſuch talents ſhould have been loſt to the cauſe of liberty and virtue. Doubtleſs he flattered himſelf with the hope of one day directing the councils of his ſovereign; but this was never accompliſhed, and he remained a ſolitary monument of blaſted ambition. Before the change in the miniſtry, mr. Pulteney moved that the ſeveral papers relating to the conduct of the war, which had been laid before the houſe, ſhould be referred to a ſelect committee, who ſhould examine ſtrictly into the particulars, and make a report to the houſe of their remarks and objections. The motion introduced a debate; but, upon a diviſion, was rejected by a majority of three voices. Petitions having been preſented by the merchants of London, Briſtol, Liverpool, Glaſgow, and almoſt all the trading towns in the kingdom, complaining of the loſſes they had ſuſtained by the bad conduct of the war, the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee, to deliberate on theſe remonſtrances. The articles of the London petition were explained by mr. Glover, an eminent merchant of that city. Six days were ſpent in peruſing papers and examining witneſſes: then the ſame gentleman ſummed up the evidence, and in a pathethic ſpeech endeavoured to demonſtrate, that the commerce of Great-Britain had been expoſed to the inſults and rapine of the Spaniards, not by inattention or accident, but by one uniform and continued deſign. This enquiry being reſumed after the adjournment, copies of inſtructions to admirals and captains of cruiſing ſhips were laid before the houſe; the commons paſſed ſeveral reſolutions, upon which a bill was prepared for the better protecting and ſecuring the trade and navigation of the kingdom. It made its way through the lower-houſe; but was thrown out by the lords. The penſion-bill was revived and ſent up to the peers, where it was again rejected, lord Carteret voting againſt that very meaſure which he had ſo lately endeavoured to promate. On the 9th day day of March, lord Limerick made a motion for appointing a committee to enquire into the conduct of affairs for the laſt 20 years: he was ſeconded by ſir John St. Aubin, and ſupported by mr. Velters Cornwall, mr. Phillips, mr. W. Pitt, and lord Percival, the new member for Weſtminſter, who had already ſignalized himſelf by his eloquence and capacity. The motion was oppoſed by ſir Charles Wager, mr. Pelham, and mr. Henry Fox, ſurveyor-general to his majeſty's works, and brother to lord Ilcheſter. Though the oppoſition was faint and frivolous, the propoſal was rejected by a majority of two voices.

[1742] Lord Limerick, not yet diſcouraged, made a motion, on the 23d day of March, for an enquiry into the conduct of Robert earl of Orford, for the laſt ten years of his adminiſtration; and, after a ſharp debate, it was carried in the affirmative. The houſe reſolved to chooſe a ſecret committee by ballot; and in the mean time preſented an addreſs to the king, aſſuring him of their fidelity, zeal, and affection.

Sir Robert Godſchall having moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the act for ſeptennial parliaments, he was ſeconded by ſir John Barnard; but warmly oppoſed by mr. Pulteney and mr. Sandys; and the queſtion paſſed in the negative. The committee of ſecreſy being choſen, began to examine evidence, and mr. Paxton, ſollicitor to the treaſury, refuſing to anſwer ſuch queſtions as were put to him, lord Limerick, chairman of the committee, complained to the houſe of his obſtinacy. He was firſt taken into cuſtody; and ſtill perſiſting in his refuſal, committed to Newgate. Then his lordſhip moved, that leave ſhould be given to bring in a bill for indemnifying evidence againſt the earl of Orford; and it was actually prepared by a deciſion of the majority. In the houſe of lords it was vigorouſly oppoſed by lord Carteret, and as ſtrenuouſly ſupported by the duke of Argyle; but fell upon a diviſion, by the weight of ſuperior numbers. Thoſe members in the houſe of commons who heartily wiſhed that the enquiry might be proſecuted were extremely incenſed at the fate of this bill. A committee was appointed to ſearch the journals of the lords for precedents: their report being read, lord Strange, ſon of the earl of Derby, moved for a reſolution, 'That the lords refuſing to concur with the commons of Great-Britain, in an indemnification neceſſary to the effectual carrying on the enquiry, now depending in parliament, is an obſtruction to juſtice, and may prove fatal to the liberties of this nation.'—This motion, which was ſeconded by lord Quarendon, ſon of the earl of Lichfield, gave riſe to a warm debate; and mr. Sandys declaimed againſt it, as a ſtep that would bring on an immediate diſſolution of the preſent form of government. It is really amazing to ſee with what ef-

frontery ſome men can ſhift their maxims, and openly contradict the whole tenor of their former conduct. Mr Sandys did not paſs uncenſured: he ſuſtained ſome ſevere ſarcaſms on his apoſtacy, from ſir John Hynde Cotton, who refuted all his objections: nevertheleſs, the motion paſſed in the negative. Notwithſtanding this great obſtruction, purpoſely thrown in the way of the enquiry, the ſecret committee diſcovered many flagrant inſtances of fraud and corruptiou in which the earl of Orford had been concerned. It appeared that he had granted fraudulent contracts for paying the troops in the Weſt-Indies: that he had employed iniquitous arts to influence elections: that for ſecret-ſervice, during the laſt ten years, he had touched one million four hundred fifty-three thouſand four hundred pounds of the public money: that above 50,000l. of this ſum had been paid to authors and printers of news-papers and political tracts written in defence of the miniſtry: that on the very day which preceded his reſignation he had ſigned orders on the civil-liſt revenues for above 30,000l. but as the caſh remaining in the exchequer did not much exceed 14,000l. he had raiſed the remaining part of the 30,000, by pawning the orders to a banker. The committee proceeded to make further progreſs in their ſcrutiny, and had almoſt prepared a third report, when they were interrupted by the prorogation of parliament.

The miniſtry, finding it was neceſſary to take ſome ſtep for conciliating the affection of the people, gave way to a bill for excluding certain officers from ſeats in the houſe of commons. They paſſed another for encouraging the linen manufacture; a third for regulating the trade of the plantations; and a fourth to prevent the marriage of lunatics. They voted 40,000 ſeamen, and 62,500 landmen for the ſervice of the current year. They provided for the ſubſidies to Denmark and Heſſe-Caſſel, and voted 500,000l. to the queen of Hungary. The expence of the year amounted to near 600,000l. raiſed by the land-tax at four ſhillings in the pound, by the malt-tax, by one million from the ſinking-fund, by annuities granted upon it for 800,000l. and a loan of 1,600,000l. from the Bank. In the month of July, John lord Gower was appointed keeper of his majeſty's privy-ſeal: Allen lord Bathurſt was made captain of the band of penſioners; and on the 15th day of the month, mr. Pulteney took his ſeat in the houſe of peers, as earl of Bath. The king cloſed the ſeſſion in the uſual way, after having given them to underſtand, that a treaty of peace was concluded between the queen of Hungary and the king of Pruſſia, under his mediation; and that the late ſucceſſes of the Auſtrian arms were in a great meaſure owing to the generous aſſiſtance afforded by the Britiſh nation.

By this time great changes had happened in the affairs of the continent. The elector of Bavaria was choſen emperor of Germany at Franckfort on the Maine, and crowned by the name of Charles VII. on the 12th day of February. Thither the imperial diet was removed from Ratiſbon: they confirmed his election, and indulged him with a ſubſidy of 60 Roman months, amounting to about 200,000l. ſterling. In the mean time, the Auſtrian general, Khevenhuller, ravaged his electorate, and made himſelf maſter of Munich, the capital of Bavaria: he likewiſe laid part of the Palatine under contribution, in reſentment for that elector's having ſent a body of his troops to re-enforce the imperial army. In March, count Saxe, with a detachment of French and Bavarians, reduced Egra; and the Auſtrians were obliged to evacuate Bavaria, though they afterwards returned. Khevenhuller took poſt in the neighbourhood of Paſſau, and detached general Bernclau to Dinglefing on the Iſer, to obſerve the motions of the enemy, who were now become extremely formidable. In May, a detachment of French and Bavarians advanced to the caſtle of Hilkerſbergh on the Danube, with a view to take poſſeſſion of a bridge over the river: the Auſtrian garriſon immediately marched out to give them battle, and a ſevere action enſued, in which the imperialiſts were defeated.

In the beginning of the year, the queen of Hungary had aſſembled two conſiderable armies in Moravia and Bohemia. Prince Charles of Lorraine, at the head of 50,000 men, advanced againſt the Saxons and Pruſſians, who thought proper to retire with precipitation from Moravia, which they had invaded. Then the prince took the route to Bohemia; and marſhal Broglio, who commanded the French forces in that country, muſt have fallen a ſacrifice, had not the king of Pruſſia received a ſtrong re-enforcement, and entered that kingdom before his allies could be attacked. The two armies advanced towards each other; and, on the 17th day of May, joined battle at Czaſlaw, where the Auſtrians at firſt gained a manifeſt advantage and penetrated as far as the Pruſſian baggage: then the irregulars began to plunder ſo eagerly, that they neglected every other conſideration. The Pruſſian infantry took this opportunity to rally: the battle was renewed, and, after a very obſtinate conteſt, the victory was ſnatched out of the hands of the Auſtrians, who were obliged to retire, with the loſs of 5000 men killed, and 1200 taken by the enemy. The Pruſſians paid dear for the honour of remaining on the field of battle; and from the circumſtances of this action the king is ſaid to have conceived a diſguſt to the war. When the Auſtrians made ſuch progreſs in the beginning of the engagement, he rode off with great expedition, until he was recalled by a meſſage from his general, the count de Schwerin, aſſuring his majeſty that there was no danger of a defeat. Immediately after this battle, he diſcovered an inclination to accommodate all differences with the queen of Hungary. The earl of Hyndford, ambaſſador from the court of Great-Britain, who accompanied him in this campaign, and was veſted with full powers by her Hungarian majeſty, did not fail to cultivate this favourable diſpoſition: and on the 1ſt day of June, a treaty of peace between the two powers was concluded at Breſlaw. The queen ceded to his Pruſſian majeſty the Upper and Lower Sileſia, with the county of Glatz in Bohemia; and he charged himſelf with the payment of the ſum lent by the merchants of London to the late emperor, on the Sileſian revenues. He likewiſe engaged to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality during the war, and to withdraw his forces from Bohemia in 15 days after the ratification of the treaty, in which were comprehended the king of Great-Britain, elector of Hanover, the czarina, the king of Denmark, the ſtates-general, the houſe of Wolfenbuttle, and the king of Poland elector of Saxony, on certain conditions which were accepted.

The king of Pruſſia recalled his troops; while Mareſchal Broglio, who commanded the French auxiliaries in that kingdom, and the count de Belleiſle, abandoned, their magazines and baggage, and retired with precipitation under the cannon of Prague. There they entrenched themſelves in an advantageous ſituation; and prince Charles being joined by the other body of Auſtrians, under prince Lobkowitz, encamped in ſight of them, on the hills of Giriſnitz. The grand-duke of Tuſcany arrived in the Auſtrian army, of which he took the command; and the French generals offered to ſurrender Prague, Egra, and all the other places they poſſeſſed in Bohemia, provided they might be allowed to march off with their arms, artillery, and baggage. The propoſal was rejected, and Prague inveſted on all ſides about the end of July. Though the operations of the ſiege were carried on in an aukward and ſlovenly manner, the place was ſo effectually blocked up, that famine muſt have compelled the French to ſurrender at diſcretion, had not very extraordinary efforts been made for their relief. The emperor had made advances to the queen of Hungary. He promiſed that the French forces ſhould quit Bohemia, and evacuate the empire; and he offered to renounce all pretenſions to the kingdom of Bohemia, on conditions that the Auſtrians would reſtore Bavaria: but theſe conditions were declined by the court of Vienna. The king of France was no ſooner appriſed of the condition to which the generals Broglio and Belleiſle were reduced, then he ſent orders to marſhal Maillebois, who commanded his army on the Rhine, to march to their relief. His troops were immediately put in motion; and when they reached Amberg in the Upper Palatine were joined by the French and imperialiſts from Bavaria. Prince Charles of Lorrain having received intelligence of their junction and deſign, left 18,000 men to maintain the blocade of Prague, under the command of general Feſtititz, while he himſelf, with the reſt of the army, advanced to Haydon, on the frontiers of Bohemia. There he was joined by count Khevenhuller, who from Bavaria had followed the enemy, now commanded by count Seckendorff, and the count de Saxe. Seckendorff, however was ſent bac to Bavaria, while marſhal Maillebois entered Bohemia on the 25th day of September. But he marched with ſuch precaution, that prince Charles could not bring him to an engagement. Mean while Feſtititz, for want of ſufficient force, was obliged to abandon the blocade of Prague; and the French generals being now at liberty, took poſt at Leutmaritz. Maillebois advanced as far as Kadan: but ſeeing the Auſtrians poſſeſſed of all the paſſes of the mountains, he marched bac to the Palatine, and was miſerably harraſſed in his retreat by prince Charles, who had left a ſtrong body with prince Lobkowitz, to watch the motions of Belleiſle and Broglio.

These generals seeing themselves surrounded on all hands, returned to Prague, from whence Broglio made his escape in the habit of a courier, and was sent to command the army at Maillebois, who was by this time disgraced. Prince Lobkowitz, who now directed the blocade of Prague, had so effectually cut off all communication between that place and the adjacent country, that in a little time the French troops were reduced to great extremity, both from the severity of the season, and the want of provision. They were already reduced to the necessity of eating horse-flesh, and unclean animals; and they had no other prospect but that of perishing by famine or war, when their commander formed the scheme of a retreat, which was actually put in execution. Having taken some artful precautions to deceive the enemy, he, in the middle of December, departed from Prague at midnight, with about 14,000 men, thirty pieces of artillery, and some of the principal citizens as hostages for the safety of 900 soldiers whom he had left in garrison. Notwithstanding the difficulties he must have encountered at that season of the year, in a broken and unfrequented road which he purposely chose, he marched with such expedition, that he had gained the passes of the mountains, before he was overtaken by the horse and hussars of prince Lobkowitz. The fatigue and hardships which the miserable soldiers underwent are inexpressible. A great number perished in the snow, and many hundreds, fainting with weariness, cold, and hunger, were left to the mercy of the Austrian irregulars, consisting of the most barbarous people on the face of the earth. The count de Belleisle, though tortured with the hip-gout, behaved with surprising resolution and activity. He caused himself to be carried in a litter to every place where he thought his presence was necessary, and made such dispositions, that the pursuers never could make an impression upon the body of his troops: but all his artillery, baggage, and even his own equipage, fell into the hands of the enemy. On the 29th day of December, he arrived at Egra, from whence he proceeded to Alsace without further molestation: but, when he returned to Versailles, he met with a very cold reception, notwithstanding the gallant exploit which he had performed. After his escape, prince Lobkowitz returned to Prague, and the small garrison which Belleisle had left in that place surrendered upon honourable terms; so that this capital reverted to the house of Austria.

The king of Great-Britain resolving to make a powerful diversion in the Netherlands, had, in the month of April, ordered 16,000 effective men to be embarked for that country: but, as this step was taken without any previous concert with the states-general, the earl of Stair, destined to the command of the forces in Flanders, was in the mean time appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to their high-mightinesses, in order to persuade them to co-operate vigorously in the plan which his Britannic majesty had formed—A plan by which Great-Britain was engaged as a principal in a foreign dispute, and entailed upon herself the whole burthen of an expensive war, big with ruin and disgrace. England, from being the umpire, was now become a party in all continental quarrels; and, instead of trimming the balance of Europe, lavished away her blood and treasure in supporting the interest and allies of a puny electorate in the north of Germany. The king of Prussia had been at variance with the elector of Hanover. The duchy of Mecklenburgh was the avowed subject of dispute: but his Prussian majesty is said to have had other more provoking causes of complaint, which, however, he did not think proper to divulge. The king of Great-Britain found it convenient to accommodate these differences. In the course of this summer, the two powers concluded a convention, in consequence of which the troops of Hanover evacuated Mecklenburgh, and three regiments of Brandenburgh took possession of those bailiwicks that were mortagged to the king of Prussia. The elector of Hanover being now secured from danger, sixteen thousand troops of that country, together with the 6000 auxilary Hessians, began their march for the Netherlands; and about the middle of October arrived in the neighbourhood of Brussels, were they encamped. The earl of Stair repaired to Ghent, where the British forces were quartered: a body of Austrians was assembled; and though the season was far advanced, he seemed determined upon some expedition: but all of a sudden the troops were sent into winter-quarters. The Austrians retired to Luxemburgh; the English and Hessians remained in Flanders; and the Hanoverians marched into the county of Liege, without paying any regard to the bishop's protestation.

The states-general had made a considerable augmentation of their forces by sea and land; but, notwithstanding the repeated instances of the earl of Stair, they resolved to adhere to their neutrality: they dreaded the neighbourhood of the French; and they were far from being pleased to see the English get footing in the Netherlands. The friends of the house of Orange began to exert themselves: the states of Groningen and West-Friesland protested, in favour of the prince, against the promotion of foreign generals which had lately been made: but his interest was powerfully opposed by the provinces of Zealand and Holland, which had the greatest weight in the republic. The revolution in Russia did not put an end to the war with Sweden. These two powers had agreed to an armistice of three months during which the czarina augmented her forces in Finland. She likewise ordered the counts Osterman and Munich, with their adherents, to be tried: they were condemned to death, but pardoned on the scaffold, and sent in exile to Siberia. The Swedes still encouraged by the intrigues of France, refused to listen to any terms of accommodation, unless Carelia, and the other conquests of the czar Peter, should be restored. The French court had expected to bring over the new empress to their measures: but they found her as well disposed as her predecessor to assist the house of Austria. She remitted a considerable sum of money to the queen of Hungary; and at the same time congratulated the elector of Bavaria on his elevation to the imperial throne. The ceremony of her coronation was performed in May, with great solemnity, at Moscow; and in November, she declared her nephew, the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, her successor, by the title of grand-prince of all the Russias. The cessation of arms being expired, general Lasci reduced Frederickshein, and obliged the Swedish army, commanded by count Lewenhaupt, to retire before him, from one place to another, until at length they were quite surrounded near Helsingfors. In this emergency, the Swedish general submitted to a capitulation, by which his infantry were transported by sea to Sweden: his cavalry marched by land to Abo; and his artillery and magazines remained in the hands of the Russians. The king of Sweden being of an advanced age, the diet assembled in order to settle the succession; and the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, as grandson to the eldest sister to Charles XII. was declared next heir to the crown. A courier was immediately dispatched to Moscow, to notify to the duke this determination of the diet; and this message was followed by a deputation; but when they understood that he had embraced the religion of the Greek church, and been acknowledged successor to the throne of Russia, they annulled his election for Sweden, and resolved that the succession should not be re-established, until a peace should be concluded with the czarina. Conferrences were opened at Abo for this purpose. In the mean time, the events of war had been so long unfortunate for Sweden, that it was absolutely necessary to appease the indignation of the people with some sacrifice. The generals Lewnhaupt and Bodenbrock were tried by a court-martial for misconduct: being found guilty and condemned to death, they applied to the diet, by which the sentence was confirmed. The term of the subsidy-treaty between Great-Britain and Denmark expiring, his Danish majesty refused to renew it; nor would he accede to the peace of Breslau. On the other hand, he became subsidiary to France, with which also he concluded a new treaty of commerce.

The court of Versailles were now heartily tired of maintaining the war in Germany, and had actually made equitable proposals of peace to the queen of Hungary, by whom they were rejected. Thus repulsed, they redoubled their preparations; and endeavoured, by advantageous offers, to detach the king of Sardinia from the interest of the house of Austria. This prince had espoused a sister to the grand-duke, who pressed him to declare for her brother, and the queen of Hungary promised to gratify him with some territories in the Milanese: besides, he thought the Spaniards had already gained too much ground in Italy: but, at the same time, he was afraid of being crushed between France and Spain, before he could be properly supported. He, therefore, temporized, and protracted the negotiation, until he was alarmed at the progress of the Spanish arms in Italy, and fixed in his determination by the subsidies of Great-Britain. The Spanish army assembled at Rimini, under the duke de Montemar; and being joined by the Neapolitan forces, amounted to 60,000 men, furnished with a large train of artillery. About the beginning of May, they entered the Bolognese: then the king of Sardinia declaring against them, joined the Austrian army commanded by count Traun: marched into the duchy of Parma; and un-

derſtanding that the duke of Modena had engaged in a treaty with the Spaniards, diſpoſſeſſed that prince of his dominions. The duke de Montemar, ſeeing his army diminiſhed by ſickneſs and deſertion, retreated to the kingdom of Naples, and was followed by the king of Sardinia, as far as Rimini.

Here he received intelligence, that don Philip, third ſon of his catholic majeſty, had made an irruption into Savoy with another army of Spaniards, and already taken poſſeſſion of Chamberri, the capital. He forthwith began his march for Piedmont. Don Philip abandoned Savoy at his approach, and retreating into Dauphiné, took poſt under the cannon of Barreaux. The king purſued him thither, and both armies remained in ſight of each other till the month of December, when the marquis de Minas, an active and enterprizing general, arrived from Madrid, and took upon him the command of the forces under don Philip. This general's firſt exploit was againſt the caſtle of Aſpremont, in the neighbourhood of the Sardinian camp. He attacked it ſo vigorouſly that the garriſon was obliged to capitulate in 44 hours. The loſs of this important poſt compelled the king to retire into Piedmont, and the Spaniards marched bac into Savoy, where they eſtabliſhed their winter-quarters. In the mean time, the duke de Montemar, who directed the other Spaniſh army, though the duke of Modena was nominal generaliſſimo, reſigned his command to count Gages, who attempted to penetrate into Tuſcany; but was prevented by the vigilance of count Traun, the Auſtrian general. In December he quartered his troops in the Bolognese and Romagna; while the Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe were diſtributed in the Modeneſe and Parmeſan. The pope was paſſive during the whole campaign: the Venetians maintained their neutrality and the king of the two Sicilies was over-awed by the Britiſh fleet in the Mediterranean.

The new miniſtry in England had ſent out admiral Matthews to aſſume the command of this ſquadron, which had been for ſome time conducted by Leſtock, an inferior officer, as Haddock had been obliged to reſign his commiſſion, on account of his ill ſtate of health. Matthews was likewiſe inveſted with the character of miniſter-plenipotentiary to the king of Sardinia and the ſtates of Italy. Immediately after he had taken poſſeſſion of his command, he ordered captain Norris to deſtroy five Spaniſh gallies which had been put into the bay of St. Tropez; and this ſervice was effectually performed. In May he detached commodore Rowley, with eight ſail, to cruiſe off the harbour of Toulone and a great number of merchant-ſhips belonging to the enemy fell into his hands. In Auguſt he ſent commodore Martin with another ſquadron into the bay of Naples, to bombard that city, unleſs his Sicilian majeſty would immediately recal his troops, which had joined the Spaniſh army, and promiſe to remain neuter during the continuance of the war. Naples was immediately filled with conſternation; the king ſubſcribed to theſe conditions; and the Engliſh ſquadron rejoined the admiral in the road of Hieres, which he had choſen for his winter ſtation. Before this period he had landed ſome men at St. Remo, in the territories of Genoa, and deſtroyed the magazines that were erected for the uſe of the Spaniſh army. He had likewiſe ordered two of his cruiſers to attac a Spaniſh ſhip of the line which lay at anchor in the port of Ajaccio, in the iſland of Corſica: but the Spaniſh captain ſet his men on ſhore, and blew up his ſhip, rather than ſhe ſhould fall into the hands of the Engliſh.

In the courſe of this year admiral Vernon and general Wentworth made another effort in the Weſt-Indies. They had in January received a re-enforcement from England, and planned a new expedition, in concert with the governor of Jamaica, who accompanied them in the voyage. Their deſign was to diſembark the troops at Porto-Bello, and march acroſs the iſthmus of Darien, to attac the rich town of Panama. They ſailed from Jamaica on the 9th of March, and on the 28th arrived at Porto-Bello. There they held a council of war, in which it was reſolved, that as the troops were ſicly, the rainy ſeaſon begun, and ſeveral tranſports not yet arrived, the intended expedition was become impracticable. In purſuance of this detirmination the armament immediately returned to Jamaica, exhibiting a ridiculous ſpectacle of folly and irreſolution. [k] In Auguſt a ſhip of war was ſent from thence, with about 300 ſoldiers, to the ſmall iſland Rattan, in the bay of Honduras, of which they took poſſeſſion. In September Vernon and Wentworth received orders to return to England with ſuch troops as remained alive: theſe did not amount to a tenth part of the number which had been ſent abroad in that inglorious ſervice. The inferior officers fell ignobly by ſickneſs and deſpair, without an opportunity of ſignalizing their courage, and the commanders lived to feel the ſcorn and reproach of their country. In the month of June the new colony of Georgia was invaded by an armament from St. Auguſtine, commanded by don Marinel de Monteano, governor of that fortreſs. It conſiſted of 36 ſhips, from which 4000 men were landed at St. Simon's, and began their march for Frederica. General Oglethorpe, with a handful of men, took ſuch wiſe precautions for oppoſing their progreſs, and harraſſed them in their march with ſuch activity and reſolution, that after two of their detachments had been defeated, they retired to their ſhips, and totally abandoned the enterprize.

In England the merchants ſtill complained that their commerce was not properly protected, and the people clamoured much againſt the conduct of the war.——They ſaid their burthens were increaſed to maintain quarrels with which they had no concern; to defray the enormous expence of inactive fleets and pacific armies.—Lord C. had by this time inſinuated himſelf into the confidence of his ſovereign, and engroſſed the whole direction of public affairs. The war with Spain was now become a ſecondary conſideration, and neglected accordingly; while the chief attention of the new miniſter was turned upon the affairs of the continent. The diſpute with Spain concerned Britain only. The intereſts of Hanover were connected with the troubles of the empire. By purſuing this object he ſoothed the wiſhes of his maſter, and opened a more ample field for his own ambition. He had ſtudied the policy of the continent with peculiar eagerneſs. This was the favourite ſubject of his reflection, upon which he thought and ſpoke with a degree of enthuſiaſm. The intolerable taxes, the poverty, the ruined commerce of his country, the iniquity of ſtanding armies, votes of credit, and foreign connexions, upon which he had ſo often expatiated, were now forgotten, or overlooked. He ſaw nothing but glory, conqueſt, and acquired dominion. He ſet the power of France at defiance; and, as if Great-Britain had felt no diſtreſs, but teemed with treaſure which ſhe could not otherwiſe employ, he powered forth her millions with a raſh and deſperate hand, in purchaſing beggarly allies, and maintaining mercenary armies. The earl of Stair had arrived in England towards the end of Auguſt, and conferred with his majeſty. A privy-council was ſummoned; and in a few days that nobleman returned to Holland. Lord Carteret was ſent with a commiſſion to the Hague in September; and when he returned the baggage of the king and the duke of Cumberland, which had been ſhipped for Flanders, was ordered to be brought on ſhore. The parliament met on the 16th day of November, when his majeſty told them, that he had augmented the Britiſh forces in the Low-Countries with 16,000 Hanoverians and the Heſſian auxiliaries, in order to form ſuch a force, in conjunction with the Auſtrian troops, as might be of ſervice to the common cauſe at all events. He extolled the magnanimity and fortitude of the queen of Hungary, as well as the reſolute conduct of the king of Sardinia, and that prince's ſtrict adherence to his engagements, though attacked in his own dominions. He mentioned the requiſition made by Sweden, of his good offices for procuring a peace between that nation and Ruſſia; the defenſive alliances which he had concluded with the czarina, and with the king of Pruſſia, as events which could not have been expected, if Great-Britain had not manifeſted a ſeaſonable ſpirit and vigour, in defence and aſſiſtance of her ancient allies, and in maintaining the liberties of Europe. He ſaid, the honour and intereſt of his crown and kingdoms, the ſucceſs of the war with Spain, the re-eſtabliſhment of the balance and tranquillity of Europe would greatly depend on the prudence and vigour of their reſolutions. The marquis of Tweedale moved for an addreſs of thanks, which was oppoſed by the earl of Cheſterfield, for the reaſons ſo often urged on the ſame occaſion; but ſupported by lord C. on his new-adopted maxims, with thoſe ſpecious arguments which he could at all times produce, delivered with amazing ſerenity and aſſurance. The motion was agreed to, and the addreſs preſented to his ma-

[k] In May two Engliſh frigates, commanded by captain Smith and captain Stuart, fell in with three Spaniſh ſhips of war, near the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's. They forthwith engaged, and the action continued till night, by the favour of which the enemy retired to Porto-Rico in a ſhattered condition.

In the month of September the Tilbury ſhip of war, of ſixty-guns, was accidently ſet on fire, and deſtroyed, off the iſland of Hiſpaniola: on which occaſion 127 men periſhed: the reſt were ſaved by captain Hoare, of the Defiance, who happened to be on the ſame cruiſe.

jeſty. About this period a treaty of mutual defence and guarantee between his majeſty and the king of Pruſſia was ſigned at Weſtminſter. In the houſe of commons mr. Lyttelton made a motion for reviving the place-bill; but it was oppoſed by a great number of members who had formerly been ſtrenuous advocates for this meaſure, and rejected upon a diviſion. This was alſo the fate of a motion made to renew the enquiry into the conduct of Robert earl of Orford. As many ſtrong preſumptions of guilt had appeared againſt him in the reports of the ſecret committee, the nation had reaſon to expect that this propoſal would have been embraced by a great majority: but ſeveral members, who in the preceding ſeſſion had been loud in their demands of juſtice, now ſhamefully contributed their talents and intereſt in ſtifling the enquiry.

When the houſe of lords took into conſideration the ſeveral eſtimates of the expence occaſioned by the forces in the pay of Great-Britain, earl Stanhope, at the cloſe of an elegant ſpeech, moved for an addreſs, to beſeech and adviſe his majeſty, that, in compaſſion to his people, loaded already with ſuch numerous and heavy taxes, ſuch large and growing debts, and greater annual expences than the nation at any time before had ever ſuſtained, he would exonorate his ſubjects of the charge and burthen of thoſe mercenaries who were taken into the ſervice laſt year, without the advice or conſent of parliament. The motion was ſupported by the earl of Sandwich, who took occaſion to ſpeak with great contempt of Hanover, and in mentioning the royal family, ſeemed to forget that decorum which the ſubject required. He had, indeed, reaſon to talk with aſperity on the contract by which the Hanoverians had been taken into the pay of Great-Britain. Levy-money was charged to the account, though they were engaged for one year only; and though not a ſingle regiment had been raiſed on this occaſion: they had been levied for the ſecurity of the electorate; and would have been maintained if England had never engaged in the affairs of the continent. The duke of Bedford enlarged upon the ſame ſubject. He ſaid it had been ſuſpected, nor was the ſuſpicion without foundation, that the meaſures of the Engliſh miniſtry had long been regulated by the intereſt of his majeſty's electoral territories: that theſe had been long conſidered as a gulf into which the treaſures of Great-Britain had been thrown: that the ſtate of Hanover had been changed without any viſible cauſe, ſince the acceſſion of its princes to the throne of England: affluence had begun to wanton in their towns, and gold to glitter in their cottages, without the diſcovery of mines, or the increaſe of their commerce; and new dominions had been purchaſed, of which the value was never paid from the revenues of Hanover. The motion was hunted down by the new miniſter, the patriot lord Bathurſt, and the earl of Bath, which laſt nobleman declared that he conſidered it as an act of cowardice and meanneſs, to fall paſſively down the ſtream of popularity, to ſuffer his reaſon and integrity to be overborne by the noiſe of vulgar clamours, which had been raiſed againſt the meaſures of government by the low arts of exaggeration, fallacious reaſonings, and partial repreſentations. This is the very language which ſir Robert Walpole had often uſed againſt mr. Pulteney and his confedrates in the houſe of commons. The aſſociates of the new ſecratary pleaded the cauſe of Hanover, and inſiſted upon the neceſſity of a land-war againſt France, with all the vehemence of declamation. Their ſuggeſtions were anſwered; their conduct was ſeverely ſtigmatized by the earl of Cheſterfield, who obſerved, that the aſſembling an army in Flanders, without the concurrence of the ſtates-general or any other power engaged by treaty, or bound by intereſt, to ſupport the queen of Hungary, was a raſh and ridiculous meaſure: the taking 16,000 Hanoverians into Britiſh pay, without conſulting the parliament, ſeemed highly derogatory to the rights and dignity of the great council of the nation, and a very dangerous precedent to future times: that theſe troops could not be employed againſt the emperor, whom they had already recognized: that the arms and wealth of Britain alone were altogether inſufficient to raiſe the houſe of Auſtria to its former ſtrength, dominion, and influence: that the aſſembling an army in Flanders would engage the nation as principals in an expenſive and ruinous war, with a power which it ought not to provoke, and could not pretend to withſtand in that manner: that while Great-Britain exhauſted herſelf almoſt to ruin, in purſuance of ſchemes founded on engagements to the queen of Hungary, the electorate of Hanover, though under the ſame engagements, and governed by the ſame prince, did not appear to contribute any thing as an ally to her aſſiſtance, but was paid by Great-Britain for all the forces it had ſent into the field, at a very exorbitant price: that nothing could be more abſurd and iniquitous than to hire theſe mercenaries, while a numerous army lay inactive at home; and the nation groaned under ſuch intolerable burthens. 'It may be proper (added he) to repeat what may be forgotten in the multitude of other objects, that this nation, after having axalted the elector of Hanover from a ſtate of obſcurity to the crown, is condemned to hire the troops of that electorate to fight their own cauſe; to hire them at a rate which was never demanded before; and to pay levy-money for them, though it is known to all Europe that they were not raiſed for this occaſion.' All the partiſans of the old miniſtry joined in the oppoſition to earl Stanhope's motion, which was rejected by the majority. Then the earl of Scarborough moved for an addreſs, to approve of the meaſures which had been taken on the continent; and this was likewiſe carried by dint of number. It was not, however, a very eligible victory: what they gained in parliament they loſt with the people. The new miniſters became more odious than their predeceſſors; and people began to think that public virtue was an empty name.

But the moſt ſevere oppoſition they underwent was in their endeavours to ſupport a bill which they had concerted, and which had paſſed through the houſe of commons with great precipitation: it repealed certain duties on ſpirituous liquors; and licences for retailing thoſe liquors; and impoſed others at an eaſier rate. When thoſe ſevere duties, amounting almoſt to a prohibition, were impoſed, the populace of London were ſunk into the moſt brutal degeneracy, by drinking to exceſs the pernicious ſpirit called Gin, which was ſold ſo cheap, that the loweſt claſs of the people could afford to indulge themſelves in one ſtate of intoxication, to the deſtruction of all morals, induſtry, and order. Such a ſhameful degree of profligacy prevailed, that the retailers of this poiſonous compound ſet up painted boards in public, inviting people to be drunk for the ſmall expence of one penny; aſſuring them they might be dead drunk for two-pence, and have ſtraw for nothing. They accordingly provided cellars and places ſtrewed with ſtraw, to which they conveyed thoſe wretches who were overwhelmed with intoxication. In theſe diſmal caverns they lay until they recovered ſome uſe of their faculties, and then they had recourſe to the ſame miſchievous potion: thus conſuming their health, and ruining their families in hideous receptacles of the moſt filthy vice, reſounding with riot, execration and blaſphemy. Such beaſtly practices too plainly denoted a total want of all police and civil regulations, and would have reflected diſgrace upon the moſt barbarous community. In order to reſtrain this evil, which was become intolerable, the legiſlature enacted that law which we have already mentioned. But the populace ſoon broke through all reſtraint. Though no licince was obtained, and no duty paid, the liquor continued to be ſold in all corners of the ſtreets: informers were intimidated by the threats of the people; and the juſtices of the peace, either from indolence or corruption, neglected to put the law in execution. The new miniſters foreſaw that a great revenue would accrue to the crown from a repeal of this act; and this meaſure they thought they might the more decently take, as the law had proved ineffectual: for it appeared that the conſumption of gin had conſiderably increaſed every year ſince thoſe heavy duties were impoſed. They, therefore, pretended, that ſhould the price of the liquor be moderately raiſed, and licences granted at 20s. each to the retailers, the loweſt claſs of people would be debarred the uſe of it to exceſs: their morals would of conſequence be mended; and a conſiderable ſum of money might be raiſed for the ſupport of the war, by mortgaging the revenue ariſing from the duty and the licences. Upon theſe maxims the new bill was founded, and paſſed through the lower-houſe without oppoſition: but among the peers it produced the moſt obſtinate diſpute which had happened ſince the beginning of this parliament. The firſt aſſault it ſuſtained was from lord Hervey, who had been diveſted of his poſt of privy-ſeal, which was beſtowed on lord Gower; and theſe two noblemen exchanged principles from that inſtant. The firſt was hardened into a ſturdy patriot; the other ſupplied into an obſequious courtier. Lord Hervey, on this occaſion, made a florid harangue upon the pernicious effects of the deſtructive ſpirit they were about to let looſe upon their fellow-creatures. Several prelates expatiated on the ſame topics: but the earl of Cheſterfield attacked the bill with the united powers of reaſon, wit, and redicule. Lord Carteret, lord Bathurſt, and the earl of Bath were numbered among its advocates; and ſhrewd arguments were advanced on both ſides of the queſtion. After very

long, warm, and repeated debates, the bill paſſed without amendments, though the whole bench of biſhops voted againſt it; and we cannot help owing, that it has not been attended with thoſe diſmal conſequences which the lords in the oppoſition foretold. When the queſtion was put for committing this bill, and the earl of Cheſterfield ſaw the biſhops join in his diviſion, 'I am in doubt (ſaid he) whether I have not got on the other ſide of the queſtion; for I have not had the honour to divide with ſo many lawn ſleeves for ſeveral years.'

By the report of the ſecret committee it appeared that the then miniſter had commenced proſecutions againſt the mayors of boroughs who oppoſed his influence in the elections of members of parliament. Theſe proſecutions were founded on ambiguities in characters, or trivial informalities in the choice of magiſtrates. An appeal on ſuch a proceſs was brought into the houſe of lords; and this evil falling under conſideration, a bill was prepared for ſecuring the independency of corporations; but as it tended to diminiſh the influence of the miniſtry, they argued againſt it with their uſual eagerneſs and ſucceſs; and it was rejected on a diviſion. The mutiny-bill and ſeveral others paſſed through both houſes. The commons granted ſupplies to the amount of ſix millions, raiſed by the land-tax, the malt-tax, duties on ſpirituous liquors, and licences, and a loan from the ſinking-fund. In two years the national debt had ſuffered an increaſe of 2,400,000l.

[1743] On the 21ſt day of April the ſeſſion was cloſed in the uſual manner. The king in his ſpeech to both houſes, told them, that, at the requiſition of the queen of Hungary, he had ordered his army, in conjunction with the Auſtrians, to paſs the Rhine for her ſupport and aſſiſtance: that he continued one ſquadron of ſhips in the Mediterranean, and another in the Weſt-Indies. He thanked the commons for the ample ſupplies they had granted; and declared it was the fixed purpoſe of his heart to promote the true intereſt and happineſs of his kingdoms. Immediately after the prorogation of parliament he embarked for Germany, accompanied by the duke of Cumberland, lord Carteret, and other perſons of diſtinction.

At this period the queen of Hungary ſeemed to triumph over all her enemies. The French were driven out of Bohemia and part of the Upper-Palatinate; and their forces under Mareſchal Broglio were poſted on the Danube. Prince Charles of Lorraine, at the head of the Auſtrian army, entered Bavaria; and in April obtained a victory over a body of Bavarians at Brauneau: at the ſame time, three bodies of Croatians penetrating through the paſſes the Tyroleze, ravaged the whole country to the very gates of Munich. The emperor preſſed the French general to hazard a battle; but he refuſed to run this riſque, though he had received a ſtrong re-enforcement from France. His imperial majeſty, thinking himſelf unſafe in Munich, retired to Augſburgh: Mareſchal Seckendorf retreated with the Bavarian troops to Ingoldſtadt, where he was afterwards joined by Mareſchal Broglio, whoſe troops had in this retreat been purſued and terribly harraſſed by the Auſtrian cavalry and huſſars. Prince Charles had opened a free communication with Munich, which now, for the third time, fell into the hands of the queen of Hungary. Her arms likewiſe reduced Friedberg and Landſperg, while prince Charles continued to purſue the French to Donawert, where they were joined by 12,000 men from the Rhine. Broglio ſtill avoided an engagement, and retreated before the enemy to Hailbron. The emperor being thus abandoned by his allies, and ſtripped of all his dominions, repaired to Franckfort, where he lived in indigence and obſcurity. He now made advances towards an accommodation with the queen of Hungary. His general, Seckendorf, had an interview with count Khevenhuller at the convent of Lowerſconfield, where a convention was ſigned. This treaty imported, That the emperor ſhould remain neuter during the continuance of the preſent war; and, that his troops ſhould be quartered in Franconia: that the queen of Hungary ſhould keep poſſeſſion of Bavaria till the peace: that Braunau and Scarding ſhould be delivered up to the Auſtrians: that the French garriſon of Ingoldſtadt ſhould be permitted to withdraw, and be replaced by Bavarians; but that the Auſtrian generals ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of all the artillery, magazines, and warlike ſtores belonging to the French, which ſhould be found in the place. The governors of Egra and Ingoldſtadt refuſing to acquieſce in the capitulation, the Auſtrians had recourſe to the operations of war; and both places were reduced. In Ingoldſtadt they found all the emperor's domeſtic treaſure, jewels, plate, pictures, cabinets, and curioſities, with the archives of the houſe of Bavaria, the moſt valuable effects belonging to the nobility of that electorate, a prodigious train of artillery, and a vaſt quantity of proviſions, arms, and ammunition.

The French king, baffled in all the efforts he had hitherto made for the ſupport of the emperor, ordered his miniſter at Franckfort to deliver a declaration to the diet, profeſſing himſelf very well pleaſed to hear they intended to interpoſe their mediation for terminating the war. He ſaid, he was no leſs ſatisfied with the treaty of neutrality which the emperor had concluded with the queen of Hungary; an event of which he was no ſooner informed, than he had ordered his troops to return to the frontiers of his dominions, that the Germanic body might be convinced of his equity and moderation. To this declaration the queen of Hungary anſwered in a reſcript, that the deſign of France was to embarraſs her affairs, and deprieve her of the aſſiſtance of her allies: that the elector of Bavaria could not be conſidered as a neutral party in his own cauſe: that the mediation of the empire could only produce a peace either with or without the concurrence of France: that in the former caſe no ſolid peace could be expected; in the latter, it was eaſy to foreſee, that France would pay no regard to a peace in which ſhe ſhould have no concern. She affirmed, that the aim of the French king was ſolely to gain time to repair his loſſes, that he might afterwards revive the troubles of the empire. The elector of Mentz, who had favoured the emperor, was now dead, and his ſucceſſor inclined to the Auſtrian intereſt. He allowed this reſcript to be entered in the journal of the diet, together with the proteſts which had been made when the vote of Bohemia was ſuppreſſed in the late election. The emperor complained in a circular letter of this tranſaction, as a ſtroke levelled at his imperial dignity; and it gave riſe to a warm diſpute among the members of the Germanic body. Several princes reſented the haughty conduct, and began to be alarmed at the ſucceſs of the houſe of Auſtria: while others pitied the deplorable ſituation of the emperor. The kings of Great-Britain and Pruſſia, as electors of Hanover and Brandenburgh, eſpouſed oppoſite ſides in this conteſt. His Pruſſian majeſty proteſted againſt the inveſtiture of the duchy of Saxe-Lawenburgh, claimed by the king of Great-Britain: he had an interview with general Seckendorf at Anſpach; and was ſaid to have privately viſited the emperor at Franckfort.

The troops which the king of Great-Britain had aſſembled in the Netherlands began their march for the Rhine in the latter end of February; and in May they encamped near Hoech on the river Mayne, under the command of the earl of Stair. This nobleman ſent major-general Bland to Franckfort, with a compliment to the emperor, aſſuring him, in the name of his Britannic majeſty, that the reſpect owing to his dignity ſhould not be violated, nor the place of his reſidence diſturbed. Notwithſtanding this aſſurance, the emperor retired to Munich, though he was afterwards compelled to return, by the ſucceſs of the Auſtrians in Bavaria. The French king, in order to prevent the junction of the Britiſh forces with prince Charles of Lorrain, ordered the mareſchal de Noailles to aſſemble 60,000 men upon the Mayne; while Coigny was ſent into Alſace with a numerous army, to defend that province, and oppoſe prince Charles, ſhould he attempt to paſs the Rhine. The mareſchal de Noailles, having ſecured the towns of Spire, Worms, and Oppenheim, paſſed the Rhine in the beginning of June, and poſted himſelf on the eaſt ſide of that river, above Franckfort. The earl of Stair advanced towards him, and encamped at Killenbach, between the river Mayne and the foreſt of D'Armſtadt: from this ſituation he made a motion to Aſcaffenburg, with a view to ſecure the navigation of the Upper-Mayne: but he was anticipated by the enemy, who lay on the other ſide of the river, and had taken poſſeſſion of the poſts above, ſo as to intercept all ſupplies. They were poſted on the other ſide of the river, oppoſite to the allies, whoſe camp they overlooked; and they found means, by their parties and other precautions, to cut off the communication by water between Franckfort and the confederates. The duke of Cumberland had already come to make his firſt campaign, and his majeſty arrived in the camp on the 9th day of June. He found his army, amounting to about 40,000 men, in danger of ſtarving: he received intelligence, that a re-enforcement of 12,000 Hanoverians and Heſſians had reached Hanau; and he reſolved to march thither, both with a view to effect the junction, and to procure proviſion for his forces. With this view he decamped on the 26th day of June. He had no ſooner quitted Aſchaffenburgh than it was ſeiſed by the French

general: he had not marched above three leagues, when he perceived the enemy, to the number of 30,000, had paſſed the river farther down, at Selingenſtadt, and were drawn up in order of battle at the village of Dettingen, to diſpute his paſſage. Thus he found himſelf cooped up in a very dangerous ſituation. The enemy had poſſeſſed themſelves of Aſchaffenburgh behind, ſo as to prevent his retreat: his troops were confined in a narrow plain, bounded by hills and woods on the right, flanked on the left by the river Mayne, on the oppoſite ſide of which the French had erected batteries that annoyed the allies on their march: in the front a conſiderable part of the French army was drawn up, with a narrow paſs before them, the village of Dettingen on their right, a wood on their left, and a moraſs in the centre. Thus environed, the confederates muſt either have fought at a very great diſadvantage, or ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, had not the duke de Gramont, who commanded the enemy, been inſtigated by the ſpirit of madneſs to forego theſe advantages. He paſſed the defile, and advancing towards the allies, a battle enſued. The French horſe charged with great impetuoſity, and ſome regiments of Britiſh cavalry were put in diſorder: but the infantry of the allies behaved with ſuch intrepidity and deliberation, under the eye of their ſovereign, as ſoon determined the fate of the day: the French were obliged to give way, and repaſs the Mayne with great precipitation, having loſt about 5000 men killed, wounded, or taken. Had they been properly purſued before they recollected themſelves from their firſt confuſion, in all probability they would have ſuſtained a total overthrow. The earl of Stair propoſed that a body of cavalry ſhould be detached on this ſervice; but his advice was over-ruled. The loſs of the allies in this action amounted to 2000 men. The generals Clayton and Monroy were killed: the duke of Cumberland, who exhibited uncommon proofs of courage, was ſhot through the calf of the leg: the earl of Albermarle, general Huſke, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction, were wounded. The king expoſed his perſon to a ſevere fire of cannon as well as muſquetry: he rode between the firſt and ſecond lines with his ſword drawn, and encouraged the troops to fight for the honour of England. Immediately after the action he continued his march to Hanau, where he was joined by the re-enforcement. The earl of Stair ſent a trumpet to mareſchal de Noailles, recommending to his protection the ſic and wounded that were left on the field of battle; and theſe the French general treated with great care and tenderneſs. Such generoſity ſoftens the rigours of war, and does honour to humanity.

The two armies continued on different ſides of the river till the 12th day of July, when the French general receiving intelligence that prince Charles of Lorraine had approached the Neckar, he ſuddenly retired, and repaſſed the Rhine between Worms and Oppenheim. The king of Great-Britain was viſited by prince Charles and count Khevenhuller at Hanau, where the future operations of the campaign were regulated. On the 27th day of Auguſt, the allied army paſſed the Rhine at Mentz, and the king fixed his head-quarters in the eſpiſcopal palace at Worms. Here the forces lay encamped till the latter end of September, when they advanced to Spire, where they were joined by 20,000 Dutch auxiliaries from the Netherlands. Mareſchal Noailles having retreated into Upper-Alſace, the allies took poſſeſſion of Germeſheim, and demoliſhed the entrenchment which the enemy had raiſed on the Queich: then they returned to Mentz: and in October were diſtributed into winter-quarters, after an inactive campaign that redounded very little to the honour of thoſe by whom the motions of the army were conducted. In September a treaty had been concluded at Worms between his Britannic majeſty, the king of Sardinia, and the queen of Hungary. She engaged to maintain 30,000 men in Italy: the king of Sardinia obliged himſelf to employ 40,000 infantry and 5000 horſe, in conſideration of his commanding the combined army, and receiving an annual ſubſidy of 200,000l. from Great-Britain. As a further gratification, the queen yielded to him the city of Placentia, with ſeveral diſtricts in the duchy of Pavia, and in the Novareſe; and all her right and pretenſions to Final, at preſent poſſeſſed by the republic of Genoa, which, they hoped, would give it up, on being repaid the purchaſe-money, amounting to 300,000l. This ſum the king of England promiſed to diſburſe; and moreover to maintain a ſtrong ſquadron in the Mediterranean, the commander of which ſhould act in concert with his Sardinian majeſty. Finally, the contracting powers agreed, that Final ſhould be conſtituted a free-port, like that of Leghorn. Nothing could be more unjuſt than this treaty, by which the Genoeſe were negotiated out of their property. They had purchaſed the marquiſate of Final of the late emperor for a valuable conſideration, and the purchaſe had been guaranteed by Great-Britain. It could not, therefore, be expected that they would part with this acquiſition to a prince whoſe power they thought already too formidable; eſpecially, on condition of its being made a free-port, to the prejudice of their own commerce. They preſented remonſtrances againſt this article, by their miniſters at the courts of London, Vienna, and Turin; and as very little regard was paid to their repreſentations, they threw themſelves into the arms of France and Spain for protection.

After the battle of Dettingen, colonel Mentzel, at the head of a large body of irregulars belonging to the queen of Hungary, made an irruption into Lorraine, part of which they ravaged without mercy. In September prince Charles, with the Auſtrian army, entered the Briſgaw, and attempted to paſs the Rhine; but mareſchal Coigny had taken ſuch precautions for guarding it on the other ſide, that he was obliged to abandon his deſign, and marching bac into the Upper-Palatinate, quartered his troops in that country, and in Bavaria. By this time the earl of Stair had ſollicited and obtained leave to reſign his command. He had for ſome time thought himſelf neglected; and was unwilling that his reputation ſhould ſuffer on account of meaſures in which he had no concern. In October the king of Great-Britain returned to Hanover, and the army ſeparated. The troops in Britiſh pay marched bac to the Netherlands, and the reſt took the rout to their reſpective countries. The ſtates-general ſtill wavered between their own immediate intereſt and their deſire to ſupport the houſe of Auſtria. At length, however, they ſupplied her with a ſubſidy, and ordered 20,000 men to march to her aſſiſtance, notwithſtanding the intrigues of the marquis de Fenelon, the French ambaſſador at the Hague, and the declaration of the king of Pruſſia, who diſapproved of this meaſure, and refuſed them a paſſage through his territories to the Rhine.

Sweden was filled with diſcontents, and divided into factions. The generals Bodenbrock and Lewenhaupt were beheaded, having been ſacrificed as ſcape-goats for the miniſtry. Some unſucceſsful efforts by ſea and land were made againſt the Ruſſians. At laſt the peace of Abo was concluded; and the duke of Holſtein-Utin, uncle to the ſucceſſor of the Ruſſian throne, was choſen as next heir to the crown of Sweden. A party had been formed in favour of the prince of Denmark; and the order of the peaſants actually elected him as ſucceſſor. The debates in the college of nobles roſe to a very dangerous degree of animoſity, and were appeaſed by an harangue in Swediſh verſe, which one of the ſenators pronounced. The peaſants yielded the point, and the ſucceſſion was ſettled on the duke of Holſtein. Denmark, inſtigated by French councils, began to make preparations of war againſt Sweden: but, a body of Ruſſian auxiliaries arriving in that kingdom, under the command of general Keith, and the czarina declaring ſhe would aſſiſt the Swedes with her whole force, the king of Denmark thought proper to diſarm. It had been an old maxim of French policy to embroil the courts of the North, that they might be too much employed at home to intermeddle in the affairs of Germany, while France was at war with the houſe of Auſtria. The good underſtanding between the czarina and the queen of Hungary was at this period deſtroyed, in conſequence of a conſpiracy which had been formed by ſome perſons of diſtinction at the court of Peterſburgh, for removing the empreſs Elizabeth, and recalling the princeſs Anne to the adminiſtration. This deſign being diſcovered, the principal conſpirators were corporally puniſhed, and ſent in exile to Siberia. The marquis de Botta, the Auſtrian miniſter, who had reſided at the court of the czarina, was ſuſpected of having been concerned in the plot; though the grounds of this ſuſpicion did not appear until after he was recalled and ſent as ambaſſador to the court of Berlin. The empreſs demanded ſatisfaction of the queen of Hungary, who appointed commiſſioners to enquire into his conduct, and he was acquitted: but the czarina was not at all ſatisfied of his innocence. In February a defenſive treaty of alliance was concluded between this princeſs and the king of Great-Britain.

By this time France was deprived of her ableſt miniſter, in the death of the cardinal de Fleury, who had for many years managed the affairs of that kingdom. He is ſaid to have poſſeſſed a lively genius, and an inſinuating addreſs; to have been regular in his deportment, and moderate in his diſpoſition; but at the ſame time he has been branded as de-

ceitful, diſſembling, and vindictive. His ſcheme of politics was altogether pacific; he endeavoured to accompliſh his purpoſes by raiſing and fomenting intrigues at foreign courts; he did not ſeem to pay much regard to the military glory of France: and he too much neglected the naval power of that kingdom. Since Broglio was driven out of Germany, the French court affected uncommon moderation. They pretended that their troops had only acted as auxiliaries while they remained in the empire: being, however, apprehenſive of an irruption into their own dominions, they declared, that thoſe troops were no longer to be conſidered in that light, but as ſubjects acting in the ſervice of France. The campaign in Italy proved unfavourable to the Spaniards, In the beginning of February count Gages, who commanded the Spaniſh army in the Bologneſs, amounting to 24,000 men, paſſed the Panaro and advanced to Campo-Santo, where he encountered the imperial and Piedmonteſe forces, commanded by the counts Traun and Aſpremont. The ſtrength of the two armies was nearly equal. The action was obſtinate and bloody, though indeciſive. The Spaniards loſt about 4000 men, killed, wounded, or taken. The damage ſuſtained by the confederates was not quite ſo great. Some cannon and colours were taken on both ſides; and each claimed the victory. Count Gages repaſſed the Panaro; retreated ſuddenly from Bologna; and marched to Rimini in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, where he fortified his camp in an advantageous ſituation, after having ſuffered ſeverely by deſertion. Count Traun remained inactive in the Modeneſe till September, when he reſigned his command to prince Lobkowitz. This general entered the Bologneſe in October, and then advanced towards count Gages, who, with his forces, now reduced to 7000, retreated to Fano; but afterwards took poſſeſſion of Peſaro, and fortified all the paſſes of the river Foglia. The ſeaſon was far advanced before the Spaniſh troops, commanded by don Philip, in Savoy, entered upon action. In all probability, the courts of Verſailles and Madrid carried on ſome private negociation with the king of Sardinia. This expedient failing, don Philip decamped from Chamberri in the latter end of Auguſt, and defiling through Dauphiné towards Briançon, was joined by the prince of Conti, at the head of 20,000 French auxiliaries. Thus re-enforced he attacked the Piedmonteſe lines at Chateau-Dauphiné; but was repulſed in ſeveral attempts, and obliged to retreat with conſiderable loſs. The French eſtabliſhed their winter-quarters in Dauphiné and Provence; and the Spaniards maintained their footing in Savoy.

The Britiſh fleet commanded by admiral Matthews overawed all the ſtates that bordered on the Miditerranean. This officer, about the end of June, underſtanding that fourteen xebecks, laden with artillery and ammunition for the Spaniſh army, had arrived at Genoa, ſailed thither from the road of Hieres, and demanded of the re-publie that they would either oblige theſe veſſels with the ſtores to quit their harbour, or ſequeſter their lading until a general peace ſhould be eſtabliſhed. After ſome diſpute, it was agreed that the cannon and ſtores ſhould be depoſited in the caſtle of Boniface, ſituated on a roc at the ſouth-end of Corſica; and that the xebecks ſhould have leave to retire without moleſtation. The Corſicans had ſome years before revolted, and ſhaken off the dominion of the Genoeſe, under which their iſland had remained for many centuries. They found themſelves oppreſſed, and reſolved to aſſert their freedom. They conferred the ſovereign authority on a German adventurer, who was ſolemnly proclaimed, by the name of king Theodore. He had ſupplied them with ſome arms and ammunition, which he had brought from Tunis; and amuſed them with promiſes of being aſſiſted by foreign powers in retrieving their independency: but as theſe promiſes were not performed, they treated him ſo roughly, that he had thought proper to quit the iſland, and they ſubmitted again to their old maſters. The troubles of Corſica were now revived. Theodore reviſited his kingdom, and was recognized by the principal chiefs of the iſland. He publiſhed a manifeſto: he granted a general pardon to all his ſubjects who ſhould return to their obedience: he pretended to be countenanced and ſupported by the king of Great-Britain and the queen of Hungary. He was certainly thought a proper inſtrument to perplex and harras the Genoeſe, and ſupplied at this juncture with a ſum of money to purchaſe arms for the Corſicans: but a change ſoon happened in the Britiſh miniſtry, and then he was ſuffered to relapſe into his original obſcurity. Admiral Matthews, though he did not undertake any expedition of importance againſt the maritime towns of Spain, continued to aſſert the Britiſh empire at ſea through the whole extent of the Mediterranean. The Spaniſh army under don Philip was no ſooner in motion, than the Engliſh admiral ordered ſome troops and cannon to be diſembarked for the ſecurity of Villa-Franca. Some ſtores having been landed at Civita-Vecchia, for the uſe of the Spaniſh forces under count Gages, Matthews interpreted this tranſaction into a violation of the neutrality which the pope had profeſſed; and ſent thither a ſquadron to bombard the place. The city of Rome was filled with conſternation; and the pope had recourſe to the good offices of his Sardinian majeſty, in conſequence of which the Engliſh ſquadron was ordered to withdraw. The captains of ſingle cruſing ſhips, by their activity and vigilance, wholly interrupted the commerce of Spain; cannonaded and burned ſome towns on the ſea-ſide; and kept the whole coaſt in continual alarm.[1]

In the Weſt-Indies ſome unſucceſsful efforts were made by an Engliſh ſquadron, commanded by commodore Knowles. He attacked La Gueira on the coaſt of Carraccas, in the month of February; but met with ſuch a warm reception, that he was obliged to deſiſt, and make the best of his way for the Dutch iſland Curaçoa, where he repaired the damage he had ſuſtained. His ſhips being refitted, he made another attempt upon Porto-Cavallo in April, which like the former miſcarried. Twelve hundred marines being landed in the neighbourhood of the place, were ſeized with ſuch a panic, that it was found neceſſary to re-embark them without delay. Then the commodore abandoned the enterprize, and ſailed bac to his ſtation at the Leeward-iſlands, without having added much to his reputation, either as to conduct or reſolution. On the continent of America the operations of the war were very inconſiderable. General Oglethorpe having received intelligence, that the Spaniards prepared for another invaſion from St. Auguſtine, aſſembled a body of Indians, as a re-enforcement to part of his own regiment, with the Highlanders and rangers, and in the ſpring began his march, in order to anticipate the enemy. He encamped for ſome time in the neighbourhood of St. Auguſtine, by way of defiance: but they did not think proper to hazard an engagement; and as he was in no condition to undertake a ſiege, he returned to Georgia. In October the princeſs Louiſa, youngeſt daughter of his Britannic majeſty, was married by proxy, at Hanover, to the prince-royal of Denmark, who met her at Altena, and conducted her to Copenhagen.

The diſcontents of England were artfully inflamed by antiminiſterial writers, who not only exaggerated the burthens of the people, and drew frightful pictures of the diſtreſs and miſery which, they ſaid, impended over the nation, but alſo employed the arts of calumny and miſrepreſentation, to excite a jealouſy and national quarrel between the Engliſh and Hanoverians. They affirmed, that in the laſt campaign the Britiſh general had been neglected and deſpiſed; while the councils of foreign officers, greatly inferior to him in capacity, quality, and reputation, had been followed, to the prejudice of the common cauſe: that the Britiſh troops ſuſtained daily inſults from their own mercenaries, who were indulged with particular marks of royal favour: that the ſovereign himſelf appeared at Dettingen in a Hanoverian ſcarf; and that his electoral troops were of very little ſervice in that engagement. Though the moſt material of theſe aſſertions were certainly falſe, they made a ſtrong impreſſion on the minds of the people, already irritated by the enormous expence of a continental war maintained for the intereſt of Germany. When the parliament met in the beginning of December, a motion was made in the houſe of peers, by the earl of Sandwich, for an addreſs, beſeeching his majeſty to diſcontinue the Hanoverian troops in Britiſh pay, in order to remove the popular diſcontent, and ſtop the murmurs of the Engliſh troops abroad. He was ſupported by the duke of Bedford, the earl of Cheſterfield, and all the leaders in the oppoſition, who did not fail to enumerate, and inſiſt upon all the circumſtances we

[1] In May a dreadful plague broke out at Meſſina in Sicily. It was imported in cotton and other commodities brought from the Morea; and ſwept off ſuch a multitude of people, that the city was almoſt depopulated: all the galley-ſlaves, who were employed in burying the dead, periſhed by the contagion; and this was the fate of many prieſts and monks who adminiſtred to thoſe who were infected. The dead bodies lay in heaps in the ſtreets, corrupting the air, and adding freſh fuel to the rage of the peſtilence. Numbers died miſerably, for want of proper attendance and neceſſaries; and all was horror and deſolation. At the beginning of winter it ceaſed, after having deſtroyed near 50,000 inhabitants of Meſſina, and of the garriſons in the citadel and caſtle. It was prevented from ſpreading in Sicily, by a ſtrong barricado drawn from Melazzo to Taormina: but it was conveyed to Reggio in Calabria, by the avarice of a broker of that place, who bought ſome goods at Meſſina. The king of Naples immediately ordered lines to be formed, together with a chain of troops which cut off all communication between that place and the reſt of the continent.

have mentioned. They moreover obſerved, that better troops might be hired at a ſmaller expence: that it would be a vain and endleſs taſk to exhauſt the national treaſure, in enriching a hungary and barren electorate: that the popular diſſatisfaction againſt theſe mercenaries was ſo general, and raiſed to ſuch violence, as nothing but their diſmiſſion could appeaſe: that if ſuch hirelings ſhould be thus continued from year to year, they might at laſt become a burthen entailed upon the nation, and be made ſubſervient, under ſome ambitious prince, to purpoſes deſtructive of Britiſh liberty. Theſe were the ſuggeſtions of ſpleen and animoſity: for, granting the neceſſity of a land war, the Hanoverians were the moſt natural allies and auxiliaries which Great-Britain could engage and employ. How inſolent ſoever ſome few individual generals of that electorate might have been in their private deportment, certain it is, their troops behaved with great ſobriety, diſcipline, and decorum; and in the day of battle did their duty with as much courage and alacrity as any body of men ever diſplayed on the like occaſion. The motion was rejected by the majority; but, when the term for keeping them in the Britiſh pay was nearly expired, and the eſtimates for their being continued the enſuing year were laid before the houſe, the earl of Sandwich renewed his motion. The lord-chancellor, as ſpeaker of the houſe, interpoſing, declared, that by their rules a queſtion once rejected could not be revived during the ſame ſeſſion. A debate enſued, and the ſecond motion was over-ruled. The Hanoverian troops were voted in the houſe of commons: nevertheleſs, the ſame nobleman moved in the upper-houſe, that the continuing 16,000 Hanoverians in Britiſh pay was prejudicial to his majeſty's true intereſt, uſeleſs to the common cauſe, and dangerous to the welfare and tranquillity of the nation. He was ſeconded by the duke of Marlborough, who had reſigned his commiſſion in diſguſt; and the propoſal gave birth to another warm diſpute: but victory declared, as uſual, for the miniſtry.

In the houſe of commons they ſuſtained divers attacs. A motion was made for laying a duty of 8s. in the pound on all places and penſions. Mr Grenville moved for an addreſs, to beſeech his majeſty, that he would not engage the Britiſh nation any further in the war on the continent, without the concurrence of the States-general on certain ſtipulated proportions of force and expence, as in the late war. Theſe propoſals begat vigorous debates, in which the country-party were always foiled by dint of ſuperior number. Such was the credit and influence of the miniſtry in parliament, that although the national debt was increaſed by above ſix millions ſince the commencement of the war, the commons indulged them with an enormous ſum for the expence of the enſuing year. The grants ſpecified in the votes amounted to ſix millions and an half: to this ſum were added three millions and an half paid to the ſinking-fund in perpetual taxes; ſo that this year's expence roſe to ten millions. The funds eſtabliſhed for the annual charge were the land and malt-taxes; one million paid by the Eaſt-India company for the renewal of their charter, 1200,000l. by annuities, one million from the ſinking-fund, 36,000l. from the coinage, and 600,000l. by a lottery: an expedient which for ſome time had been annually repeated: and which, in a great meaſure contributed to debauch the morals of the public, by introducing a ſpirit of gaming, deſtructive of all induſtry and virtue.

The diſſenſions of the Britiſh parliament were ſuddenly ſuſpended by an event that ſeemed to unite both parties in the proſecution of the ſame meaſures. This was the intelligence of an intended invaſion. By the parliamentary diſputes, the loud clamours, and the general diſſatisfaction of the people in Great-Britain, the French miniſtry were perſuaded that the nation was ripe for a revolt. This belief was corroborated by the aſſertions of their emiſſaries in different parts of Great-Britain and Ireland. Theſe were papiſts and jacobites of ſtrong prejudices and warm imaginations, he ſaw things through the medium of paſſion and party, and ſpoke rather from extravagant zeal than from ſober conviction. They gave the court of Verſailles to underſtand, that if the chevalier de St. George, or his eldeſt ſon, Charles-Edward, ſhould appear at the head of a French army in Great-Britain, a revolution would inſtantly follow in his favour. This intimation was agreeable to cardinal de Tencoin, who, ſince the death of Fleury, had borne a ſhare in the adminiſtration of France. He was of a violent enterpriſing temper. He had been recommended to the purple by the chevalier de St. George, and was ſeemingly attached to the Stuart family. His ambition was flattered with the proſpect of giving a king to Great-Britain; of performing ſuch eminent ſervice to his benefactor; and of reſtoring to the throne of their anceſtors a family connected by the ties of blood with all the greateſt princes of Europe. The miniſtry of France foreſaw, that even if this aim ſhould miſcarry, a deſcent upon Great-Britain would make a conſiderable diverſion from the continent in favour of France, and embroil and embarraſs his Britannic majeſty, who was the chief ſupport of the houſe of Auſtria, and all its allies. Actuated by theſe motives, he concerted meaſures with the chevalier de St. George at Rome, who being too much advanced in years to engage perſonally in ſuch an expedition, agreed to delegate his pretenſions and authority to his ſon Charles, a youth of promiſing talents, ſage, ſecret, brave, and enterpriſing, amiable in his perſon, grave, and even reſerved in his deportment. He approved himſelf in the ſequel compoſed and moderate in ſucceſs, wonderfully firm in adverſity; and though tenderly nurſed in all the delights of an effeminate country, and gentle climate, patient almoſt beyond belief of cold, hunger, and fatigue. Such was the adventurer now deſtined to fill the hope which the French miniſtry had conceived from the projected invaſion of Great-Britain.

Count Saxe was appointed by the French king commander of the troops deſigned for this expedition, which amounted to 15,000 men. They began their march to Picardy, and a great number of veſſels was aſſembled for their embarkation at Dunkirk, Calais, and Bologne. It was determined that they ſhould be landed in Kent, under convoy of a ſtrong ſquadron equipped at Breſt, and commanded by monſieur de Roquefuille, an officer of experience and capacity. The chevalier de St. George is ſaid to have required the perſonal ſervice of the duke of Ormond, who excuſed himſelf on account of his advanced age: be that as it will, prince Charles departed from Rome about the end of December, in the diſguiſe of a Spaniſh courier, attended by one ſervant only, and furniſhed with paſſports by cardinal Aquavia. He travelled through Tuſcany to Genoa, from whence he proceeded to Savona, where he embarked for Antibes, and proſecuting his journey to Paris, was indulged with a private audience of the French king: then he ſet out incognito for the coaſt of Picardy. The Britiſh miniſtry being appriſed of his arrival in France, at once comprehended the deſtination of the armaments prepared at Breſt and Boulogne. Mr Thompſon, the Engliſh reſident at Paris, received orders to make a remonſtrance to the French miniſtry, on the violation of thoſe treaties by which the pretender to the crown of Great-Britain was excluded from the territories of France. But he was given to underſtand, that his moſt chriſtian majeſty would not explain himſelf on that ſubject, until the king of England ſhould have given ſatisfaction on the repeated complaints which had been made to him, touching the infractions of thoſe very treaties which had been ſo often violated by his orders. In the month of January, M. de Roquefeuille ſailed from Breſt, directing his courſe up the Engliſh channel, with twenty ſhips of war. They were immediately diſcovered by an Engliſh cruiſer, which ran into Plymouth; and the intelligence was conveyed by land to the board of Admiralty. Sir John Norris was forthwith ordered to take the command of the ſquadron at Spithead, with which he ſailed round to the Downs, where he was joined by ſome ſhips of the line from Chatham, and then he found himſelf at the head of a ſquadron conſiderably ſtronger than that of the enemy.

Several regiments marched to the ſouthern coaſt of England: all governors and commanders were ordered to repair immediately to their reſpective poſts: the forts at the mouths of the Thames and Medway were put in a poſture of defence; and directions were iſſued to aſſemble the Kentiſh militia, to defend the coaſt in caſe of an invaſion. On the 15th day of February, the king ſent a meſſage to both houſes of parliament, intimating the arrival of the pretender's ſon in France, the preparations at Dunkirk, and the appearance of a French fleet in the Engliſh channel. They joined in an addreſs, declaring their indignation and abhorrence of the deſign formed in favour of a popiſh pretender; and aſſuring his majeſty, that they would, with the warmeſt zeal and unanimity, take ſuch meaſures as would enable him to fruſtrate and defeat ſo deſperate and inſolent an attempt. Addreſſes of the ſame kind were preſented by the city of London, both univerſities, the principal towns of Great-Britain, the clergy, the diſſenting miniſters, the quakers, and almoſtall the corporations and communities of the kingdom. A requiſition was made of the 6000 auxiliaries which the ſtates-general were by treaty obliged to furniſh on ſuch occaſions; and theſe were granted with great alacrity and expedition. The earl of Stair, forgetting his

wrongs, took this opportunity of offering his ſervice to government, and was re-inveſted with the chief command of the forces in Great-Britain. His example was followed by ſeveral noblemen of the firſt rank. The duke of Montague was permitted to raiſe a regiment of horſe; and orders were ſent to bring over 6000 of the Britiſh troops from Flanders, in caſe the invaſion ſhould actually take place. His majeſty was, in another addreſs from parliament, exhorted to augment his forces by ſea and land: the habeas corpus act was ſuſpended for ſix months, and ſeveral perſons of diſtinction were apprehended on ſuſpicion of treaſonable practices: a proclamation was iſſued for putting the laws in execution againſt papiſts and non-jurors, who were commanded to retire 10 miles from London, and every precaution was taken which ſeemed neceſſary for the preſervation of the public tranquillity.

Mean while the French court proceeded with their preparations at Boulogn and Dunkirk, under the eye of the young pretender; and 7000 men were actually embarked. M. de Roquefeuille ſailed up the channel as far as Dungeneſs, a promontory on the coaſt of Kent, after having detached M. de Barreil, with five ſhips to haſten the embarkation at Dunkirk. While the French admiral anchored off Dungeneſs, he perceived, on the 24th day of February, the Britiſh fleet, under ſir John Norris, doubling the South-Foreland from the Downs; and though the wind was againſt him, taking the opportunity of the tide to come up and engage the French ſquadron. Roquefeuille, who little expected ſuch a viſit, could not be altogether compoſed, conſidering the great ſuperiority of his enemies: but the tide failing, the Engliſh admiral was obliged to anchor two leagues ſhort of the enemy. In this interval, M. Roquefeuille called a council of war, in which it was determined to avoid an engagement, weigh anchor at ſun-ſet, and make the beſt of their way to the place from whence they had ſet ſail. This reſolution was favoured by a very hard gale of wind, which began to blow from the north-eaſt, and carried them down the channel with incredible expedition. But the ſame ſtorm which, in all probability, ſaved their fleet from deſtruction, utterly diſconcerted the deſign of invading England. A great number of their tranſports was driven aſhore and deſtroyed, and the reſt were ſo damaged that they could not be ſpeedily repaired. The Engliſh were now maſters at ſea, and their coaſt was ſo well guarded, that the enterprize could not be proſecuted with any probability of ſucceſs. The French generals nominated to ſerve in this expedition returned to Paris, and the young pretender reſolved to wait a more favourable opportunity. In the mean time he remained in Paris, or that neighbourhood, incognito, and almoſt totally neglected by the court of France. Finding himſelf in this diſagreeable ſituation, and being viſited by John Murray of Broughton, who magnified the power of his friends in Great-Britain, he reſolved to make ſome bold effort, even without the aſſiſtance of Louis, in whoſe ſincerity he had no faith, and forthwith took proper meaſures to obtain exact information touching the number, inclinations, and influence of his father's adherents in England and Scotland. The French king no longer preſerved any meaſures with the court of London: the Britiſh reſident at Paris was given to underſtand, that a declaration of war muſt enſue; and this was actually publiſhed on the 20th day of March. The king of Great-Britain was taxed with having diſſuaded the court of Vienna from entertaining any thoughts of an accommodation; with having infringed the convention of Hanover; with having exerciſed piracy upon the ſubjects of France, and with having blocked up the harbour of Toulon. On the 31ſt day of March, a like denunciation of war againſt France was publiſhed at London, amidſt the acclamations of the people.

[1744] The commons of England, in order to evince their loyalty, brought in a bill denouncing the penalties of high-treaſon againſt thoſe who ſhould maintain correſpondence with the ſons of the pretender. In the upper-houſe, lord Hardwicke, the chancellor, moved that a clauſe ſhould be inſerted, extending the crime of treaſon to the poſterity of the offenders, during the lives of the pretender's ſons. The motion was ſupported by the whole ſtrength of the miniſtry, produced a warm debate, in which the duke of Bedford, the earl of Cheſterfield, the lord Talbot and Hervey, argued againſt it in the moſt pathetic manner, as an illiberal expedient, contrary to the dictates of humanity, the law of nature, the rules of common juſtice and the precepts of religion; an expedient that would involve the innocent with the guilty, and tend to the augmentation of miniſterial power, for which purpoſe it was undoubtedly calculated. Notwithſtanding theſe ſuggeſtions, the clauſe was carried in the affirmative, and the bill ſent bac to the commons, where the amendment was vigorouſly oppoſed by lord Strange, lord Guernſey, mr. W. Pitt, and other members, by whom the original bill had been countenanced: [m] the majority, however declared for the amendment, and the bill obtained the royal aſſent. The ſeſſion of parliament was cloſed in May, when the king told them that the French had made vaſt preparations on the ſide of the Netherlands; and that the ſtates-general had agreed to furniſh the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaties.

By this time an action had happened in the Mediterranean between the Britiſh fleet commanded by admiral Matthews, and the combined ſquadrons of France and Spain, which had been for ſome time blocked up in the harbour of Toulon. On the 9th of February they were perceived ſtanding out of the road, to the number of 34 ſail: the Engliſh admiral immediately weighed from Hieres-bay; and on the 11th, part of the fleets engaged. Matthews attacked the Spaniſh admiral, don Novarro, whoſe ſhip, the Real, was a firſt rate, mounted with above 100 guns. Rear-admiral Rowley ſingled out M. de Court, who commanded the French ſquadron: and very few captains followed the example of their commanders: but vice-admiral Leſtock, with his whole diviſion, remained at a great diſtance aſtern; and ſeveral captains who were immediately under the eye of Matthews behaved in ſuch a manner as reflected diſgrace upon their country. The whole tranſaction was conducted without order or deliberation. The French and Spaniards would have willingly avoided an engagement, as the Britiſh ſquadron was ſuperior to them in ſtrength and number. M. de Court, therefore, made the beſt of his way towards the Straits mouth, probably with intentention to join the Breſt ſquadron: but he had orders to protect the Spaniſh fleet; and as they ſailed heavily, he was obliged to wait for them, at the hazard of maintaining a battle with the Engliſh. Thus circumſtanced he made ſail and lay to by turns; ſo that the Britiſh admiral could not engage them in proper order; and as they outſailed his ſhips, he began to fear they would eſcape him altogether, ſhould he wait for vice-admiral Leſtock, who was ſo far aſtern. Under this apprehenſion he made the ſignal for engaging, while that for the line of battle was ſtill diſplayed; and this inconſiſtency naturally introduced confuſion. The fight was maintained with great vivacity by the few who engaged. The Real being quite diſabled, and lying like a wreck upon the water, mr. Matthews ſent a fire-ſhip to deſtroy her; but the expedient did not take effect. The ſhip ordered to cover this machine did not obey the ſignal; ſo that the captain of the fire-ſhip was expoſed to the whole fire of the enemy. Nevertheleſs, he continued to advance until he found the veſſel ſinking; and being within a few yards of the Real, he ſet fire to the fuſees. The ſhip was immediately in flames, in the midſt of which he and his lieutenant, with twelve men periſhed. This was likewiſe the fate of a Spaniſh launch, which had been manned with fifty ſailors, to prevent the fire-ſhip from running on board the Real. One ſhip of the line belonging to the Spaniſh ſquadron ſtruc to captain Hawke, who ſent a lieutenant to take poſſeſſion of her: ſhe was afterwards retaken by the French ſquadron; but was found ſo diſabled, that they left her deſerted, and ſhe was next day burned by order of admiral Matthews. At night the action ceaſed; and the admiral found his own ſhip ſo much damaged, that he moved his flag into another. Captain Cornwall fell in the engagement, after having exhibited a remarkable proof of courage and intrepidity: but the loſs of men was very inconſiderable. Next day the enemy appeared to leeward, and the admiral gave chaſe till night, when he brought to, that he might be joined by the ſhips a-ſtern. They were perceived again on the 13th at a conſiderable diſtance, and purſued till the evening. In the morning of the 14th, twenty ſail of them were ſeen diſtinctly, and Leſtock with his diviſion had gained ground of them conſiderably by noon; but admiral Matthews diſplayed the ſignal for leaving off chaſe, and bore away for Port-Mahon, to repair the damage he had ſuſtained.

Mean while the combined ſquadrons continued their coaſt towards the coaſt of Spain. M. de Court, with his diviſion, anchored in the road of Alicant; and don Na-

[m] The oppoſition had ſuſtained a heavy blow in the death of the duke of Argyle, a nobleman of ſhining qualifications for the ſenate and the field, whoſe character would have been ſtill more illuſtrious, had not ſome parts of his conduct ſubjected him to the ſuſpicion of ſelfiſhneſs and inconſtancy. He was ſucceeded in that title by his brother, Archibald earl of Ilay.

varro ſailed into the harbour of Carthagena. Admiral Matthews, on his arrival at Minorca, accuſed Leſtock of having miſbehaved on the day of action; ſuſpended him from his office, and ſent him priſoner to England, where in his turn, he accuſed his accuſer. Long before the engagement, theſe two officers had expreſſed the moſt violent reſentment againſt each other. Matthews was brave, open, and undiſguiſed; but proud, imperious, and precipitate. Leſtock had ſignalized his courage on many occaſions, and perfectly underſtood the whole diſcipline of the navy; but he was cool, cunning, and vindictive. He had been treated ſuperciliouſly by Matthews, and in revenge took advantage of his errors and precipitation. To gratify this paſſion, he betrayed the intereſt and glory of his country; for it is not to be doubted, but that he might have come up in time to engage; and, in that caſe, the fleets of France and Spain would in all likelihood have been deſtroyed: but he entrenched himſelf within the punctilios of diſcipline, and ſaw with pleaſure his antagoniſt expoſe himſelf to the hazard of death, ruin, and diſgrace. Matthews himſelf, in the ſequel, ſacrificed his duty to his reſentment, in reſtraining Leſtock from purſuing and attacking the combined ſquadrons on the third day after the engagement, when they appeared diſabled, and in manifeſt diſorder, and would have fallen an eaſy prey, had they been vigorouſly attacked. One can hardly, without indignation, reflect upon theſe inſtances, in which a community has ſo ſeverely ſuffered from the perſonal animoſity of individuals. The miſcarriage of Toulon became the ſubject of a parliamentary enquiry in England. The commons, in an addreſs to the throne, deſired that a court-martial might be appointed to try the delinquents. By this time Leſtock had accuſed Matthews, and all the captains of his diviſion who miſbehaved on the day of battle. The court-martial was conſtituted, and proceeded to tryal. Several commanders of ſhips were caſhiered: vice-admiral Leſtock was honourably acquitted; and admiral Matthews rendered incapable of ſerving for the future in his majeſty's navy. All the world knew that Leſtock kept aloof, and that Matthews ruſhed into the hotteſt part of the engagement. Yet the former triumphed on his tryal, and the latter narrowly eſcaped the ſentence of death for cowardice and miſconduct. Such deciſions are not to be accounted for, except from prejudice and faction.

The war in Germany, which had been almoſt extinguiſhed in the laſt campaigne, began to revive, and raged with redoubled violence. The emperor had ſollicited the mediation of his Britannic majeſty for compromiſing the differences between him and the court of Vienna. Prince William of Heſſe-Caſſel had conferred with the king of England on this ſubject; and a negotiation was begun at Hanau. The emperor offered to diſmiſs the French auxiliaries, provided the Auſtrians would evacuate his hereditary dominions. Nay, prince William and lord Carteret, as plenipotentiaries, actually agreed to preliminaries, by which his imperial majeſty engaged to renounce the alliance of France, and throw himſelf into the arms of the maritime powers: to reſign all pretenſions to the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Auſtria; and to revive the vote of Bohemia in the electoral college, on condition of his being re-eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of his dominions; recognized as emperor by the queen of Hungary, and accommodated with a monthly ſubſidy for his maintenance, as his own territories were exhauſted and impoveriſhed by the war. By a ſeparate article, the king of Great-Britain promiſed to furniſh him with 300,000 crowns, and to interpoſe his good offices with the queen of Hungary, that his electoral dominions ſhould be favourably treated. Theſe preliminaries, though ſettled, were not ſigned. The court of Vienna was unwilling to part with their conqueſts in Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate. The queen truſted too much to the valour of her troops, and the wealth of her allies, to liſten to ſuch terms of accommodation; and whatever arguments were uſed with the king of Great-Britain, certain it is the negotiation was dropped, on pretence that the articles were diſapproved by the miniſtry of England. The emperor, environed with diſtreſs, renewed his application to the king of Great-Britain; and even declared that he would refer his cauſe to the determination of the maritime powers: but all his advances were diſcountenanced; and the treaty of Worms diſpelled all hope of accommodation. In this manner did the Britiſh miniſtry reject the faireſt opportunity that could poſſibly occur of terminating the war in Germany with honour and advantage, and of freeing their country from that inſufferable burthen of expence under which ſhe groaned.

The inflexibility of the houſe of Auſtria, and its chief ally, proved ſerviceable to the emperor. The forlorn ſituation of this unfortunate prince excited the compaſſion of divers princes: they reſented the inſolence with which the head of the empire had been treated by the court of Vienna; and they were alarmed at the increaſing power of a family noted for pride, tyranny, and ambition. Theſe conſiderations gave riſe to the treaty of Franckfort, concluded in May between the emperor, the king of Pruſſia, the king of Sweden as landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, and the elector-palatine. They engaged to preſerve the conſtitutions of the empire, according to the treaty of Weſtphalia, and to ſupport the emperor in his rank and dignity. They agreed to employ their good offices with the queen of Hungary, that ſhe might be induced to acknowledge the emperor, to reſtore his hereditary dominions, and give up the archives of the empire that were in her poſſeſſion. They guaranteed to each other their reſpective territories: the diſputes about the ſucceſſion of the late emperor, they referred to the deciſion of the ſtates of the empire: they promiſed to aſſiſt one another in caſe of being attacked; and they invited the king of Poland, the elector of Cologn, and the biſhop of Leige, to accede to this treaty. Such was the confederacy that broke all the meaſures which had been concerted between the king of Great-Britain and her Hungarian majeſty for the operations of the campaigne. In the mean time, the French king declared war againſt this princeſs, on pretence that ſhe was obſtinately deaf to all terms of accommodation, and determined to carry the war into the territories of France. In her counter-declaration ſhe taxed Louis with having infringed the moſt ſolemn engagement with reſpect to the pragmatic ſanction; with having ſpirited up different pretenders to lay claim to the ſucceſſion of the late emperor; with having endeavoured to inſtigate the common enemy of Chriſtendom againſt her; and with having acted the incendiary in the north of Europe, that the czarina might be prevented from aſſiſting the houſe of Auſtria, while his numerous armies overſpread the empire, and deſolated her hereditary countries. Theſe recriminations were literally true. The houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria have for many centuries, been the common diſturbers and plagues of Europe.

The king of France, though in himſelf pacific and unenterpriſing, was ſtimulated by his miniſtry to taſte the glory of conqueſt in the Netherlands, where he had aſſembled an army of 120,000 men, provided with a very formidable train of artillery. The chief command was veſted in the mareſcal count de Saxe, who poſſeſſed great military talents, and proved to be one of the moſt fortunate generals of the age in which he lived. The allied forces, conſiſting of Engliſh Hanoverians, Dutch, and Auſtrians, to the number of 70,000 effective men, were in the month of May aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Bruſſels, from whence they marched towards Oudenard, and poſted themſelves behind the Schelde, being unable to retard their progreſs of the enemy. The French monarch, attended by his favourite ladies, with all the pomp of eaſtern luxury, arrived at Liſle on the twelfth day of the ſame month; and in the adjacent plain reviewed his army. The ſtates-general, alarmed at his preparations, had, in a conference with his ambaſſador at the Hague, expreſſed their apprehenſions, and entreated his moſt chriſtian majeſty would deſiſt from his deſign of attacking their barrier. Their remonſtrances having proved ineffectual, they now ſent a miniſter to wait upon that monarch, to enforce their former repreſentations, and repeat their entreaties: but no regard was paid to his requeſt. The French king told him, he was determined to proſecute the war with vigour, as his moderation hitherto had ſerved to no other purpoſe but that of rendering his enemies more intractable. Accordingly, his troops inveſted Menin, which was in ſeven days ſurrendered upon capitulation. Ypres, Fort-Knocke, and Furnes underwent the ſame fate; and on the 29th day of June the king of France entered Dunkirk in triumph.

He had taken ſuch precautions for the defence of Alſace, which was guarded by conſiderable armies under the command of Coigny and Seckendorf, that he thought he had nothing to fear from the Auſtrians in that quarter: beſides, he had received ſecret aſſurances that the king of Pruſſia would declare for the emperor; ſo that he reſolved to purſue his conqueſts in the Netherlands. But all his meaſures were defeated by the activity of prince Charles of Lorraine, and his officers, who found means to paſs the Rhine, and oblige the French and Bavarian generals to retire to Lampertheim, that they might cover Straſburgh. The Auſtrians made themſelves maſters of Haguenau and Saverne:

they ſecured the paſſes of Lorraine; and laid all the country of Lower-Alſace under contribution. The king of France was no ſooner appriſed of the prince's having paſſed the Rhine, and penetrated into this province, than he ſent off a detachment of 30,000 men from his army in Flanders to re-enforce that under the mareſchal de Coigny; and he himſelf began his journey from the Rhine, that he might in perſon chec the progreſs of the enemy: but this deſign was anticipated by a ſevere diſtemper that overtook him at Metz in Lorraine. The phyſicians deſpaired of his life. The queen, with her children, and all the princes of the blood, haſtened from Verſailles to pay the laſt duties to their dying ſovereign, who, as a true penitent, diſmiſſed his concubines, and began to prepare himſelf for death: yet the ſtrength of his conſtitution triumphed over the fever, and his recovery was celebrated all over his dominions with uncommon marks of joy and affection.

In the mean time the ſchemes of the Auſtrian general were fruſtrated by the king of Pruſſia, who, in the month of Auguſt, entered the electorate of Saxony, at the head of a numerous army. There he declared, in a public manifeſto, that his aims were only to re-eſtabliſh the peace of the empire, and to ſupport the dignity of its head. He aſſured the inhabitants that they might depend upon his protection, in caſe they ſhould remain quiet; but threatened them with fire and ſword ſhould they preſume to oppoſe his arms. In a reſcript addreſſed to his miniſters at foreign courts, he accuſed the queen of Hungary of obſtinacy, in refuſing to acknowledge the emperor, and reſtore his hereditary dominions: he ſaid he had engaged in the league of Franckfort, to hinder the head of the empire from being oppreſſed: that he had no intention to violate the peace of Breſlau, or enter as a principal into this war: he affirmed, that his deſign was to act as auxiliary to the emperor, and eſtabliſh the quiet of Germany. He penetrated into Bohemia and undertook the ſiege of Prague, the governor of which ſurrendered himſelf and his garriſon priſoners of war on the 16th day of September. He afterwards reduced Tabor, Bodweis, and Teyn, and in a word ſubdued the greateſt part of the kingdom: and Auſtrian forces in that country being in no condition to ſtop his progreſs. Nevertheleſs he was ſoon obliged to relinquiſh his conqueſts. Prince Charles of Lorraine was recalled from Alſace, and repaſſed the Rhine in the face of the French army, commanded by the mareſchals de Coigni, Noailles, and Belleiſle. Then he marched to the Danube, laid the Upper-Palitinate under contribution, and entering Bohemia, joined the troops under Bathiani at Merotitz. The king of Poland elector of Saxony, at this juncture, declared in favour of her Hungarian majeſty. A convention for the mutual guarantee of their dominions had been ſigned between thoſe two powers in December; and now prince Charles of Lorraine was re-enforced by 20,000 Saxon troops, under the conduct of the duke of Saxe-Weſſenfels. The combined army was ſuperior to that of Pruſſian majeſty whom they reſolved to engage. But he retired before them, and having evacuated all the places he had garriſoned in Bohemia, retreated with precipitation into Sileſia. There his troops were put into winter-quarters; and he himſelf returned to Berlin, extremely mortified at the iſſue of the campaign.

During theſe tranſactions, count Seckendorf marched into Bavaria, at the head of a ſtrong army, drove the Auſtrians out of that electorate, and the emperor regained poſſeſſion of Munich, his capital, on the 22d day of October. In Auguſt the French army paſſed the Rhine at Fort-Louis, and inveſted the ſtrong and important city of Fribourg, defended by general Demnitz, at the head of 9000 veterans. The king of France arrived in the camp on the 11th day of October; and the ſiege was carried on with uncommon vigour. The Auſtrian governor made incredible efforts in the defence of the place, which he maintained until it was reduced to a heap of ruins, and one-half of the garriſon deſtroyed. At length, however, they were obliged to ſurrender themſelves, priſoners of war, after the trenches had been open 45 days, during which they had killed above 15,000 of the beſiegers. With this conqueſt, the French king cloſed the campaign, and his army was cantoned along the Rhine, under the inſpection of the count de Maillebois. By the detachments drawn from the French army in Flanders, count Saxe had found himſelf conſiderably weaker than the confederates: he threw up ſtrong entrenchments behind the Lys, where he remained on the defenſive, until he was re-enforced by the count de Clemont, who commanded a ſeparate body on the ſide of Newport. The allies, to the number of 70,000, paſſed the Schelde, and advanced towards Helchin: but the enemy being ſo advantageouſly poſted, that they could not attac him with any proſpect of advantage, they filed on in ſight of Tourney; and on the 8th day of Auguſt encamped in the plains of Liſle, in hope of drawing count Saxe from the ſituation in which he was ſo ſtrongly fortified. Here they foraged for ſeveral days, and laid the open country under contribution: however, they made no attempt on the place itſelf, which in all probability would have fallen into their hands had they inveſted it at their firſt approach: for then there was no other garriſon but two or three battalions of militia; but count Saxe ſoon threw in a conſiderable re-enforcement. The allies were unprovided with a train of battering cannon; and their commanders would not deviate from the uſual form of war. Beſides, they were divided in their opinions, and deſpiſed one another. General Wade, who commanded the Engliſh and Hanoverians, was a vain, weak man, without confidence, weight, or authority; and the Auſtrian general, the duke d'Aremberg, who was a proud, rapacious glutton, devoid of talents and ſentiment. After having remained for ſome time in ſight of Liſle, and made a general forage without moleſtation, they retired to their former camp on the Schelde, from whence they ſoon marched into winter-quarters. Count Saxe at length quitted his lines; and by way of retaliation, ſent out detachments to ravage the Low-countries, to the very gates of Ghent and Bruges. The conduct of the allied generals was ſeverely cenſured in England, and ridiculed in France, not only in private converſation but alſo on their public theatres, where it became the ſubject of farces and pantomimes.

The campaign in Italy produced divers viciſſitudes of fortune. The king of Naples having aſſembled an army, joined count Gages, and publiſhed a manifeſto in vindication of his conduct, which was a direct violation of the neutrality he had promiſed to obſerve. He maintained, that his moderation had been undervalued by the courts of London and Vienna; that his frontiers were threatened with the calamities of war; and that the queen of Hungary made no ſecret of her intention to invade his dominions. This charge was not without foundation. The emiſſaries of the houſe of Auſtria endeavoured to excite a rebellion in Naples, which prince Lobkowitz had orders to favour by an invaſion. This general was encamped at Monte Rotundo, in the neighbourhood of Rome, when, in the month of June, the confederates advanced to Velletri. While the two armies remained in ſight of each other, prince Lobkowitz detached a ſtrong body of forces, under count Soro, and general Gorani, who made an irruption into the province of Abruzzo, and took the city of Aquilla, where they diſtributed a manifeſto, in which the queen of Hungary exhorted the Neapolitans to ſhake off the Spaniſh yoke, and ſubmit again to the houſe of Auſtria. This ſtep, however, produced little or no effect; and the Auſtrian detachment retired at the approach of the duke of Vieuville, with a ſuperior number of forces. In Auguſt, count Brown, at the head of an Auſtrian detachment, ſurpriſed Velletri in the night; and the king of the two Sicilies, with the duke of Modena, were in the utmoſt danger of being taken. They eſcaped by a poſtern with great difficulty, and repaired to the quarters of count Gages, who performed the part of a great general on this occaſion. He rallied the fugitives, diſpelled the panic and confuſion which had begun to prevail in his camp, and made a diſpoſition for cutting off the retreat of the Auſtrians. Count Brown, finding himſelf in danger of being ſurrounded, thought proper to ſecure his retreat, which he effected with great art and gallantry, carrying off a prodigious booty. Three thouſand Spaniards are ſaid to have fallen in this action; and 800 men were taken, with ſome ſtandards and colours. Count Mariani, a Neapolitan general, was among the priſoners. The Auſtrians loſt about 600 men; and general Novati fell into the hands of the enemy: but the exploit produced no conſequence of importance. The heats of autumn proved ſo fatal to the Auſtrians who were not accuſtomed to the climate, that prince Lobkowitz ſaw his army moulder away, without any poſſibility of its being recruited: beſides, the country was ſo drained that he could no longer procure ſubſiſtence. Impelled by theſe conſiderations, he meditated a retreat. On the 11th day of November, he decamped from Faiola, marched under the walls of Rome, paſſed the Tyber at Ponte Molle, formerly known by the name of Pons Milvius, which he had juſt time to break down behind him, when the van-guard of the Spaniards and Neapolitans appeared. Part of his rear-guard, however, was taken, with count Soro who commanded it, at Nocera; and his army ſuffered greatly by deſertion. Ne-

vertheleſs, he continued his retreat with equal ſkill and expedition, paſſed the mountains of Gubio, and by the way of Viterbo reached the Bologneſe. The pope was altogether paſſive. In the beginning of the campaigne he had careſſed Lobkowitz; and now he received the king of the two Sicilies with marks of the warmeſt affection. That prince having viſited the chief curioſities of Rome, returned to Naples, leaving part of his troops under the command of count Gages.

Fortune likewiſe favoured his brother don Philip in Savoy and Piedmont. He was early in the ſeaſon joined at Antibes by the French army, under the conduct of the prince of Conti. In the latter end of March, the combined forces paſſed the Var, reduced the caſtle of Aſpremont, and entered the city of Nice, without oppoſition. In April, they attacked the king of Sardinia, who, with 20,000 men, was ſtrongly entrenched among the mountains at Villa-Franca. The action was obſtinate and bloody; but their numbers and perſeverance prevailed. He was obliged to abandon his poſts, and embark on board of the Britiſh ſquadron, which tranſported him and his troops to Vado. The intention of don Philip was to penetrate through the territories of Genoa into the Milaneſe; but admiral Matthews, who hovered with a ſtrong ſquadron on that coaſt, ſent a meſſage to the republic, declaring, that ſhould the combined army be ſuffered to paſs through her dominions, the king of Great-Britain would conſider ſuch a ſtep as a breach of their neutrality. The ſenate, intimidated by this intimation, entreated the princes to deſiſt from their deſign; and they reſolved to chooſe another route. They defiled towards Piedmont, and aſſaulted the ſtrong poſt of Chateau-Dauphiné, defended by the king of Sardinia in perſon. After a deſperate attac, in which they loſt 4000 men, the place was taken: the garriſon of Demont ſurrendered at diſcretion, and the whole country of Piedmont was laid under contribution. His Sardinian majeſty was not in a condition to hazard a battle; and, therefore, poſted himſelf at Saluzzes, in order to cover his capital. The combined army advanced to the ſtrong and important town of Coni, which was inveſted in the beginning of September. Baron Leutrum the governor made an obſtinate defence, and the ſituation of the place was ſuch as rendered the ſiege difficult, tedious, and bloody. The king of Sardinia being re-enforced by 10,000 Auſtrians, under general Palavicini, advanced to its relief, and a battle enſued. The action was maintained with great vigour on both ſides, till night, when his majeſty finding it impracticable to force the enemy's entrenchment, retired in good order to his camp at Muraſſo. He afterwards found means to throw a re-enforcement and ſupply of proviſions into Coni; and the heavy rains that fell at this period, not only retarded, but even diſpirited the beſiegers. Nevertheleſs, the princes perſiſted in their deſign, notwithſtanding a dearth of proviſions, and the approach of winter, till the latter end of November, when the chevalier de Soto entered the place with 600 freſh men. This incident was no ſooner known, than the princes abandoned their enterprize; and leaving their ſic and wounded to the mercy of the Piedmonteſe, marched bac to Demont. Having diſmantled the fortifications of this place, they retreated with great precipitation to Dauphiné, and were dreadfully harraſſed by the Vaudois and light troops in the ſervice of his Sardinian majeſty, who now again ſaw himſelf in poſſeſſion of Piedmont. The French troops were quartered in Dauphiné; but don Philip ſtill maintained his footing in Savoy, the inhabitants of which he fleeced without mercy.

After the action of Toulon, nothing of conſequence was achieved by the Britiſh ſquadron in the Mediterranean; and indeed the naval power of Great-Britain was, during the ſummer, quite inactive. In the month of June, commodore Anſon returned from his voyage of three years and nine months, in which he had ſurrounded the terraqueous globe. We have formerly obſerved, that he ſailed with a ſmall ſquadron to the South-ſea, in order to annoy the Spaniſh ſettlements of Chili and Peru. Two of his large ſhips having been ſeparated from him in a ſtorm before he weathered Cape-Horn, had put in at Rio de Janiero, on the coaſt of Braſil, from whence they returned to Europe. A frigate commanded by captain Cheap, was ſhipwrecked on a deſolate iſland in the South-ſea. Mr Anſon having undergone a dreadful tempeſt, which diſperſed his fleet, arrived at the iſland of Juan Fernandez, where he was joined by the Glouceſter, a ſhip of the line, a ſloop, and a pink loaded with proviſions. Theſe were the remains of his ſquadron. He made prize of ſeveral veſſels; took and burned the little town of Payta; ſet ſail from the coaſt of Mexico, for the Phillippine iſles; and in this paſſage the Glouceſter was abandoned and ſunk: the other veſſels had been deſtroyed for want of men to navigate them, ſo that nothing now remained but the commodore's own ſhip, the Centurion, and that but very indifferently manned; for the crews had been horribly thinned by ſicneſs. Incredible were the hardſhips and miſery they ſuſtained from the ſhattered condition of the ſhips, and the ſcorbutic diſorder, when they reached the plentiful iſland of Tinian, where they were ſupplied with the neceſſary refreſhments. Thence they proſecuted their voyage to the river Canton in China, where the commodore ordered the ſhip to be ſheathed, and found means to procure a re-enforcement of ſailors. The chief object of his attention was the rich annual ſhip that ſails between Acapulco in Mexico, and Manilla, one of the Phillippine iſlands. In hopes of intercepting her, he ſet ſail from Canton, and ſteered his courſe bac to the ſtraits of Manilla, where ſhe actually fell into his hands, after a ſhort but vigorous engagement. The prize was called Neuſtra Signora de Cabodonga, mounted with forty guns, manned with 600 ſailors, and loaded with treaſure and effects to the value of 330,000l. ſterling: with this windfall, he returned to Canton; from whence he proceeded to the Cape of Good-Hope, and proſecuted his voyage to England, where he arrived in ſafety. Though this fortunate commander enriched himſelf by an occurrence that may be termed almoſt accidental, the Britiſh nation was not indemnified for the expence of the expedition; and the original deſign was entirely defeated. Had the Manilla ſhip eſcaped the vigilance of the Engliſh commodore, he might have been, at his return to England, laid aſide as a ſuperannuated captain, and died in obſcurity: but his great wealth inveſted him with conſiderable influence, and added luſtre to his talents. He ſoon became the oracle which was conſulted in all naval deliberations; and the king raiſed him to the dignity of a peerage. In July, ſir John Balchen, an admiral of approved valour and great experience, ſailed from Spithead with a ſtrong ſquadron, in queſt of an opportunity to attac the French fleet at Breſt, under the commmand of M. de Rochambault. In the bay of Biſcay he was overtaken by a violent ſtorm, that diſperſed the ſhips, and drove them up the Engliſh channel. Admiral Stewart, with the greater part of them, arrived at Plymouth; but ſir John Balchen's own ſhip, the Victory, which was counted the moſt beautiful firſt-rate in the world, foundered at ſea; and this brave commander periſhed, with all his officers, volunteers, and crew, amounting to 1100 choice ſeamen.

On the 4th day of October, after the ſiege of Friburg, the marſhal de Belleiſle, and his brother happened, in their way to Berlin, to halt at a village in the foreſt of Hartz, dependant on the electorate of Hanover. There they were appredended by the bailiff of the place, and conducted as priſoners to Oſterode; from whence they were removed to Stade on the Elbe, where they embarked for England. They reſided at Windſor till the following year, when they were allowed the benefit of the cartel which had been eſtabliſhed between Great-Britain and France at Frankfort, and releaſed accordingly, after he had been treated by the Britiſh nobility with that reſpect and hoſpitality which was due to their rank and merit.[n]

The diſſentions in the Britiſh cabinet were now ripened into another revolution in the miniſtry. Lord Carteret, who was by this time earl Granville in conſequence of his mother's death, had engroſſed the royal favour ſo much, that the duke of N——— and his brother are ſaid to have taken umbrage at his influence and greatneſs. He had incurred the reſentment of thoſe who were diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of patriots, and entirely forfeited his popularity. The two brothers were very powerful by their parliamentary intereſt: they knew their own ſtrength, and engaged in a political alliance with the leading men in the oppoſition, againſt the prime miniſter and his meaſures. This coalition was digniſied with the epithet of 'The Broad Bottom,' as if it had been eſtabliſhed on a true conſtitutional foundation, comprehending individuals of every claſs, without diſtinction of party. The appellation, however, which they aſſumed was afterwards converted into a term of deriſion. The earl of Granville perceiving the gathering ſtorm, and foreſeeing the impoſſibility of withſtanding ſuch an oppoſition in parliament, wiſely avoided the impending danger and diſgrace, by a voluntary reſignation of his em-

[n] Mr Pope, the celebrated poet, died in the month of June. In October, the old duchoſs of Marlborough reſigned her breath, in the 85th year of her age; immenſely rich, and very little regretted, either by her own family, or the world in general.

ployments. The earl of Harrington ſucceeded him as ſecretary of ſtate. The duke of Bedford was appointed firſt lord of the admiralty, and the earl of Cheſterfield declared lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The lords Gower and Cobham were re-eſtabliſhed in the offices they had reſigned: mr. Lyttelton was admitted as a commiſſioner of the treaſury; even ſir John Hynde Cotton accepted of a place at court; and ſir John Philips ſat at the board of trade and plantations, though he ſoon renounced this employment. This was rather a change of men than of meaſures, and turned out to the eaſe and advantage of the ſovereign; for his views were no longer thwarted by an obſtinate oppoſition in parliament.

The ſeſſion was opened on the 28th day of November, in the uſual manner. The commons unanimouſly granted about ſix millions and a half for the ſervice of the enſuing year, to be raiſed by the land, the malt, and the ſalt-taxes, the ſinking-fund, and an additional duty on wines. In January, the earl of Cheſterfield ſet out for the Hague, with the character of an ambaſſador extraordinary, to perſuade, if poſſible, the ſtates-general to engage heartily in the war. About the ſame time, a treaty of quadruple alliance was ſigned at Warſaw by the queen of Hungary, the king of Poland, and the maritime powers. This was a mutual guarantee of the dominions belonging to the contracting parties: but his Poliſh majeſty was paid for his concurrence, with an annual ſubſidy of 150,000l. two-thirds of which were defrayed by England, and the remainder was diſburſed by the United Provinces. °

[1745] The buſineſs of the Britiſh parliament being diſcuſſed, the ſeſſion was cloſed in the beginning of May; and immediately after the prorogation the king ſet out for Hanover. The death of the emperor Charles VII. which happened in the month of January, had entirely changed the face of affairs in the empire, and all the princes of Germany were in commotion. The grand-duke of Tuſcany, conſort to her Hungarian majeſty, was immediately declared a candidate for the imperial crown; while his pretenſions were warmly oppoſed by the French king and his allies. The court of Vienna, taking advantage of the late emperor's death, ſent an army to invade Bavaria in the month of March, under the conduct of general Bathiani, who routed the French and Palatine troops at Pfiffenhoven; took poſſeſſion of Rain; ſurrounded and diſarmed 6000 Heſſians in the neighbourhood of Ingoldſtadt: and drove the Bavarian forces out of the electorate. The young elector was obliged to abandon his capital, and retire to Augſburgh, where he found himſelf in danger of loſing all his dominions. In this emergency, he yielded to the earneſt ſollicitations of the empreſs his mother, enforced by the advice of his uncle, the elector of Cologne, and of his general, count Seckendorff, who exhorted him to be reconciled to the court of Vienna. A negotiation was immediately begun at Fueſſen, where in April the treaty was concluded. The queen conſented to recognize the imperial dignity, as having been veſted in the perſon of his father; to acknowledge his mother as empreſs dowager; to reſtore his dominions, with all the fortreſſes, artillery, ſtores, and ammunition, which ſhe had taken: on the other hand, he renounced all claim to the ſucceſſion of her father, and became guarantee of the pragmatic ſanction: he acknowledged the validity of the electoral vote of Bohemia in the perſon of the queen; and engaged to give his voice for the grand-duke, at the enſuing election of a king of the Romans. Until that ſhould be determined, both parties agreed that Ingoldſtaldt ſhould be garriſoned by neutral troops: and that Braunau and Schardingen, with all the country lying between the Inn and the Saltza, ſhould remain in the queen's poſſeſſion, though without prejudice to the civil government, or the elector's revenue. In the mean time he diſmiſſed the auxiliaries that were in his pay, and they were permitted to retire without moleſtation.

The court of Vienna had now ſecured the votes of all the electors, except thoſe of Brandenburgh and the Palatinate. Nevertheleſs, France aſſembled a powerful army in the neighbourhood of Franckfort, in order to influence the election. But the Auſtrian army, commanded by the grand-duke in perſon, marched thither from the Danube; and the prince of Conti was obliged to re-paſs the Rhine at Nordlingen. Then the grand-duke repaired to Franckfort, where, on the 2d day of September, he was by a majority of voices declared king of the Romans, and emperor of Germany. Mean while the king of Pruſſia had made great progreſs in the conqueſt of Sileſia. The campaign began in January, when the Hungarian inſurgents were obliged to retire into Moravia. In the following month the Pruſſian general Lehwald defeated a body of 12,000 Auſtrians, commanded by general Helſrich: the town of Ratibor was taken by aſſault; and the king entered Sileſia in May, at the head of 70,000 men. Prince Charles of Lorraine, being joined by the duke of Saxe-Weſſenfels and 20,000 Saxons, penetrated into Sileſia by the defiles of Landſhut: and were attacked by his Pruſſian majeſty in the plains of Striegen, near Friedberg. The battle was maintained from morning till noon, when the Saxons giving way, prince Charles was obliged to retire with the loſs of 12,000 men, and a great number of colours, ſtandards, and artillery. This victory, obtained on the 4th day of June, complete as it was, did not prove deciſive; for, though the victor transferred the ſeat of the war into Bohemia, and maintained his army by raiſing contributions in that country, the Auſtrians reſolved to hazard another engagement. Their aim was to ſurpriſe him in his camp at Sohr, which they attacked on the 30th of September, at day-break; but they met with ſuch a warm reception, that notwithſtanding their repeated efforts during the ſpace of four hours, they were repulſed with conſiderable damage, and retreated to Jeromire, leaving 5000 killed upon the ſpot, beſides 2000 that were taken, with many ſtandards, and twenty pieces of cannon. The loſs of this battle was in a great meaſure owing to the avarice of the irregulars, who having penetrated into the Pruſſian camp, began to pillage with great eagerneſs, giving the king an opportunity to rally his diſordered troops, and reſtore the battle: nevertheleſs, they retired with the plunder of his baggage, including his military cheſt, the officers of his chancery, his own ſecretary, and all the papers of his cabinet.

After this action his Pruſſian majeſty returned to Berlin, and breathed nothing but peace and moderation. In Auguſt he had ſigned a convention with the king of Great-Britain, who became guarantee of his poſſeſſions in Sileſia, as yielded by the treaty of Breſlau; and he promiſed to vote for the grand-duke of Tuſcany at the election of an emperor. This was intended as the baſis of a more general accommodation. But he now pretended to have received undoubted intelligence, that the king of Poland and the queen of Hungary had agreed to invade Brandenburgh with three different armies; and that for this purpoſe his Poliſh majeſty had demanded of the czarina the ſuccours ſtipulated by the treaty between the two crowns. Alarmed, or ſeemingly alarmed, at this information, he ſollicited the maritime powers to fulfil their engagements, and interpoſe their good offices with the court of Peterſburgh. Yet, far from waiting for the reſult of theſe remonſtrances, he made a ſudden irruption into Luſatia, took poſſeſſion of Gorlitz, and obliged prince Charles of Lorraine to retire before him into Bohemia. Then he entered Leipſick, and laid Saxony under contribution. The king of Poland, unable to reſiſt the torrent, quitted his capital, and took refuge in Prague. His troops, re-enforced by a body of Auſtrians, were defeated at Pirna on the 15th day of December: and his Pruſſian majeſty became maſter of Dreſden without further oppoſition. The king of Poland, thus deprived of his hereditary dominions, was fain to acquieſce in ſuch terms as the conqueror thought proper to impoſe; and the treaty of Dreſden was concluded, under the mediation of his Britannic majeſty. By this convention the king of Pruſſia retained all the contributions he had levied in Saxony; and was entitled to a million of German crowns, to be paid by his Poliſh majeſty at the next fair of Leipſick. He and the elector Palatine conſented to acknowledge the grand-duke as emperor of Germany; and this laſt confirmed to his Pruſſian majeſty certain privileges, de non evocando, which had been granted by the late emperor, with regard to ſome territories poſſeſſed by the king of Pruſſia, though not belonging to the electorate of Brandenburgh. Immediately after the ratification of this treaty, the Pruſſian troops evacuated Saxony; and the peace of Germany was reſtored.

Though the French king could not prevent the elevation of the grand-duke to the imperial throne, he reſolved to humble the houſe of Auſtria, by making a conqueſt of the Netherlands. A prodigious army was there aſſembled, under the auſpices of mareſchal count de Saxe; and his

° Robert earl of Orford, late prime-miniſter, died in March, after having for a very ſhort time enjoyed a penſion of 4000l. granted by the crown, in conſideration of his paſt ſervices. Though he had for ſuch a length of time directed the application to the public treaſure, his circumſtances were not affluent: he was liberal in his diſpoſition, and had ſuch a number of rapacious dependents to gratify, that little was left for his own private occaſions.

moſt chriſtian majeſty, with the Dauphin, arriving in the camp, they inveſted the ſtrong town of Tournay on the 30th day of April. The Dutch garriſon conſiſted of 8000 men, commanded by the old baron Dorth, who made a vigorous defence. The duke of Cumberland aſſumed the command of the allied army aſſembled at Soignes: he was aſſiſted with the advice of the count Konigſeg, an Auſtrian general, and the prince of Waldeck, commander of the Dutch forces. Their army was greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy; nevertheleſs, they reſolved to march to the relief of Tournay. They accordingly advanced to Leuſe; and on the 28th day of April took poſt at Maulbre, in ſight of the French army, which was encamped on an eminence, from the village of Antoine to a large wood beyond Vezon, having Fontenoy in their front. Next day was employed by the allies in driving the enemy from ſome out-poſts, and clearing the defiles through which they were obliged to advance to the attac; while the French completed their batteries, and made the moſt formidable preparations for their reception. On the 30th day of April the duke of Cumberland having made the proper diſpoſitions, began his march to the enemy at two o'clock in the morning; a briſk cannonade enſued; and about nine both armies were engaged. The Britiſh infantry drove the French beyond their lines: but the left wing failing in the attac on the village of Fontenoy, and the cavalry forbearing to advance on the flanks, they meaſured bac their ground with ſome diſorder, from the prodigious fire of the French batteries. They rallied, however, and returning to the charge with redoubled ardour, repulſed the enemy to their camp with great ſlaughter: but, being wholly unſupported by the other wing, and expoſed both in front and flank to a dreadful fire, which did great execution, the duke was obliged to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a retreat about three o'clock in the afternoon; and this was effected in tolerable order. The battle was fought with great obſtinacy, and the carnage on both ſides was very conſiderable. The allies loſt about 12,000 men, including a good number of officers; among theſe were lieutenant-general Campbell, and major-general Ponſonby. The victory coſt the French almoſt an equal number of lives; and no honour was loſt by the vanquiſhed. Had the allies given battle on the preceding day, before the enemy had taken their meaſures, and received all their re-enforcements, they might have ſucceeded in their endeavours to relieve Tournay. Although the attac was generally judged raſh and precipitate, the Britiſh and Hanoverian troops fought with ſuch intrepidity and perſeverance, that if they had been properly ſuſtained by the Dutch forces, and their flanks covered by the cavalry, the French, in all likelihood, would have been obliged to abandon their enterprize. The duke of Cumberland left his ſic and wounded to the humanity of the victors; and retiring to Aeth, encamped in an advantageous ſituation at Leſſines. The garriſon of Tournay, though now deprived of all hope of ſuccour, maintained the place to the 21ſt day of June, when the governor obtained an honourable capitulation. After the conqueſt of this frontier, which was diſmantled, the duke of Cumberland, apprehending the enemy had a deſign upon Ghent, ſent a detachment of 4000 men to re-enforce the garriſon of that city: but they fell into an ambuſcade at Pas-dumêle; and were killed or taken, except a few dragoons that eſcaped to Oſtend; on that very night, which was the 12th of June, Ghent was ſurprized by a detachment of the French army. Then they inveſted Oſtend, which, though defended by an Engliſh garriſon, and open to the ſea, was after a ſhort ſiege, ſurrendered by capitulation on the 14th day of Auguſt. Dendermonde, Oudenarde, Newport, and Aeth underwent the ſame fate; while the allied army lay entrenched beyond the canal of Antwerp. The French king having ſubdued the greateſt part of the Auſtrian-Netherlands, returned to Paris, which he entered in triumph.

The campaign in Italy was unpropitious to the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia. Count Gages paſſed the Apennines, and entered the ſtate of Lucca: from thence he proceeded by the eaſtern coaſt of Genoa to Leſtride-Levante. The junction of the two armies was thus accompliſhed, and re-enforced with 10,000 Genoeſe: mean while prince Lobkowitz decamped from Modena and took poſt at Parma: but he was ſoon ſucceeded by count Schuylemberg, and ſent to command the Auſtrians in Bohemia. The Spaniards entered the Milaneſe without further oppoſition. Count Gages, with 30,000 men, took poſſeſſion of Serravalle; and advancing towards Placentia, obliged the Auſtrians to retire under the cannon of Tortona: but when don Philip, at the head of 40,000 troops, made himſelf maſter of Acqui, the king of Sardinia and the Auſtrian general, unable to ſtem the torrent, retreated behind the Tanaro. The ſtrong citadel of Tortona was taken by the Spaniards, who likewiſe reduced Parma and Placentia; and forcing the paſſage of the Tanaro, compelled his Sardinian majeſty to take ſhelter on the other ſide of the Po. Then Pavia was won by ſcalade; and the city of Milan ſubmitted to the infant, though the Auſtrian garriſon ſtill maintained the citadel: all Piedmont, on both ſides of the Po, as far as Turin, was reduced, and even that capital threatened with a ſiege: ſo that by the month of October the territories belonging to the houſe of Auſtria, in Italy, were wholly ſubdued; and the king of Sardinia ſtripped of all his dominions: yet he continued firm and true to his engagements, and deaf to all propoſals of a ſeparate accommodation.

The naval tranſactions of Great-Britain were in the courſe of this year remarkably ſpirited. In the Mediterranean, admiral Rowley had ſucceeded Matthews in the command; Savona, Genoa, Final, St. Remo, with Baſtia, the capital of Corſica, were bombarded: ſeveral Spaniſh ſhips were taken: but he could not prevent the ſafe arrival of their rich Havannah ſquadron at Corrunna. Commodore Barnet, in the Eaſt-Indies, made prize of ſeveral French ſhips richly laden; and commodore Townſhend, in the latitude of Martinico, took about thirty merchant ſhips belonging to the enemy, under convoy of four ſhips of war, two of which were deſtroyed. The Engliſh privateers likewiſe met with uncommon ſucceſs. But the moſt important achievement was the conqueſt of Louiſbourg on the iſle of Cape-Breton, in North-America; a place of great conſequence, which the French had fortified at a prodigious expence. The ſcheme of reducing this fortreſs was planned in Boſton, recommended by their general aſſembly, and approved by his majeſty, who ſent inſtructions to commodore Warren, ſtationed off the Leeward-Iſlands, to ſail for the northern parts of America, and co-operate with the forces of New-England in this expedition. A body of 6000 men was formed under the conduct of mr. Pepperel, a trader of Piſcataquay, whoſe influence was extenſive in that country; though he was a man of little or no education, and utterly unacquainted with military operations. In April mr. Warren arrived at Canſo with ten ſhips of war; and the troops of New-England being embarked in tranſports, ſailed immediately for the iſle of Cape-Breton, where they landed without oppoſition. The enemy abandoned their grand battery, which was detached from the town: and the immediate ſeiſure of it contributed in a good meaſure to the ſucceſs of the enterprize. While the American troops, re-enforced by 800 marines, carried on by their approaches by land, the ſquadron blocked up the place by ſea in ſuch a manner, that no ſuccours could be introduced. A French ſhip of the line, with ſome ſmaller veſſels deſtined for the relief of the garriſon, were intercepted and taken by the Britiſh cruiſers; and, indeed, the reduction of Louiſbourg was chiefly owing to the vigilance and activity of mr. Warren, one of the braveſt and beſt officers in the ſervice of England. The operations of the ſiege were wholly conducted by the engineers and officers who commanded the Britiſh marines; and the Americans being ignorant of war, were contented to act under their directions. The town being conſiderably damaged by the bombs and bullets of the beſiegers, and the garriſon deſpairing of relief, the governor capitulated on the 17th day of June, when the city of Louiſbourg, and the iſle of Cape-Breton, were ſurrendered to his Britannic majeſty. The garriſon and inhabitants engaged that they would not bear arms for twelve months againſt Great-Britain or her allies; and being embarked in 14 cartel ſhips, were tranſported to Rochefort. In a few days after the ſurrender of Louiſbourg, two French Eaſt-India ſhips, and another from Peru, laden with treaſure, ſailed into the harbour, on the ſuppoſition that it ſtill belonged to France, and were taken by the Engliſh ſquadron.

The news of this conqueſt being tranſmitted to England, mr. Pepperel was preferred to the dignity of a baronet of Great-Britain, and congratulatory addreſſes were preſented to the king on the ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms. The poſſeſſion of Cape-Breton was doubtleſs, a valuable acquiſition to Great-Britain. It not only diſtreſſed the French in their fiſhery and navigation, but removed all fears of encroachment and rivalſhip from the Engliſh fiſheries on the banks of Newfoundland. It freed New-England from the terrors of a dangerous neighbour; over-awed the Indians of that country; and ſecured the poſſeſſion of Acadia to the crown of Great-Britain. The plan of this conqueſt was original-

ly laid by mr. Auchemuty, judge-advocate of the court of admiralty in New-England. He demonſtrated that the reduction of Cape-Breton would put the Engliſh in ſole poſſeſſion of the fiſhery of North-America, which would annually return to Great-Britain two millions ſterling for the manufactures yearly ſhipped to the plantations; employ many thouſand families that were otherwiſe unſerviceable to the public; increaſe the ſhipping and mariners; extend navigation; cut off all communication between France and Canada by the river St. Laurence; ſo that Quebeck would fall of courſe into the hands of the Engliſh, who might expel the French entirely from America, open a correſpondence with the remote Indians, and render themſelves maſters of the profitable fur-trade, which was now engroſſed by the enemy. The natives of New-England acquired great glory from the ſucceſs of this enterpriſe. Britain, which had in ſome inſtances behaved like a ſtep-mother to her own colonies, was now convinced of their importance; and treated thoſe as brethern whom ſhe had too long conſidered as aliens and rivals. Circumſtanced as the nation is, the legiſlature cannot too tenderly cheriſh the intereſts of the Britiſh plantations in America. They are inhabited by a brave, hardy, induſtrious people, animated with an active ſpirit of commerce; inſpired with a noble zeal for liberty and independence. The trade of Great-Britain, clogged with heavy taxes and impoſitions, has for ſome time languiſhed in many valuable branches. The French have underſold our cloths, and ſpoiled our markets in the Levant. Spain is no longer ſupplied as uſual with the commodities of England; the exports to Germany muſt be conſiderably diminiſhed by the miſunderſtanding between Great-Britain and the houſe of Auſtria; conſequently her greateſt reſource muſt be in her communication with her own colonies, which conſume her manufactures, and make immenſe returns in ſugar, rum, tobacco, fiſh, timber, naval ſtores, iron, furs, drugs, rice, and indigo. The ſouthern plantations likewiſe produce ſilk; and with due encouragement might furniſh every thing that could be expected from the moſt fertile ſoil and the happieſt climate. The continent of North-America, if properly cultivated, will prove an inexhauſtible fund of wealth and ſtrength to Great-Britain; and perhaps it may become the laſt aſylum of Britiſh liberty, when the nation is enſlaved by domeſtic deſpotiſm or foreign dominion; when her ſubſtance is waſted, her ſpirit broke, and the laws and conſtitution of England are no more: then thoſe colonies, ſent off by our fathers, may receive and entertain their ſons as hapleſs exiles, and ruined refugees.

While the continent of Europe and the iſles of America were thus expoſed to the ravages of war, and ſubjected to ſuch viciſſitudes of fortune, Great-Britain underwent a dangerous convulſion in her own bowels. The ſon of the chevalier de St. George, fired with ambition, and animated with the hope of aſcending the throne of his anceſtors, reſolved to make an effort for that purpoſe, which, though it might not be crowned with ſucceſs, ſhould at leaſt aſtoniſh all Chriſtendom. The jacobites in England and Scotland had promiſed, that if he would land in Britain at the head of a regular army, they would ſupply him with proviſions, carriages, and horſes, and a great number of them declared they would take up arms, and join his ſtandard: but they diſapproved of his coming over without forces, as a dangerous enterprize, that would in all probability end in the ruin of himſelf and all his adherents. This advice, including an exact detail of his father's intereſt, with the diſpoſitions of his particular friends in every town and county, was tranſmitted to London in January, in order to be forwarded to prince Charles: but the perſon with whom it was entruſted could find no ſafe method of conveyance; ſo that he ſent it bac to Scotland, from whence it was diſpatched to France; but before it reached Paris, Charles had left that kingdom. Had the paper come to his hands in due time, perhaps he would not have embarked in the undertaking, though he was ſtimulated to the attempt by many concurring motives. Certain it is, he was cajoled by the ſanguine miſrepreſentations of a few adventurers, who hoped to profit by the expedition. They aſſured him that the whole nation was diſaffected to the reigning family: that the people could no longer bear the immenſe load of taxes, which was daily increaſing; and that the moſt conſiderable perſons of the kingdom would gladly ſeize the firſt opportunity of crowding to his ſtandard. On the other hand, he knew the Britiſh government had taken ſome effectual ſteps to alienate the friends of his houſe from the principles they had hitherto profeſſed. Some of them had accepted poſts and penſions: others were preferred in the army; and the parliament were ſo attached to the reigning family, that he had nothing to hope from their deliberations. He expected no material ſuccour from the court of France: he foreſaw that delay would diminiſh the number of his adherents in Great-Britain; and, therefore, reſolved to ſeize the preſent occaſion, which in many reſpects was propitious to his deſign. Without doubt, had he been properly ſupported, he could not have found a more favourable opportunity of exciting an inteſtine commotion in Great-Britain: for Scotland was quite unfurniſhed with troops; king George was in Germany; the duke of Cumberland, at the head of the Britiſh army, was employed in Flanders and great part of the Highlanders were keen for inſurrection. The natural principles were on this occaſion ſtimulated by the ſuggeſtions of revenge. At the beginning of the war, a regiment of thoſe people had been formed, and tranſported with the reſt of the Britiſh troops to Flanders. Before they were embarked, a number of them deſerted with their arms, on pretence that they had been decoyed into the ſervice, by promiſes and aſſurances that they ſhould never be ſent abroad; and this was really the caſe. They were overtaken by a body of horſe, perſuaded to ſubmit, brought bac to London pinioned like maleſactors, and tried for deſertion. Three were ſhot to death, in terrorem; and the reſt were ſent in exile to the plantations. Thoſe who ſuffered were perſons of ſome conſequence in their own country; and their fate was deeply reſented by the clans to which they belonged. It was conſidered as a national outrage; and the Highlanders who are naturally vindictive, waited impatiently for an opportunity of vengeance.

The young pretender being furniſhed with a ſum of money, and a ſupply of arms, on his private credit, without the knowledge of the French court, wrote letters to his friends in Scotland, explaining his deſign and ſituation, intimating the place where he intended to land, communicating a private ſignal, and aſſuring them he ſhould be with them by the middle of June. Theſe precautions being taken, he embarked on board of a ſmall frigate at Port St. Nazaire, accompanied by the marquis of Tullibardine, ſir Thomas Sheridan, ſir John Macdonald, with a few other Iriſh and Scotiſh adventurers; and ſetting ſail on the 14th of July, was joined off Belleiſle by the Elizabeth a French ſhip of war, mounted with ſixty-ſix guns, as his convoy.[p] Their deſign was to ſail round Ireland, and land in the weſtern part of Scotland: but falling in with the Lion, an Engliſh ſhip of the line, a very obſtinate and bloody action enſued. The Elizabeth was ſo diſabled that ſhe could not proſecute the voyage, and with difficulty reached the harbour of Breſt: but the Lion was ſhattered to ſuch a degree, that ſhe floated like a wrec upon the water. The diſaſter of the Elizabeth was a great misfortune to the adventurer, as by her being diſabled he loſt a great quantity of arms, and about 100 able officers, who were embarked on board of her for the benefit of his expedition. Had this ſhip arrived in Scotland, ſhe could eaſily have reduced Fort-William, ſituated in the midſt of the clans attached to the Stuart family. Such a conqueſt, by giving luſtre to the prince's arms, would have allured many to his ſtandard, who were indifferent in point of principle; and encouraged a great number of Highlanders to join him, who were reſtricted by the apprehenſion, that their wives and families would be ſubject to inſults from the Engliſh garriſon of this fortreſs. Prince Charles in a frigate continued his courſe to the weſtern iſles of Scotland. After a voyage of 18 days he landed on a little iſland between Barra and South-Inſt, two of the Hebrides: then he reembarked, and in a few days arrived at Boradale in Arnſacy, on the confines of Lochnannach, where he was in a little time joined by a conſiderable number of hardy mountaineers, under their reſpective chiefs or leaders. On the 19th day of Auguſt, the marquis of Tullibardine erected the pretender's ſtandard at Glenſinna. Some of thoſe, however, on whom Charles principally depended, now ſtood aloof, either fluctuating in their principles, aſtoniſhed at the boldneſs of the undertaking, or ſtartled at the remonſtrances of their friends, who did not fail to repreſent, in aggravated colours, all the danger of embarking in ſuch a deſperate enterpriſe. Had the government acted with proper vigour when they received intelligence of his arrival, the adventurer muſt have been cruſhed in embrio, before any conſiderable number of his adherents could have been brought together: but the lords of the regency ſeemed to

[p] The Elizabeth, a king's ſhip, was procured as a convoy, by the intereſt of mr. Waiſh, an Iriſh merchant at Nantes, and on board of her fifty French young gentlemen embarked as volunteers.

ſlight the information, and even to ſuſpect the integrity of thoſe by whom it was conveyed. They were ſoon convinced of their miſtake. Prince Charles having aſſembled about 1200 men, encamped in the neighbourhood of Fort-William; and immediately hoſtilities were commenced. A handful of Kepoch's clan, commanded by major Donald Mac Donald, even before they joined the pretender, attacked two companies of new-raiſed ſoldiers, who, with their officer, were diſarmed after an obſtinate diſpute; another captain of the king's forces, falling into their hands, was courteouſly diſmiſſed with one of the pretender's manifeſtos, and a paſſport for his perſonal ſafety.

The adminiſtration was now effectually alarmed. The lords of the regency iſſued a proclamation, offering a reward of 30,000l. who ſhould apprehend the prince-adventurer. The ſame price was ſet upon the head of the elector of Hanover, in a proclamation publiſhed by the pretender. A courier was diſpatched to Holland, to haſten the return of his majeſty, who arrived in England about the latter end of Auguſt. A requiſition was made of the 6000 Dutch auxiliaries; and ſeveral Britiſh regiments were recalled from the Netherlands. A loyal addreſs was preſented to the king by the city of London; and the merchants of the metropolis reſolved to raiſe two regiments at their own expence. Orders were iſſued to keep the trained-bands in readineſs; to array the militia of Weſtminſter: and inſtructions to the ſame effect were ſent to all the lords-lieutenants of the counties throughout the kingdom. The principal noblemen of the nation made a tender of their ſervices to their ſovereign; and ſome of them received commiſſions to levy regiments towards the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion. Bodies of volunteers were incorporated in London, and many other places; aſſociations were formed, large contributions raiſed in different towns, counties, and communities; and a great number of eminent merchants in London agreed to ſupport the public credit, by receiving, as uſual, bank-notes in payment, for the purpoſe of traffic. The proteſtant clergy of all denominations exerted themſelves with extraordinary ardour, in preaching againſt the religion of Rome and the pretender; and the friends of the government were encouraged, animated and confirmed in their principles, by ſeveral ſpiritual productions publiſhed for the occaſion.

In a word, the bulk of the nation ſeemed unanimouſly bent upon oppoſing the enterpiſe of the pretender, who, nevertheleſs, had already made ſurpriſing progreſs. His arrival in Scotland was no ſooner confirmed, than ſir John Cope, who commanded the troops in that kingdom, aſſembled what force he could bring together, and advanced againſt the rebels. Underſtanding, however, that they had taken poſſeſſion of a ſtrong paſs, he changed his route, and proceeded northwards as far as Inverneſs, leaving the capital and the ſouthern parts of North-Britain wholly expoſed to the incurſions of the enemy. The highlanders forthwith marched to Perth, where the chevalier de St. George was proclaimed king of Great-Britain, and the public money ſeized for his uſe: the ſame ſteps were taken at Dundee, and other places. Prince Charles was joined by the noblemen who aſſumed the title of the duke of Perth, the viſcount Strathallan, lord Nairn, lord George Murray, and many perſons of diſtinction, with their followers. The marquis of Tullibardine, who had accompanied him from France, took poſſeſſion of Athol, as heir of blood to the titles and eſtates which his younger brother enjoyed in conſequence of his attainder; and met with ſome ſucceſs in arming the tenants for the ſupport of that cauſe which he avowed.

The rebel army being conſiderably augmented, though very ill provided with arms, croſſed the Forth in the neighbourhood of Stirling, and advanced towards Edinburgh, where they were joined by lord Elcho, ſon of the earl of Wemys, and other perſons of ſome diſtinction. On the 16th day of September, Charles ſummoned the town to ſurrender. The inhabitants were divided by faction, and diſtracted by fear: the place was not in a poſture of defence, and the magiſtrates would not expoſe the people to the uncertain iſſue of an aſſault. Several deputations were ſent from the town to the pretender, in order to negotiate terms of capitulation. In the mean time, one of the gates being opened for the admiſſion of a coach, Cameron of Lochiel, one of the moſt powerful of the highland chiefs, ruſhed into the place with a party of his men, and ſecured it without oppoſition. Next morning the whole rebel army entered, and their prince took poſſeſſion of the royal palace of Holyrood-houſe in the ſuburbs. Then he cauſed his father to be proclaimed at the market-croſs: there alſo the manifeſto was read, in which the chevalier de St. George declared his ſon Charles regent of his dominions, promiſed to diſſolve the union, and redreſs the grievances of Scotland. His being in poſſeſſion of the capital encouraged his followers, and added reputation to his arms: but the treaſure belonging to the two banks of that kingdom had been previouſly conveyed into the caſtle, a ſtrong fortreſs, with a good garriſon, under the command of general Gueſt, an old officer of experience and capacity.

During theſe tranſactions, ſir John Cope marched bac from Inverneſs to Aberdeen, where he embarked with his troops, and on the 17th day of September landed at Dunbar, about 20 miles to the eaſtward of Edinburgh. Here he was joined by two regiments of dragoons, which had retired with precipitation from the capital at the approach of the highland army. With this re-enforcement, his troops mounted to near 3000 men; and he began to march to Edinburgh, in order to give battle to the enemy. On the 20th day of the month, he encamped in the neighbourhood of Preſton-pans, having the village of Trananent in his front, and the ſea in his rear. Early next morning he was attacked by the young pretender, at the head of about 2400 highlanders half-armed, who charged them ſword in hand with ſuch impetuoſity that in leſs than ten minutes after the battle began the king's troops were broken and totally routed. The dragoons fled in the utmoſt confuſion at the firſt onſet: the general officers having made ſome unſucceſsful efforts to rally them, thought proper to conſult their own ſafety by an expeditious retreat towards Coldſtream on the Tweed. All the infantry were either killed or taken; and the colours, artillery, tents, baggage, and military cheſt, fell into the hands of the victor, who returned in triumph to Edinburgh. Never was victory more complete, or obtained at a ſmaller expence; for not above 50 of the rebels loſt their lives in the engagement. Five hundred of the king's troops were killed on the field of battle; and among theſe Colonel Gardener, a gallant officer, who diſdained to ſave his life at the expence of his honour. When abandoned by his own regiment of dragoons he alighted from his horſe, joined the infantry, and fought on foot, until he fell covered with wounds, in ſight of his own threſhold. Prince Charles bore his good fortune with moderation. He prohibited all rejoicings for the victory he had obtained: the wounded ſoldiers were treated with humanity; and the officers were ſent into Fife and Angus, where they were left at liberty on their patrole, which the greater part of them ſhamefully broke in the ſequel. From this victory the pretender reaped manifold and important advantages. His followers were armed, his party encouraged, and his enemies intimidated. He was ſupplied with a train of field-artillery, and a conſiderable ſum of money, and ſaw himſelf poſſeſſed of all Scotland, except the fortreſſes, the reduction of which he could not pretend to undertake without proper implements and engineers. After the battle he was joined by a ſmall detachment from the highlands; and ſome chiefs, who had hitherto been on the reſerve, began to exert their influence in his favour. But he was not yet in a condition to take advantage of that conſternation, which his late ſucceſs had diffuſed through the kingdom of England.

Charles continued to reſide in the palace of Holyrood-houſe:[q] and took meaſures for cutting off the communication between the caſtle and the city. General Gueſt declared that he would demoliſh the city, unleſs the blockade would be raiſed, ſo as that proviſion might be carried into the caſtle. After having waited the return of an expreſs which he had found means to diſpatch to court, he began to put his threats in execution, by firing upon the town. Some houſes were beaten down, and ſeveral perſons killed even at the market-croſs. The citizens, alarmed at this diſaſter, ſent a deputation to the prince, entreating him to raiſe the blocade; and he complied with their requeſt. He levied a regiment in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood. He impoſed taxes; ſeiſed the merchandiſe that was depoſited in the king's warehouſes at Leith, and other places; and compelled the city of Glaſgow to accommodate him with a large ſum, to be repaid when the peace of the kingdom ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed. The number of his followers daily increaſed: and he received conſiderable ſupplies of money, ar-

[q] While he reſided at Edinburgh, ſome of the preſbyterian clergy continued to preach in the churches of that city, and publicly prayed for king George, without ſuffering the leaſt puniſhment or moleſtation. One miniſter in particular, of the name of Mac Vicar, being ſollicited by ſome Highlanders to pray for their prince, promiſed to comply with their requeſt, and performed his promiſe in words to this effect: 'And as for the young 'prince, who is come hither in queſt of an earthly crown, grant, O Lord, 'that he may ſpeedily receive a crown of glory.'

tillery, and ammunition, by ſingle ſhips that arrived from France, where his intereſt ſeemed to riſe in proportion to the ſucceſs of his arms. The greater and richer part of Scotland was averſe to his family and pretenſions: but the people were unarmed and undiſciplined, conſequently paſſive under his dominion. By this time, however, the prince-pretender was joined by the earl of Kilmarnock, the lords Elcho, Balmerino, Ogilvie, Pitſligo; and the eldeſt ſon of lord Lovat had begun to aſſemble his father's clan, in order to re-enforce the victor, whoſe army lay encamped at Duddingſton, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. Kilmarnock and Balmerino were men of broken and deſperate fortune: Elcho and Oglivie were ſons to the earls of Weyms and Airly; ſo that their influence was far from being extenſive. Pitſligo was a nobleman of a very amiable character, as well as of great perſonal intereſt; and great dependence was placed upon the power and attachment of lord Lovat, who had entered into private engagements with the chevalier de St. George, though he ſtill wore the maſk of loyalty to the government, and diſavowed the conduct of his ſon when he declared for the pretender. This old nobleman is the ſame Simon Fraſer whom we have had occaſion to mention as a partiſan and emiſſary of the court of St. Germains, in the year 1703. He had renounced his connexions with that family; and, in the rebellion immediately after the acceſſion of king George I. approved himſelf a warm friend to the proteſtant ſucceſſion. Since that period he had been induced, by diſguſt and ambition, to change his principles again, and was in ſecret an enthuſiaſt in jacobitiſm. He had greatly augmented his eſtate, and obtained a conſiderable intereſt in the Highlands, where, however, he was rather dreaded than beloved. He was bold, enterprizing, vain, arbitrary, rapacious, cruel, and deceitful: but his character was chiefly marked by a ſpecies of low cunning and diſſimulation, which, however, overſhot his purpoſe, and contributed to his own ruin. While Charles reſided at Edinburgh, the marquis de Guilles arrived at Montroſe, as envoy from the French king, with ſeveral officers, ſome cannon, and a conſiderable quantity of ſmall arms for the uſe of that adventurer.[r]

While the young pretender endeavoured to improve the advantages he had gained, the miniſtry of Great-Britain took every poſſible meaſure to retard his progreſs. Several powerful chiefs in the Highlands were attached to the government, and exerted themſelves in its defence. The duke of Argyle began to arm his vaſſals; but, not before he had obtained the ſanction of the legiſlature. Twelve hundred men were raiſed by the earl of Sutherland: the lord Rae brought a conſiderable number to the field: the Grants and Monroes appeared under their reſpective leaders for the ſervice of his majeſty: ſir Alexander Macdonald declared for king George, and the Laird of Macleod ſent 2000 hardy Highlanders from Skie, to ſtrengthen the ſame intereſt. Theſe gentlemen, though ſuppoſed to be otherwiſe affected, were governed and directed by the advice of Duncan Forbes, preſident of the college of juſtice at Edinburgh; a man of extenſive knowledge, agreeable manners, and unblemiſhed integrity. He procured commiſſions for raiſing 20 independent companies, and ſome of theſe he beſtowed upon individuals who were either attached by principle, or engaged by promiſe, to the pretender. He acted with indefatigable zeal for the intereſt of the reigning family; and greatly injured an opulent fortune in their ſervice. He confirmed ſeveral chiefs who began to waver in their principles: ſome he actually converted by the energy of his arguments, and brought over to the aſſiſtance of the government, which they had determined to oppoſe: others he perſuaded to remain quiet, without taking any ſhare in the preſent troubles. Certain it is, this gentleman, by his induſtry and addreſs, prevented the inſurrection of 10,000 Highlanders, who would otherwiſe have joined the pretender; and, therefore, he may be ſaid to have been one great cauſe of that adventurer's miſcarriage. The earl of Loudon repaired to Inverneſs, where he completed his regiment of Highlanders; directed the conduct of the clans who had taken arms in behalf of his majeſty; and, by his vigilance, over-awed the diſaffected chieftains of that country, who had not yet openly engaged in the rebellion. Immediately after the defeat of Cope, 6000 Dutch troops[s] arrived in England, and three battallions of guards, with ſeven regiments of infantry, were recalled from Flanders, for the defence of the kingdom. They forthwith began their march to the North, under the command of general Wade, who received orders to aſſemble an army, which proceeded to Newcaſtle. The parliament meeting on the 16th day of October, his majeſty gave them to underſtand, that an unnatural rebellion had broke out in Scotland, towards the ſuppreſſion of which he craved their advice and aſſiſtance. He found both houſes cordial in their addreſſes, and zealous in their attachment to his perſon and government. The commons forthwith ſuſpended the Habeas Corpus act; and ſeveral perſons were apprehended on ſuſpicion of treaſonable practices. Immediately after the ſeſſion was opened the duke of Cumberland arrived from the Netherlands, and was followed by another detachment of dragoons and infantry. The trained bands of London were reviewed by his majeſty: the country regiments were completed: the volunteers, in different parts of the kingdom, employed themſelves induſtriouſly in the exerciſe of arms; and the whole Engliſh nation ſeemed to riſe up as one man againſt this formidable invader. The government being apprehenſive of a deſcent from France, appointed admiral Vernon to command a ſquadron in the Downs, to obſerve the motions of the enemy by ſea, eſpecially in the harbours of Dunkirk and Boulogn; and his cruiſers took ſeveral ſhips laden with ſoldiers, officers, and ammunition, deſtined for the ſervice of the pretender in Scotland.

This enterpriſing youth, having collected about five thouſand men, reſolved to make an irrruption into England, which he accordingly entered by the weſt border on the 6th day of November. Carliſle was inveſted, and in leſs than three days ſurrendered: the keys were delivered at Brampton, by the mayor and aldermen on their knees. Here he found a conſiderable quantity of arms: his father was proclamed king of Great-Britain and himſelf regent, by the magiſtrates in their formalities. General Wade being appriſed of his progreſs, decamped from Newcaſtle, and advanced acroſs the country as far as Hexham, though the fields were covered with ſnow, and the roads almoſt impaſſable. There he received intelligence that Carliſle was reduced, and forthwith returned to its former ſtation. In the mean time, orders were iſſued for aſſembling another army in Staffordſhire, under the command of ſir John Ligonier. Prince Charles, notwithſtanding this formidable oppoſition, determined to proceed. He had received aſſurances from France, that a conſiderable body of troops would be landed on the ſouthern coaſt of Britain, to make a diverſion in his favour; and he never doubted but that he ſhould be joined by all the Engliſh mal-contents, as ſoon as he could penetrate into the heart of the kingdom. Leaving a ſmall garriſon in the caſtle of Carliſle, he advanced to Penrith, marching on foot in the Highland garb, at the head of his forces: and continued his route through Lancaſter and Preſton to Mancheſter, where, on the the 29th day of the month, he eſtabliſhed his head quarters. There he was joined by about two-hundred Engliſhmen, who were formed into a regiment, under the command of colonel Townley. The inhabitants ſeemed to receive him with marks of affection; and his arrival was celebrated by illuminations, and other public rejoicings. His ſuppoſed intention was to proſecute his march by the way of Cheſter into Wales, where he hoped to find a great number of adherents: but all the bridges over the river Merſe being broken down, he chooſe the route to Stockport, and forded the river at the head of his diviſion, though the water roſe to his middle. He paſſed through Macclesfield and Congleton; and on the 4th of December entered the town of Derby, in which his army was quartered, and his father proclaimed with great formality. He had now advanced within 100 miles of the capital, which was filled with terrour and confuſion. Wade lingered in Yorkſhire: the duke of Cumberland had aſſumed the command of the other army aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Lichfield. He had marched from Stafford to Stone; ſo that the rebels, in turning off from Aſhborne to Derby, had gained a march between him and London. Had Charles proceeded in his career with that expedition which he had hitherto uſed, he might have made himſelf maſter of the metropolis, where he would have been certainly joined by a conſiderable number of his well-wiſhers, who waited impatiently for his approach: yet this exploit could not have been achieved without hazarding an engagement, and running the riſque of being encloſed within three armies, each greatly ſuperior to his own in number and

[r] He ſollicited, and is ſaid to have obtained of the chevalier de St. George, the patent of a duke, and a commiſſion for being lord-lieutenant of all the Highlands.

[s] They were compoſed of the forces who had been in garriſon at Tournay and Dendermonde when thoſe places were taken, and engaged by capitulation, that they ſhould not perform any military function before the 1ſt day of January in the year 1747; ſo they could not have acted in England without the infringement of a ſolemn treaty.

artillery. Orders were given for forming a camp on Finchley-common, where the king reſolved to take the field in perſon, accompanied by the earl of Stair, field-mareſcal and commander in chief of the forces in South-Britain. Some Romiſh prieſts were apprehended: the militia of London and Middleſex were kept in readineſs to march: double watches were poſted at the city-gates, and ſignals of alarm appointed. The volunteers of the city were incorporated into a regiment: the practitioners of the law, headed by the judges, the weavers of Spitalfields, and other communities, engaged in aſſociations; and even the managers of the theatres offered to raiſe a body of their dependents for the ſervice of the government. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions and appearances of unanimity, the trading part of the city, and thoſe concerned in the money-corporations were overwhelmed with fear and and dejection. They repoſed very little confidence in the courage or diſcipline of their militia and volunteers: they had received intelligence that the French were employed in making preparations at Dunkirk and Calais for a decent upon England: they dreaded an inſurrection of the Roman catholics, and other friends of the houſe of Stuart; and they reflected that the Highlanders, of whom by this time they had conceived a moſt terrible idea, were within four days march of the capital. Alarmed by theſe conſiderations, they prognoſticated their own ruin in the approaching revolution; and their countenances exhibited the plaineſt marks of horrour and deſpair. On the other hand, the jacobites were elevated to an inſolence of hope, which they were at no pains to conceal: while many people, who had no private property to loſe, and though no change would be for the worſe, waited the iſſue of this criſis with the moſt calm indifference.

This ſtate of ſuſpence was of ſhort duration. The young pretender found himſelf miſerably diſappointed in his expectations. He had now advanced into the middle of the kingdom, and except a few that joined him at Mancheſter, not a ſoul appeared in his behalf: one would have imagined that all the jacobites of England had been annihilated. The Welch took no ſtep to excite an inſurrection in his favour: the French made no attempt towards an invaſion: his court was divided into factions: the Highland chiefs began to murmur, and their clans to be unruly: he ſaw himſelf with a handful of men hemmed in between two conſiderable armies, in the middle of winter, and in a country diſaffected to his cauſe. He knew he could not proceed to the metropolis without hazarding a battle, and that a defeat would be attended with the inevitable deſtruction of himſelf and all his adherents; and he had received information that his friends and officers had aſſembled a body of forces in the North, ſuperior in number to thoſe by whom he was attended. He called a council at Derby; and propoſed to advance towards London: the propoſal was ſupported by lord Nairn with great vehemence; but, after violent diſputes, the majority determined that they ſhould retreat to Scotland with all poſſible expedition. Accordingly, they abandoned Derby on the 6th day of December, early in the morning, and meaſured bac the route by which they had advanced. On the 9th their van-guard arrived at Mancheſter: on the 12th they entered Preſton, and continued their march northwards. The duke of Cumberland, who was encamped at Meriden, when firſt appriſed of their retreat, detached the horſe and dragoons in the purſuit of them; while general Wade began his march from Ferry-bridge into Lancaſhire, with a view of intercepting them in their route: but at Wakefield he underſtood that they had already reached Wigan: he, therefore, repaired to his old poſt at Newcaſtle, after having detached general Oglethorpe, with his horſe and dragoons, to join thoſe who had been ſent off from the duke's army. They purſued with ſuch alacrity, that they overtook the rear of the rebels, with which they ſkirmiſhed, in Lancaſhire. The militia of Cumberland and Weſtmorland were raiſed and armed by the duke's order, to harraſs them in their march. The bridges were broken down, the roads damaged, and the beacons lighted to alarm the country. Nevertheleſs, they retreated regularly with their ſmall train of artillery. They were overtaken at the village of Cliſton, in the neighbourhood of Penrith, by two regiments of dragoons. Theſe alighted, and lined the hedges, in order to harraſs part of the enemy's rear-guard, commanded by lord John Murray; who, at the head of the Macphersons, attacked the dragoons ſword in hand, and repulſed them with ſome loſs. On the 19th day of the month, the Highland army reached Carliſle, where the majority of the Engliſh in the ſervice of the pretender were left, at their own deſire. Charles, having re-enforced the garriſon of the place, croſſed the rivers Eden and Solway into Scotland, having thus accompliſhed one of the moſt ſurpriſing retreats that ever was performed. But the moſt remarkable circumſtance of this expedition, was the moderation and regularity with which thoſe ferocious people conducted themſelves in a country abounding with plunder. No violence was offered; no outrage committed; and they were effectually reſtrained from the exerciſe of rapine. Notwithſtanding the exceſſive cold, the hunger, and fatigue to which they muſt have been expoſed, they left behind no ſic, and loſt a very few ſtragglers; but retired with deliberation, and carried off their cannon in the face of their enemy. The duke of Cumberland inveſted Carliſle with his whole army on the 21ſt day of December, and on the 30th the garriſon ſurrendered on a ſort of capitulation made with the duke of Richmond. The priſoners, amounting to about 400, were impriſoned in different gaols in England, and the duke returned to London.

The pretender proceeded by way of Dumfries to Glaſgow, from which laſt city he exacted ſevere contributions, on account of its attachment to the government, for whoſe ſervice it had raiſed a regiment of 900 men, under the command of the earl of Home. Having continued ſeveral days at Glaſgow, he advanced towards Stirling, and was joined by ſome forces which had been aſſembled in his abſence by lords Lewis Gorden and John Drummond, brothers to the dukes of Gordon and Perth. This laſt nobleman had arrived from France in November, with a ſmall re-enforcement of French and Iriſh, and a commiſſion as general of theſe auxiliaries. He fixed his head-quarters at Perth, where he was re-enforced by the earl of Cromartie, and other clans, to the number of 2000, and he was accommodated with a ſmall train of artillery. They had found means to ſurpriſe a ſloop of war at Montroſe, with the guns of which they fortified that harbour. They had received a conſiderable ſum of money from Spain. They took poſſeſſion of Dundee, Dumblaine, Downcaſtle, and laid Fife under contribution. The earl of Loudon remained at Inverneſs, with about 2000 Highlanders in the ſervice of his majeſty. He conveyed proviſions to Fort-Auguſtus and Fort-William: he ſecured the perſon of lord Lovat, who ſtill temporiſed, and at length this cunning veteran accompliſhed his eſcape. The laird of Macleod, and mr. Monro of Culcairn, being detached from Inverneſs towards Aberdeenſhire, were ſurpriſed and routed by lord Lewis Gordon at Inverary; and that intereſt ſeemed to preponderate in the north of Scotland. Prince Charles being joined by lord John Drummond, inveſted the caſtle of Stirling, in which general Blakeney commanded: but, his people were ſo little uſed to enterpriſes of this kind, that they made very little progreſs in their operations.

By this time, a conſiderable body of forces was aſſembled at Edinburgh, under the conduct of general Hawley, who determined to leave Stirling-caſtle, and advanced to Linlithgow, on the 17th day of January: next day his whole army rendezvouſed at Falkirk, while the rebels were cantoned about Bannockburn. On the 17th day of the month, they began their march in two columns to attac the king's forces, and had forded the water of Carven, within three miles of Hawley's camp, before he diſcovered their intention. Such was the obſtinancy, ſelf-conceit, or contempt of the enemy, that he ſlighted the repeated intelligence he had received of their motions and deſign, firmly believing they durſt not hazard an engagement. At length, perceiving they had occupied the riſing ground to the ſouthward of Falkirk, he ordered his cavalry to advance, and drive them from the eminence; while his infantry formed, and were drawn up in order of battle. The Highlanders kept up their fire, and took aim ſo well, that the aſſailans were broke by the firſt volley: they retreated with precipitation, and fell in amongſt the infantry, which were likewiſe diſcompoſed by the wind and rain beating with great violence in their faces, wetting their powder, and diſturbing their eye-ſight. Some of the dragoons rallied and advanced again to the charge, with part of the infantry which had not been engaged: then the pretender marched up at the head of his corps de reſerve, conſiſting of the regiment of lord John Drummond, and the Iriſh piquets. Theſe re enforcing the Camerons and the Stuarts in the front line, immediately obliged the dragoons to give way a ſecond time; and they again diſordered the foot in their retreat. They ſet fire to the camp, and abandoned Falkirk with their baggage and train, which laſt had never reached the field of battle. The rebels followed their firſt blow, and great part of the royal army, after one irregular diſcharge, turned their bacs, and fled in the utmoſt conſternation.

In all probability few or none of them would have eſcaped, had not general Huſk, and brigadier Cholmondeley, rallied part of ſome regiments, and made a gallant ſtand, which favoured the retreat of the reſt to Falkirk, from whence they retired in confuſion to Edinburgh, leaving the field of battle, with part of their tents and artillery, to the rebels; but the loſs of men did not exceed 300, including ſir Robert Monro, colonel Whitney, and ſome other officers of diſtinction. It was at this period, that the officers who had been taken at the battle of Preſton-pans, and conveyed to Angus and Fife, finding themſelves unguarded, broke their parole, and returned to Edinburgh, on pretence of having been forcibly releaſed by the inhabitants of thoſe parts.[t]

General Hawley, who had boaſted that, with two regiments of dragoons, he would drive the rebel army from one end of the kingdom to the other, incurred abundance of cenſure for the diſpoſition he made, as well as for his conduct before and after the action; but he found means to vindicate himſelf to the ſatisfaction of his ſovereign. Nevertheleſs, it was judged neceſſary that the army in Scotland ſhould be commanded by a general in whom the ſoldiers might have ſome confidence; and the duke of Cumberland was choſen for this purpoſe. Over and above his being beloved by the army, it was ſuggeſted, that the appearance of a prince of the blood in Scotland might have a favourable effect upon the minds of people in that kingdom: he, therefore, began to prepare for his northern expedition. Mean while, the French miniſter at the Hague having repreſented to the ſtates-general, that the auxiliaries which they had ſent into Great-Britain were part of the garriſons of Tournay and Dendermonde, and reſtricted by the capitulation from bearing arms againſt France for a certain term, the States thought proper to recal them, rather than come to an open rupture with his moſt chriſtian majeſty. In the room of thoſe troops 6000 Heſſians were tranſported from Flanders to Leith, where they arrived in the beginning of February, under the command of their prince, Frederick of Heſſe, ſon-in-law to his Britannic majeſty. By this time the duke of Cumberland had put himſelf at the head of the troops in Edinburgh, conſiſting of 14 battalions of infantry, two regiments of dragoons, and 1200 Highlanders from Argyleſhire, under the command of colonel Cambell.

[1746] On the laſt day of January, his royal highneſs began his march to Linlithgow; and the enemy who had renewed the ſiege of Stirling-caſtle, not only abandoned that enterpriſe, but croſſed the river Forth with precipitation. Their prince found great difficulty in maintaining his forces, that part of the country being quite exhauſted. He hoped to be re-enforced in the Highlands, and to receive ſupplies of all kinds from France and Spain: he, therefore, retired by Badenoch towards Inverneſs, which the earl of Loudon abandoned at his approach. The fort was ſurrendered to him almoſt without oppoſition, and here he fixed his head-quarters. His next exploit was the ſiege of Fort-Auguſtus, which he in a little time reduced. The duke of Cumberland having ſecured the important poſts of Sterling and Perth, with the Heſſian battalions, advanced with the army to Aberdeen, where he was joined by the duke of Gordon, the earls of Aberdeen and Findlater, the laird of Grant, and other perſons of diſtinction.

While he remained in this place, refreſhing his troops, and preparing magazines, a party of the rebels ſurprized a detachment of Kingſton's horſe, and about ſeventy Argyleſhire Highlanders, at Keith, who were either killed or taken. Several advanced parties of that militia met with the ſame fate in different places. Lord George Murray inveſted the caſtle of Blair, which was defended by ſir Andrew Agnew, until a body of Heſſians marched to its relief, and obliged the rebels to retire. The prince-pretender ordered all his forces to aſſemble, in order to begin their march for Aberdeen, to attac the duke of Cumberland: but, in conſequence of a remonſtrance from the clans, who declined leaving their families at the mercy of the king's garriſon in Fort-William, he reſolved previouſly to reduce that fortreſs, the ſiege of which was undertaken by brigadier Stapleton, an engineer in the French ſervice: but the place was ſo vigorouſly maintained by captain Scot, that in the beginning of April they thought proper to relinquiſh the enterprize. The earl of Loudon had retired into Sutherland, and taken poſt at Dornoch, where his quarters were beat up by a ſtrong detachment of the rebels, commanded by the duke of Perth; a major and ſixty men were taken priſoners; and the earl was obliged to take ſhelter in the iſle of Skye. Theſe little checs were counter-balanced by ſome advantages which his majeſty's arms obtained. The ſloop of war which the rebels had ſurprized Montroſe was re-taken in Sutherland, with a conſiderable ſum of money, and a great quantity of arms on board, which ſhe had brought from France for the uſe of the pretender. In the ſame country, the earl of Cromartie fell into an ambuſcade, and was taken by the militia of Sutherland, who likewiſe defeated a body of the rebels at Goldſpie. This action happened on the very day which has been rendered famous by the victory obtained at Culloden.

In the beginning of April the duke of Cumberland began his march from Aberdeen and on the 12th paſſed the deep and rapid river Spey, without oppoſition from the rebels, though a detachment of them appeared on the oppoſite ſide. Why they did not diſpute the paſſage is not eaſy to be conceived: but, indeed, from this inſtance of neglect, and their ſubſequent conduct, we may conclude they were under a total infatuation. His royal highneſs proceeded to Nairn, where he received intelligence, that the enemy had advanced from Inverneſs to Culloden, about the diſtance of nine miles from the royal army, with intention to give him battle. The deſign of Charles, was to march in the night from Culloden, and ſurprize the duke's army at daybreak: for this purpoſe the Engliſh camp had been reconnoitred; and on the night of the 15th the Highland army began to march in two columns. Their deſign was to ſurround the enemy, and attac them at once on all quarters: but the length of the columns embarraſſed the march, ſo that the army was obliged to make many halts: the men had been under arms during the whole preceding night, were faint with hunger and fatigue, and many of them overpowered with ſleep. Some were unable to proceed: others dropped off unperceived in the dark; and the march was retarded in ſuch a manner, that it would have been impoſſible to reach the duke's camp before ſun-riſe. The deſign being thus fruſtrated, the prince-pretender was with great reluctance prevailed upon by his general officers to meaſure bac his way to Culloden; at which place he had no ſooner arrived, than great numbers of his followers diſperſed in queſt of proviſions; and many, overcome with wearineſs and ſleep, threw themſelves down on the heath, and along the park walls. Their repoſe, however, was ſoon interrupted in a very diſagreeable manner. Their prince receiving intelligence that his enemies were in full march to attac him, reſolved to hazard an engagement, and ordered his troops to be formed for that purpoſe. On the 16th day of April, the duke of Cumberland having made the proper diſpoſitions, decamped from Nairn early in the morning, and after a march of nine miles perceived the Highlanders drawn up in order of battle, to the number of 4000 men, in 13 diviſions, ſupplied with ſome pieces of artillery. The royal army, which was much more numerous, the duke immediately formed into three lines, diſpoſed in excellent order; and about one o'clock in the afternoon the cannonading began. The artillery of the rebels was ill ſerved, and did very little execution: but that of the king's troops made dreadful havoc among the enemy. Impatient of this fire, their front-line advanced to the attac, and about 500 of the clans charged the duke's left wing with their uſual impetuoſity. One regiment was diſordered by the weight of this column: but two battallions advancing from the ſecond line, ſuſtained the firſt, and ſoon put a ſtop to their career, by a ſevere fire, that killed a great number. At the ſame time, the dragoons under Hawley, and the Argyleſhire militia, pulled down a park-wall that covered their right flank, and the cavalry falling in among the rebels, ſword in hand, completed their confuſion. The French piquets on their left covered the retreat of the Highlanders by a cloſe and regular fire; and then retired to Inverneſs, where they ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. An entire body of the rebels marched off the field in order, with their pipes playing, and the pretender's ſtandard diſplayed: the reſt were routed with great ſlaughter; and their prince was with reluctance prevailed upon to retire. In leſs than 30 minutes they were totally defeated, and the field covered with ſlain. The road, as far as Inverneſs, was ſtrewed with dead bodies; and a good number of people, who, from motives of curioſity, had come to ſee the battle, were ſacrificed to the undiſtinguiſhing vengeance of the victors. Twelve hundred rebels were ſlain or wounded on the field, and in the

[t] Sir Peter Halket, captain Lucy Scot, lieutenants Farquharſon and Cumming, with a few other gentlemen, adhered punctually to their parole, and their conduct was approved by his majeſty.

purſuit. The earl of Kilmarnock was taken; and in a few days lord Balremino ſurrendered to a country gentleman, at whoſe houſe he preſented himſelf for this purpoſe. The glory of the victory was ſullied by the barbarity of the ſoldiers. They had been provoked by their former diſgraces to the moſt ſavage thirſt of revenge. Not contented with the blood which was ſo profuſely ſhed in the heat of action, they traverſed the field after the battle, and maſſacred thoſe miſerable wretches who lay maimed and expiring: nay, ſome officers acted a part in this cruel ſcene of aſſaſſination: the triumph of low illiberal minds, uninſpired by ſentiment, untinctured by humanity. The vanquiſhed adventurer rode off the field, accompanied by the duke of Perth, lord Elcho, and a few horſemen: he croſſed the water of Nairn, and retired to the houſe of a gentleman in Strutharrick, where he conferred with old lord Lovat; then he diſmiſſed his followers, and wandered about a wretched and ſolitary fugitive among the iſles and mountains, for the ſpace of five months, during which he underwent ſuch a ſeries of dangers, hardſhips, and miſery, as no other perſon ever outlived. Thus, in one ſhort hour, all his hopes vaniſhed, and the rebellion was entirely extinguiſhed. One would almoſt imagine the conductors of this deſperate enterprize had conſpired their own deſtruction, as they certainly neglected every ſtep that might have contributed to their ſafety or ſucceſs. They might have oppoſed the duke of Cumberland at the paſſage of the Spey: they might, by proper conduct, have afterwards attacked his camp in the night, with a good proſpect of ſucceſs. As they were greatly inferior to him in number, and weakened with hunger and fatigue, they might have retired to the hills and faſtneſſes, where they would have found plenty of live cattle for proviſion, recruited their regiments, and been joined by a ſtrong re-enforcement, which was actually in full march to their aſſiſtance. But they were diſtracted by diſſentions and jealouſies: they obeyed the dictates of deſpair, and wilfully devoted themſelves to ruin and death. When the news of the battle arrived in England, the nation was tranſported with joy, and extolled the duke of Cumberland as a hero and deliverer. Both houſes of parliament congratulated his majeſty on the auſpicious event. They decreed, in the moſt ſolemn manner, their public thanks to his royal highneſs, which were tranſmitted to him by the ſpeakers; and the commons, by bill, added 25,000l. per annum to his former revenue.

Immediately after the deciſive action at Culloden, the duke took poſſeſſion of Inverneſs, where 36 deſerters, convicted by a court-martial, were ordered to be executed: then he detached ſeveral parties to ravage the country. One of theſe apprehended the lady Mackintoſh who was ſent priſoner to Inverneſs. They did not plunder her houſe, but drove away her cattle, though her huſband was actually in the ſervice of government. The caſtle of lord Lovat was deſtroyed. The French priſoners were ſent to Carliſle and Penrith: Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Cromartie, and his ſon, the lord Macleod, were conveyed by ſea to London; and thoſe of an inferior rank were confined in different priſons. The marquis of Tullibardin, together with a brother of the earl of Dunmore, were ſeiſed, and tranſported to the Tower of London, to which the earl of Traquaire had been committed on ſuſpicion: in a few months after the battle of Culloden, Murray, the pretender's ſecretary, was apprehended; and the eldeſt ſon of lord Lovat, having ſurrendered himſelf, was impriſoned in the caſtle of Edinburgh. In a word, all the gaols of Great-Britain, from the capital northwards, were filled with thoſe unfortunate captives; and great numbers of them were crowded together in the holds of ſhips, where they periſhed in the moſt deplorable manner, for want of neceſſaries, air, and exerciſe. Some rebel chiefs eſcaped in two French frigates, which had arrived on the coaſt of Lochaber about the end of April, and engaged three veſſels belonging to his Britannic majeſty, which they obliged to retire. Others embarked on board of a ſhip on the coaſt of Buchan; and were conveyed to Norway, from thence they travelled to Sweden. In the month of May, the duke of Cumberland advanced with the army into the Highlands, as far as Fort-Auguſtus, where he encamped; and ſent off detachments on all hands, to hunt down the fugitives, and lay waſte the country with fire and ſword. The caſtles of Glengary and Lochiel were plundered and burned: every houſe, hut, or habitation, met with the ſame fate, without diſtinction: all the cattle and proviſion were carried off: the men were either ſhot upon the mountains, like wild beaſts, or put to death in cold blood, without form of trial: the women, after having ſeen their huſbands and fathers murdered, were ſubjected to brutal violation, and then turned out naked, with their children, to ſtarve on the barren heaths. One whole family was encloſed in a barn, and conſumed to aſhes. Thoſe miniſters of vengeance were ſo alert in the execution of their office, that in a few days there was neither houſe, cottage, man, nor beaſt, to be ſeen in the compaſs of 50 miles: all was ruin, ſilence, and deſolation.

The humane reader cannot reflect upon ſuch a ſcene without grief and horrour: what then muſt have been the ſenſation of the fugitive prince, when he beheld theſe ſpectacles of woe, the diſmal fruit of his ambition? He was now ſurrounded by armed troops, that chaſed him from hill to dale, from roc to cavern, and from ſhore to ſhore. Sometimes he lurked in caves and cottages, without attendants, or any other ſupport but that which the pooreſt peaſant could ſupply. Sometimes he was rowed in fiſher-boats from iſle to iſle, among the Hebrides and often in ſight of his purſuers. For ſome days he appeared in woman's attire, and even paſſed through the midſt of his enemies unknown. But, underſtanding his diſguiſe was diſcovered, he aſſumed the habit of a travelling mountaineer, and wandered about among the woods and heaths, with a matted beard and ſqualid looks, expoſed to hunger, thirſt, and wearineſs, and in continual danger of being apprehended. He was obliged to truſt his life to the fidelity of above fifty individuals, and many of theſe were in the loweſt paths of fortune. They knew that a price of thirty thouſand pounds was ſet upon his head; and that, by betraying him, they ſhould enjoy wealth and affluence: but they deteſted the thought of obtaining riches on ſuch infamous terms, and miniſtred to his neceſſities, with the utmoſt zeal and fidelity, even at the hazard of their own deſtruction. In the courſe of theſe peregrinations, he was more than once hemmed in by his purſuers, in ſuch a manner as ſeemed to preclue all poſſibility of eſcaping: yet, he was never abandoned by his hope and recollection: he ſtill found ſome expedient that ſaved him from captivity and death; and through the whole courſe of his diſtreſſes maintained the moſt amazing equanimity and good humour. At length a privateer of St. Malo, hired by the young Sheridan and ſome other Iriſh adherents, arrived in Lochnannach; and on the 20th day of September this unfortunate prince embarked in the habit which he whore for diſguiſe. His eye was hollow, his viſage wan, and his conſtitution greatly impaired by famine and fatigue. He was accompanied by Cameron of Lochiel, and his brother, with a few other exiles. They ſet ſail for France, and after having paſſed unſeen, by means of a thic fog, through a Britiſh ſquadron commanded by admiral Leſtock, and been chaſed by two Engliſh ſhips of war, arrived in ſafety at Roſcau, near Morlaix, in Bretagne. Perhaps he would have found it ſtill more difficult to eſcape, had not the vigilance and eagerneſs of the government been relaxed, in conſequence of a report, that he had already fallen among ſome perſons that were ſlain by a volley from one of the duke's detachments.

Having thus explained the riſe, progreſs, and extinction of the rebellion, it will be neceſſary to take a retroſpective view of the proceedings in parliament. The neceſſary ſteps being taken for quieting the inteſtine commotions of the kingdom, the two houſes began to convert their attention to the affairs of the continent. On the 14th day of January, the king repaired to the houſe of peers, and in a ſpeech from the throne gave his parliament to underſtand, that the ſtates-general had made preſſing inſtances for his aſſiſtance in the preſent conjuncture, when they were in ſuch danger of being oppreſſed by the power of France in the Netherlands: that he had promiſed to co-operate with them towards oppoſing the further progreſs of their enemies; and even concerted meaſures for that purpoſe. He declared it was with regret that he aſked any furthur aids of his people: he exhorted them to watch over the public credit; and expreſſed his entire dependance on their zeal and unanimity. He was favoured with loyal addreſſes, couched in the warmeſt terms of duty and affection: but the ſupplies were retarded by new convulſions in the miniſtry. The earl of Granville had made an effort to retrieve his influence in the cabinet, and his ſovereign favoured his pretenſions. The two brothers, who knew his aſpring genius, and dreaded his ſuperior talents, refuſed to admit ſuch a colleague into the adminiſtration: they even reſolved to ſtrengthen their party, by introducing freſh auxiliaries into the offices of ſtate. Some of theſe were perſonally diſagreeble to his majeſty, who accordingly rejected the ſuit by which they were recommended. The duke of Newcaſtle and his brother, with all their adherents, immediately reſigned their employments.

The earl of Granville was appointed ſecretary of ſtate, and reſumed the reins of adminiſtration: but, finding himſelf unequal to the accumulated oppoſition that preponderated againſt him: for ſeeing that he ſhould not be able to ſecure the ſupplies in parliament; and dreading the conſequences of that confuſion which his reſtoration had already produced, he, in three days, voluntarily quitted the helm; and his majaſty acquieſced in the meaſures propoſed by the oppoſite party. The ſeals were re-delivered to the duke of Newcaſtle and the earl of Harrington: Mr Pelham, and all the reſt who had reſigned, were reinſtated in their reſpective employments; and offices were conferred on ſeveral individuals who had never before been in the ſervice of the government. William Pitt, eſq. was appointed vice-treaſurer of Ireland, and ſoon promoted to the place of paymaſter-general of the forces; at the ſame time the king declared him a privy-counſellor. This gentleman had been originally deſigned for the army, in which he actually bore a commiſſion; but fate reſerved him for a more important ſtation. In point of fortune he was barely qualified to be elected member of parliament, when he obtained a ſeat in the houſe of commons, where he ſoon outſhone all his compatriots. He diſplayed a ſurpriſing extent and preciſion of political knowledge, an irreſiſtible energy of argument, and ſuch power of elocution, as ſtruc his hearers with aſtoniſhment and admiration. It flaſhed like the lightening of heaven againſt the miniſters and ſons of corruption, blaſting were it ſmote, and withering the nerves of oppoſition: but his more ſubſtantial praiſe was founded upon his diſintereſted integrity, his incorruptible heart, his unconquerable ſpirit of independence, and his invariable attachment to the intereſt and liberty of his country.

The quiet of the miniſtry being re-eſtabliſhed, the houſe of commons provided for 40,000 ſeamen, nearly the ſame number of land-forces, beſides 15 regiments raiſed by the nobility, on account of the rebellion, and about 12,000 marines. They ſettled funds for the maintenace of the Dutch and Heſſian troops that were in England, as well as for the ſubſidy to the landgrave. They granted 300,000l. to the king of Sardinia; 400,000l. to the queen of Hungary; 310,000l. to defray the expence of 18,000 Hanoverians; about 33,000l. in ſubſidies to the elector of Mentz and Cologn; and 500,000l. in a vote of credit and confidence to his majeſty. The whole charge of the current year amounted to 7,250,000l. which was raiſed by the land and malt-taxs, annuities on the additional duties impoſed on glaſs, and ſpirituous liquors, a lottery, a deduction from the ſinking-fund, and exchequer bills, chargeable on the firſt aids that ſhould be granted in the next ſeſſion of parliament.

The rebellion being quelled, the legiſlature reſolved to make examples of thoſe who had been concerted in diſturbing the peace of their country. In June an act of attainder was paſſed againſt the principal perſons who had embarked in that deſperate undertaking; and courts were opened in different parts of England, for the trial of the priſoners. Seventeen perſons who had borne arms in the rebel army were executed at Kenington-common, in the neighbourhood of London, and ſuffered with great conſtancy under the dreadful tortures which their ſentence preſcribed: nine were put to death, in the ſame manner, at Carliſle; ſix at Brumton, ſeven at Penrith, and eleven at York: of theſe a conſiderable number were gentlemen, and acted as officers: about fifty had been executed as deſerters in different parts of Scotland: eighty-one ſuffered the pains of the law as traitors. A few obtained pardons, and a conſiderable number were tranſported to the plantations. Bills of indictment for high-treaſon were found by the county of Surry againſt the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and lord Balmerino. Theſe noblemen were tried by their peers in Weſtminſter-hall, the lord-chancellor preſiding as lord high-ſteward for the occaſion. The two earls confeſſed their crimes and in pathetic ſpeeches recommended themſelves to his majeſty's mercy. Lord Balmerino pleaded not guilty: he denied his having been at Carliſle at the time ſpecified in the indictment, but this exception was over-ruled: then he moved a point of law in arreſt of judgment, and was allowed to be heard by his counſel. They might have expatiated on the hardſhip of being tried by an ex poſt facto law, and claimed the privilege of trial in the county where the act of treaſon was ſaid to have been committed. The ſame hardſhip was impoſed upon all the impriſoned rebels: they were dragged in captivity to a ſtrange country, far from their friends and connexions, deſtitute of means to produce evidence in their favour, even if they had been innocent of the charge. Balmerino waved this plea, and ſubmitted to the court, which pronounced ſentence of death upon him and his two aſſociates. Cromartie's life was ſpared; but the other two were beheaded, in the month of Auguſt, on Tower-hill. Kilmarnock was a nobleman of fine perſonal accompliſhments: he had been educated in revolution principles, and engaged in the rebellion, partly from the deſperate ſituation of his fortune, and partly from reſentment to the government, on his being deprived of a penſion which he had for ſome time enjoyed. He was convinced of his having acted criminally, and died with marks of penitence and contrition. Balmerino had been bred to arms, and acted upon principle: he was gallant, brave, rough, and reſolute: he eyed the implements of death with the moſt careleſs familiarity, and ſeemed to triumph in his ſufferings.

In November, mr. Ratcliffe, the titular earl of Derwentwater, who had been taken in a ſhip bound to Scotland, was arraigned on a former ſentence, paſſed againſt him in the year 1716: he refuſed to acknowledge the authority of the court, and pleaded that he was a ſubject of France, honoured with a commiſſion, in the ſervice of his moſt chriſtian majeſty. The identity of his perſon being proved, a rule was made for his execution; and on the 8th day of December he ſuffered decapitation, with the moſt perfect compoſure and ſerenity.

Lord Lovat, now turned of 80, was impeached by the commons, and tried in Weſtminſter-hall before the lord high-ſteward. John Murray, ſecretary to the prince-pretender, and ſome of his own domeſtics appearing againſt him, he was convicted of high-treaſon, and condemned. Notwithſtanding his age, infirmities, and the recollection of his conſcience, which was ſuppoſed to be not altogether void of offence, he died like an old Roman, exclaiming 'dulce et decorum pro patria mori.' He ſurveyed the crowd with attention, examined the ax, jeſted with the executioner, and laid his head upon the bloc with the utmoſt indifference. From this laſt ſcene of his life one would have concluded, that he had approved himſelf a patriot from his youth, and never deviated from the paths of virtue.

The flame of war on the continent did not expire at the election of an emperor, on the re-eſtabliſhment of peace among the princes of the empire. On the contrary, it raged with double violence in conſequence of theſe events; for the force that was before divided being now united in one body, exerted itſelf with greater vigour and rapidity. The ſtates-general were overwhelmed with conſternation. Notwithſtanding the pains they had taken to avoid a war, and the condeſcention with which they had ſoothed and ſupplicated the French monarch in repeated embaſſes and memorials, they ſaw themſelves ſtripped of their barrier, and once more in danger of being overwhelmed by that ambitious nation. The city of Bruſſels had been reduced during the winter; ſo that the enemy were in poſſeſſion of all the Auſtrian netherlands, except a few fortreſſes. Great part of the forces belonging to the republic were reſtricted from action by capitulations, to which they had ſubſcribed. The ſtates were divided in their councils between the two factions which had long ſubſiſted. They trembled at the proſpect of ſeeing Zealand invaded in the ſpring. The Orange party loudly called for an augmentation of their forces by ſea and land, that they might proſecute the war with vigour. The common people, fond of novelty, dazzled by the ſplendor of greatneſs, and fully perſuaded that nothing but a chief was wanting to their ſecurity, demanded the prince of Orange as a ſtadtholder; and even mingled menaces with their demands. The oppoſite faction dreaded alike the power of a ſtadtholder, the neighbourhood of a French army, and the ſeditious diſpoſition of the populace. An ambaſſador was ſent to London with repreſentations of the imminent dangers which threatened the republic, and he was ordered to ſollicit in the moſt preſſing terms the aſſiſtance of his Britannic majeſty, that the allies might have a ſuperiority in the Netherlands by the beginning of the campaign. The king was very well diſpoſed to comply with their requeſt; but the rebellion in his kingdom, and the diſſentions in his cabinet, had retarded the ſupplies, and embarraſſed him ſo much, that he found it impoſſible to make thoſe early preparations that were neceſſary to chec the career of the enemy.

The king of France, with his general, the count de Saxe, took the field in the latter end of April, at the head of 120,000 men, and advanced towards the allies; who, to the number of 44000, were entrenched behind the Demer, under the conduct of the Auſtrian general Bathiani, who retired before them, and took poſt in the neighbourhood of Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant. Mareſchal Saxe immediately inveſted Antwerp, which in a few days was ſurrendered. Then he appeared before the ſtrong town of Mons in Hainault, with an irreſiſtible train of artillery, an

immenſe quantity of bombs and warlike implements. He carried on his approaches with ſuch unbating impetuoſity, that, notwithſtanding a very vigorous defence, the garriſon was obliged to capitulate on the 27th day of June, in about 28 days after the place had been inveſted. Sieges were not now carried on by the tedious method of ſapping. The French king found it much more expeditious and effectual to bring into the field a prodigious train of battering cannon, and enormous mortars, that kept up ſuch a fire as no garriſon could ſuſtain, and diſcharged ſuch an inceſſant hail of bombs and bullets, as in a very little time reduced to ruins the place, with all its fortifications. St. Guiſlain and Charleroy met with the fates of Mons and Antwerp: ſo that by the middle of July the French king was abſolute maſter of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault.

Prince Charles of Lorraine had by this time aſſumed the command of the confederate army at Terheyde, which being re-enforced by the Heſſian troops from Scotland, and a freſh body of Auſtrians under count Palfi, amounted to 87,000 men, including the Dutch forces commanded by the prince of Waldeck. The generals, ſuppoſing the next ſtorm would fall upon Namur, marched towards that place, and took poſt in an advantageous ſituation on the 18th day of July, in ſight of the French army, which was encamped at Gemblours. Here they remained till the 8th day of Auguſt, when a detachment of the enemy, commanded by count Lowendahl, took poſſeſſion of Huy, where he found a large magazine belonging to the confederates; and their communication with Maeſtricht was cut off. Mareſchal Saxe, on the other ſide, took his meaſures ſo well, that they were utterly deprived of all ſubſiſtence. Then prince Charles, retiring acroſs the Maeſe, abandoned Namur to the efforts of the enemy, by whom it was immediately inveſted. The trenches were opened on the 2d day of September; and the garriſon, conſiſting of 7000 Auſtrians, defended themſelves with equal ſkill and reſolution: but the cannonading and bombardment were ſo terrible, that in a few days the place was converted into a heap of rubbiſh; and on the 23d day of the month the French monarch took poſſeſſion of this ſtrong fortreſs, which had formerly ſuſtained ſuch dreadful attacs. Mean while the allied army encamped at Maeſtricht were joined by ſir John Ligonier, with ſome Britiſh and Bavarian battalions; and prince Charles reſolved to give the enemy battle. With this view he paſſed the Maeſe on the 13th day of September, and advanced towards Mareſchal Saxe, whom he found ſo advantageouſly poſted at Tongres, that he thought proper to march bac to Maeſtricht. On the 26th day of September he croſſed the Jaar in his retreat; and his rear was attacked by the enemy, who were repuiſed. But count Saxe being reenforced by a body of troops under the count de Clermont, determined to bring the confederates to an engagement. On the 13th day of the month he paſſed the Jaar, while they took poſſeſſion of the villages of Liers, Warem, and Roucoux, drew up their forces in order of battle, and make preparations for giving him a warm reception. On the 1ſt day of October the enemy advanced in three columns; and a terrible cannonading began about noon. At two o'clock prince Waldeck on the left was charged with great fury; and after an obſtinate defence overpowered by numbers. The villages were attacked in columns, and as one brigade was repulſed another ſucceeded; ſo that the allies were obliged to abandon theſe poſts, and retreat towards Maeſtricht, with the loſs of 5000 men, and 30 pieces of artillery. The victory, however, coſt the French general a much greater number of lives; and was attended with no ſolid advantage. Sir John Ligonier, the earls of Crawford [u] and Rothes, brigadier Douglas, and other officers of the Britiſh troops, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their gallantry and conduct on this occaſion. This action determined the campaign. The allies paſſing the Meaſe, took up their winter quarters in the duchies of Limburgh and Luxembourg; while the French cantoned their troops in the places which they had newly conquered.

The campaign in Italy was altogether unfavourable to the French and Spaniards. The houſe of Auſtria being no longer preſſed on the ſide of Germany, was enabled to make the ſtronger efforts in this country; and the Britiſh ſubſidy encouraged the king of Sardinia to act with redoubled vivacity. Mareſchal Maillebois occupied the greater part of Piedmont with about 30,000 men. Don Philip and the count de Gages were at the head of a greater number in the neighbourhood of Milan; and the duke of Modena, with 8000, ſecured his own dominions. The king of Sardinia augmented his forces to 36,000; and the Auſtrian army, under the prince of Lichtenſtein, amounted to a much greater number; ſo that the enemy were reduced to the neceſſity of acting on the defenſive, and retired towards the Mantuan. In February baron Leutrum, the Piedmonteſe general, inveſted and took the ſtrong fortreſſes of Aſte. He afterwards relieved the citidel of Alexandria, which the Spaniards had bloced up in the winter, reduced Caſal, recovered Valencia, and obliged Maillebois to retire to the neighbourhood of Genoa. On the other ſide, don Philip and count Gages abandoned Milan, Pavia, and Parma, retreating before the Auſtrians with the utmoſt precipitation to Placentia, where they were joined on the 3d of June by the French forces under Maillebois.

Before this junction was effected, the Spaniſh general, Pignatelli, had paſſed the river Po in the night with a ſtrong detachment, and beaten up the quarters of 7000 Auſtrians poſted at Codogno. Don Philip, finding himſelf at the head of 52,000 men by his junction with the French general, reſolved to attac the Auſtrians in their camp at San-Lazaro, before they ſhould be re-enforced by his Sardinian majeſty. Accordingly, on the fourth day of June in the evening, he marched with equal ſilence and expedition, and entered the Auſtrian trenches about eleven, when a deſperate battle enſued. The Auſtrians were prepared for the attac, which they ſuſtained with great vigour till morning. Then they quitted their entrenchments, and charged the enemy in their turn with ſuch fury, that after an obſtinate reſiſtance the combined army was broke, and retired with precipitation to Placentia, leaving on the field 15,000 men killed, wounded, and taken, together with ſixty colours, and ten pieces of artillery. In a few weeks the Auſtrians were joined by the Piedmonteſe: the king of Sardinia aſſumed the chief command; and prince Lichtenſtein being indiſpoſed, his place was ſupplied by the marquis de Botta. Don Philip retired to the other ſide of the Po, and extended his conqueſts in the open country of the Milaneſe. The king of Sardinia called a council of war, in which it was determined that he ſhould paſs the river with a ſtrong body of troops, in order to ſtraighten the enemy on one ſide; while the marquis de Botta ſhould march up the Tydone, to cut off their communication with Placentia. They forthwith quitted all the poſts they had occupied between the Lambro and Adda, reſolving to repaſs the Po, and retreat to Tortona. With this view they threw bridges of boats over that river, and began to paſs on the 9th day of Auguſt in the evening. They were attacked at Rotto-Freddo by a detachment of Auſtrians, under general Serbelloni, who maintained the engagement till ten in the morning, when Botto arrived: the battle was renewed with doubled rage, and laſted till four in the afternoon, when the enemy retired in great diſorder to Tortona, with the loſs of 8000 men, a good number of colours and ſtandards, and 18 pieces of cannon. This victory coſt the Auſtrians 4000 men killed upon the ſpot, including the gallant general Bernclau. The victors immediately ſummoned Placentia to ſurrender; and the garriſon, conſiſting of 9000 men, were made priſoners of war: don Philip continued his retreat, and of all his forces brought 26,000 only into the territories of Genoa.

The Piedmonteſe and Auſtrians rejoining in the neighbourhood of Pavia, advanced to Tortona, of which they took poſſeſſion without reſiſtance, while the enemy ſheltered themſelves under the cannon of Genoa. They did not long continue in this ſituation: for on the 22d day of Auguſt they were again in motion, and retired into Provence. The court of Madrid imputing the bad ſucceſs of this campaign to the miſconduct of count Gages, recalled that

[u] This nobleman, ſo remarkable for his courage and thirſt of glory, exhibited a very extraordinary inſtance of preſence of mind on the morning that preceded this battle. He and ſome volunteers, accompanied by his aide de-camp, and attended by two orderly dragoons, had rode out before day to reconnoitre the ſituation of the enemy; and fell in upon one of their advanced guards. The ſerjeant who commanded it immediately turned out his men, and their pieces were preſented when the earl firſt perceived them. Without betraying the leaſt mark of diſorder, he rode up to the ſerjeant, and aſſuming the character of a French general, told him in that language, that there was no occaſion for ſuch ceremony. Then he aſked, if they had perceived any of the enemy's parties? and being anſwered in the negative, 'Very well (ſaid he) be upon your guard; and if you ſhould be attacked, I will take care that you ſhall be ſuſtained.' So ſaying, he and his company retired before the ſerjeant could recollect himſelf from the ſurpriſe occaſioned by this unexpected addreſs. In all probability he was ſoon ſenſible of his miſtake; for the incident was that very day publicly mentioned in the French army. The prince of Tingray, an officer in the Auſtrian ſervice, having been taken priſoner in the battle that enſued, dined with mareſchal count Saxe, who diſmiſſed him on his parole, and deſired he would charge himſelf with a facetious compliment to his old friend, the earl of Crawford. He wiſhed his lordſhip joy of being a French general, and ſaid he could not help being diſpleaſed with the ſerjeant, as he had not procured him the honour of his lordſhip's company at dinner.

general, and ſent the marquis de las Minas to reſume the command of the forces. In the mean time, the victorious confederates appeared before Genoa on the 4th day of December: and the ſenate of that city thinking it incapable of defence, ſubmitted to a very mortifying capitulation, by which the gates were delivered up to the Auſtrians, together with all their arms, artillery, and ammunition: and the city was ſubjected to the moſt cruel contributions. The marquis de Botta being left at Genoa with 16,000 men, the king of Sardinia reſolved to paſs the Var, and purſue the French and Spaniards into Provence: but, that monarch being ſeiſed with the ſmall-pox, the conduct of this expedition was entruſted to count Brown, an Auſtrian general of Iriſh extract, who had given repeated proofs of uncommon valour and capacity. He was on this occaſion aſſiſted by vice-admiral Medley, who commanded the Britiſh ſquadron in the Mediterranean. The French forces had fortified the paſſes of the Var, under the conduct of the mareſchal de Belleiſle, who thought proper to abandon his poſts at the approach of count Brown; and this general, at the head of 50,000 men, paſſed the river, without oppoſition, on the 9th day of November. While he advanced as far as Draguignan, laying the open country under contribution, baron Roth, with 24 battalions, inveſted Antibes, which was at the ſame time bombarded on the ſide of the ſea by the Britiſh ſquadron. The trenches were opened on the 20th day of September: but Belleiſle having aſſembled a numerous army, ſuperior to that of the confederates, and the Genoeſe having expelled their Auſtrian gueſts, count Brown abandoned the enterpriſe, and repaſſed the Var, not without ſome damage from the enemy.

The court of Vienna, which has always patroniſed oppreſſion, exacted ſuch heavy contributions from the Genoeſe, and its directions were ſo rigorouſly put in execution, that the people were reduced to deſpair; and reſolved to make a laſt effort for the recovery of their liberty and independence. Accordingly, they took arms in ſecret, ſeized ſeveral important poſts of the city; ſurprized ſome battalions of the Auſtrians; ſurrounded others, and cut them in pieces; and, in a word, drove them out with great ſlaughter. The marquis de Botta acted with caution and ſpirit: but being overpowered by numbers, and apprehenſive of the peaſants in the country, who were in arms, he retreated to the paſs of the Bochetta on the ſide of Lombardy, where he ſecured himſelf in an advantageous ſituation, until he could receive re-enforcements. The loſs he had ſuſtained at Genoa did not hinder him from reducing Savona, a ſea-port town belonging to that republic; and he afterwards made himſelf maſter of Gavi. The Genoeſe, on the contrary, exerted themſelves with wonderful induſtry in fortifying their city, raiſing troops, and in taking other meaſures for a vigorous defence, in caſe they ſhould again be inſulted.

The naval tranſactions of this year reflected very little honour on the Britiſh nation. Commodore Peyton, who commanded ſix ſhips of war in the Eaſt-Indies, ſhamefully declined a deciſive engagement with a French ſquadron of inferior force; and abandoned the important ſettlement of Madras on the coaſt of Coromandel, which was taken without oppoſition in the month of September by the French commodore, de la Bourdonnais. Fort St. David, and the other Britiſh factories in India, would have probably ſhared the ſame fate, had not the enemy's naval force in that country been ſhattered and partly deſtroyed by a terrible tempeſt. No event of conſequence happened in America, though it was a ſcene that ſeemed to promiſe the greateſt ſucceſs to the arms of England. The reduction of Cape-Breton had encouraged the miniſtry to project the conqueſt of Quebeck, the capital of Canada, ſituated upon the river of St. Laurence. Commiſſions were ſent to the governors of the Britiſh colonies in North-America, empowering them to raiſe companies to join the armament from England; and 8000 troops were actually raiſed in conſequence of theſe directions; while a powerful ſquadron and tranſports, having ſix regiments on board, were prepared at Portſmouth for this expedition. But their departure was poſtponed by unaccountable delays, until the ſeaſon was judged too far advanced to riſque the great ſhips on the boiſterous coaſt of North-America. That the armament, however, might not be wholly uſeleſs to the nation, it was employed in making a deſcent upon the coaſt of Bretagne, on the ſuppoſition that Port L'Orient, the repoſitory of all the ſtores and ſhips belonging to the French Eaſt-India company, might be ſurprized; or, that this invaſion would-alarm the enemy, and, by making a diverſion, facilitate the operations of the Auſtrian general in Provence.

The naval force intended for this ſervice conſiſted of ſixteen great ſhips, and eight frigates, beſides bomb-ketches and ſtore-ſhips, commanded by Richard Leſtock, appointed admiral of the blue diviſion. Six battalions of land troops, with a detachment of matroſſes and bombardiers, were embarked in 30 tranſports, under the conduct of lieutenant-general Sinclair; and the whole fleet ſet ſail from Plymouth on the 14th day of September. On the 20th the troops were landed in Quimperlay-bay, at the diſtance of ten miles from Port-L'Orient. The militia, re-enforced by ſome detachments from different regiments, were aſſembled to the number of 2000, and ſeemed reſolved to oppoſe the diſembarkation: but, ſeeing the Britiſh troops determined to land at all events, they thought proper to retire. Next day general Sinclair advanced into the country, ſkirmiſhing with the enemy in his route; and arriving at the village of Plemure, within half a league from Port-L'Orient, ſummoned that place to ſurrender. He was viſited by a deputation from the town, which offered to admit the Britiſh forces, on condition that they ſhould be reſtrained from pillaging the inhabitants, and touching the magazines; and that they ſhould pay a juſt price for their proviſions. Theſe terms being rejected, the inhabitants prepared for a vigorous defence; and the Engliſh general reſolved to beſiege the place in form, though he had neither time, artillery, nor forces ſufficient for ſuch an enterprize. This ſtrange reſolution was owing to the declaration of the engineers, who promiſed to lay the place in aſhes in the ſpace of 24 hours. All his cannon amounted to no more than a few field-pieces; and he was obliged to wait for two iron guns, which the ſailors dragged up from the ſhipping. Had he given the aſſault on the firſt night after his arrival, when the town was filled with terrour and confuſion, and deſtitute of regular troops, in all probability it would have been eaſily taken by ſcalade: but the reduction of it was rendered impracticable by his delay. The ramparts were mounted with cannon from the ſhips in the harbour: new works were raiſed with great induſtry: the garriſon was re-enforced by ſeveral bodies of regular troops; and great numbers were aſſembling from all parts; ſo that the Britiſh forces were in danger of being ſurrounded in an enemy's country. Notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, they opened a ſmall battery againſt the town, which was ſet on fire in ſeveral places by their bombs and red-hot bullets: they likewiſe repulſed part of the garriſon which had made a ſally to deſtroy their works: but their cannon producing no effect upon the fortifications, the fire from the town daily increaſing, the engineers owning they could not perform their promiſe, and admiral Leſtock declaring, in repeated meſſages, that he could no longer expoſe the ſhips on an open coaſt at ſuch a ſeaſon of the year, general Sinclair abandoned the ſiege. Having cauſed the two iron pieces of cannon and the mortars to be ſpiked, he retreated in good order to the ſea-ſide, where his troops were re-embarked, having ſuſtained very inconſiderable damage ſince their firſt landing. He expected re-enforcements from England, and was reſolved to wait a little longer for their arrival, in hopes of being able to annoy the enemy more effectually. In the beginning of October the fleet ſailed to Quiberon-Bay, where they deſtroyed the Ardent, a French ſhip of war of 64 guns; and a detachment of the forces being landed, took poſſeſſion of a fort on the peninſula: while the little iſlands of Houat and Heydic were reduced by the ſailors. In this ſituation the admiral and general continued till the 17th day of the month, when the forts being diſmantled, and the troops re-embarked, the fleet ſailed from the French coaſt: the admiral returned to England, and the tranſports with the ſoldiers proceeded to Ireland, where they arrived in ſafety.

This expedition, weak and frivolous as it may ſeem, was reſented by the French nation as one of the greateſt inſults they had ever ſuſtained; and demonſtrated the poſſibility of hurting France in her tendereſt parts, by means of an armament of this nature, well-timed, and vigorouſly conducted. Indeed, nothing could be more abſurd or precipitate than an attempt to diſtreſs the enemy by landing a handful of troops, without draft-horſes, tents, or artillery, from a fleet of ſhips lying on an open beach, expoſed to the uncertainty of weather in the moſt tempeſtuous ſeaſon of the year, ſo as to render the retreat and re-embarkation altogether precarious. The Britiſh ſquadrons in the Weſt-Indies performed no exploit of conſequence in the courſe of this year. The commerce was but indifferently

protected. Commodore Lee, ſtationed off Martinico, allowed a French fleet of merchant-ſhips, and their convoy, to paſs by his ſquadron unmoleſted; and commodore Mitchel behaved ſcandalouſly in a rencontre with the French ſquadron, under the conduct of monſieur de Conflans, who in his return to Europe took the Severn, an Engliſh ſhip of 50 guns. The cruiſers on all ſides, Engliſh, French, and Spaniards, were extremely alert; and though the Engliſh loſt the greater number ſhips, this difference was more than overbalanced by the ſuperior value of the prizes taken from the enemy. In the courſe of this year 22 Spaniſh privateers, and 66 merchant veſſels, including 10 regiſter-ſhips, fell into the hands of the Britiſh cruiſers: from the French [x] they took ſeven ſhips of war, 90 privateers, and about 300 ſhips of commerce. The new king of Spain being ſuppoſed well affected to the Britiſh nation, an effort was made to detach him from the intereſts of France, by means of the marquis de Tabernega, who had formerly been his favourite, and reſided many years as a refugee in England. This nobleman proceeded to Liſbon, were a negotiation was ſet on foot with the court of Madrid. But his effort miſcarried; and the influence of the queen-mother continued to predominate in the Spaniſh councils. The ſtates-general had for ſome years endeavoured to promote a pacification by remonſtrances, and even entreaties, at the court of Verſailles: the French king at length diſcovered an inclination of peace, and in September a congreſs was opened at Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant, where the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, Great-Britain, France, and Holland, were aſſembled: but the French were ſo inſolent in their demands, that the conferences were ſoon interrupted.

The parliament of Great-Britain meeting in November, the king exhorted them to concert with all poſſible expedition the proper meaſures for purſuing the war with vigour, that the confederate army in the Netherlands might be ſeaſonably augmented: he, likewiſe, gave them to underſtand, that the funds appropriated for the ſupport of his civil government had for ſome years paſt fallen ſhort of the revenue intended and granted by parliament; and ſaid he relied on their known affection to find out ſome method to make good this deficiency. As all thoſe who had conducted the oppoſition were now concerned in the adminiſtration, little or no objection was made to any demand or propoſal of the government and its miniſters. The commons having conſidered the eſtimates, voted 40,000 ſeamen for the ſervice of the enſuing year, and about 60,000 land-forces, including 11,500 marines. They granted 433,000l. to the empreſs queen of Hungary; 300,000l. to the king of Sardinia; 410,000l. for the maintenance of 18,000 Hanoverian auxiliaries; 161,607l. for 6000 Heſſians; ſubſidies to the electors of Cologn, Mentz, and Bavaria; and the ſum of 500,000l. to enable his majeſty to proſecute the war with advantage. In a word, the ſupplies amounted to 9,425,254l. a ſum almoſt incredible, if we conſider how the kingdom had been drained of its treaſures. It was raiſed by the uſual taxes, re-enforced with new impoſitions on windows, carriages, and ſpirituous liquors, a lottery, and a loan from the ſinking-fund. The new taxes mortgaged for four millions by transferrable annuities, at an intereſt of four, and a premium of ten per centum. By reflecting on theſe enormous grants, one would imagine the miniſtry had been determined to impoveriſh the nation: but, from the eagerneſs and expedition with which the people ſubſcribed for the money, one would conclude that the riches of the kingdom were inexhauſtible. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the ſupplies of this year exceeded, by two millions and a half, the greateſt annual ſum that was raiſed during the reign of queen Anne, though ſhe maintained as great a number of troops as was now in the pay of Great-Britain, and her armies and fleets acquired every year freſh harveſts of glory and advantage: whereas this war had proved an almoſt uninterrupted ſeries of events big with diſaſter and diſhonour. During the laſt two years, the naval expence of England had exceeded that of France about five millions ſterling; though her fleets had not obtained one ſignal advantage over the enemy at ſea, nor been able to protect her commerce from their depredations. She was at once a pray to her declared adverſaries and profeſſed friends. Before the end of ſummer, ſhe numbered among her mercenaries two empreſſes, five German princes, and a powerful monarch, whom ſhe hired to aſſiſt her in trimming the balance of Europe, in which they themſelves were immediately intereſted, and ſhe had no more than a ſecondary concern. Had theſe fruitleſs ſubſidies been ſaved: had the national revenue been applied with œconomy to national purpoſes: had it been employed in liquidating gradually the public incumbrances; in augmenting the navy, improving manufactures, encouraging and ſecuring the colonies, and extending trade and navigation, corruption would have become altogether unneceſſary, and diſaffection would have vaniſhed: the people would have been eaſed of their burthens, and ceaſed to complain: commerce would have floriſhed, and produced ſuch affluence as muſt have raiſed Great-Britain to the higheſt pinnacle of maritime power, above all rivalſhip or competition. She would have been dreaded by her enemies; revered by her neighbours; oppreſſed nations would have crept under her wings for protection; contending potentates would have appealed to her deciſion; and ſhe would have ſhone the univerſal arbitreſs of Europe. How different is her preſent ſituation! her debts are enormous, her taxes intolerable, her people diſcontented, and the ſinews of her government relaxed. Without conduct, confidence, or concert, ſhe engages in blundering negotiations: ſhe involves herſelf raſhly in foreign quarrels, and laviſhes her ſubſtance with the moſt dangerous precipitation: ſhe is even deſerted by her wonted vigour, ſteadineſs, and intrepidity: ſhe grows vain, fantaſtical, and puſillanimous; her arms are deſpiſed by her enemies; and her councils ridiculed through all Chriſtendom.

The king, in order to exhibit a ſpecimen of his deſire to diminiſh the public expence, ordered the third and fourth troops of his life-guards to be diſbanded, and reduced three regiments of horſe to the quality of dragoons. The houſe of commons preſented an addreſs of thanks for this inſtance of œconomy, by which the annual ſum of 70,000l. was ſaved to the nation. Notwithſtanding this ſeeming harmony between the king and the great council of the nation, his majeſty reſolved, with the advice of his council, to diſſolve the preſent parliament, though the term of ſeven years was not yet expired ſince its firſt meeting.

[1747] The miniſtry affected to inſinuate, that the ſtates-general were unwilling to concur with his majeſty in vigorous meaſures againſt France, during the exiſtence of a parliament which had undergone ſuch a viciſſitude of complexion. The allies of Great-Britain, far from being ſuſpicious of this aſſembly, which had ſupplied them ſo liberally, ſaw with concern, that, according to law, it would ſoon be diſmiſſed; and they doubted whether another could be procured equally agreeable to their purpoſes. In order to remove this doubt, the miniſtry reſolved to ſurpriſe the kingdom with a new election, before the mal-contents ſhould be prepared to oppoſe the friends of the government. Accordingly, when the buſineſs of the ſeſſion was diſpatched, the king having given the royal aſſent to the ſeveral acts they had prepared, diſmiſſed them in the month of June, with an affectionate ſpeech, that breathed nothing but tenderneſs and gratitude. The parliament was immediately diſſolved by proclamation, and new writs were iſſued for convoking another. Among the laws paſſed in this ſeſſion, was an act aboliſhing the heritable juriſdictions, and taking away the tenour of wardholdings in Scotland, which were reckoned among the principal ſources of thoſe rebellions that had been excited ſince the revolution. In the Highlands they certainly kept the common people in ſubjection to their chiefs, whom they implicitly followed and obeyed in all their undertakings. By this act theſe mountaineers were legally emancipated from ſlavery: but as the tenants enjoyed no leaſes, and were at all times liable to be ejected from their farms, they ſtill depended on the pleaſure of their lords, notwithſtanding this interpoſition of the legiſlature, which granted a valuable conſideration in money to every nobleman and petty baron, who was thus deprived of one part of his inheritance. The forfeited eſtates, indeed, were divided into ſmall farms, and let by the government on leaſes at an under value; ſo that thoſe who had the good fortune to obtain ſuch leaſes taſted the ſweets of independence: but the Highlanders in general were left in their original indigence and incapacity, at the mercy of their ſuperiors. Had manufactures and fiſheries been eſtabliſhed in different parts of their country, they would have ſeen and felt the happy conſequences of induſtry, and in a little time been effectually detached from all their ſlaviſh connexions.

[x] In the month of July, Philip V. king of Spain dying, in the 63d year of his age, was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Ferdinand, born of Maria Louiſa Gabriela, ſiſter to the late king of Sardinia. He eſpouſed Donna Maria Magdalena, infanta of Portugal, but had no iſſue. Philip was but two days ſurvived by his daughter, the dauphineſs of France. The ſame month was remarkable for the death of Chriſtiern VI. king of Denmark, ſucceeded by his ſon Frederick V. who had married the princeſs Louiſa, youngeſt daughter to the king of Great-Britain.

The operations of the campaign had been concerted in the winter at the Hague, between the duke of Cumberland and the ſtates-general of the United-Provinces, who were by this time generally convinced of France's deſign to encroach upon their territories. They, therefore, determined to take effectual meaſures againſt that reſtleſs and ambitious neighbour. The allied powers agreed to aſſemble a vaſt army in the Netherlands; and it was reſolved that the Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe ſhould once more penetrate into Provence. The Dutch patriots, were not rouſed into this exertion, until all their remonſtrances had failed at the court of Verſailles; until they had been urged by repeated memorials of the Engliſh ambaſſador, and ſtimulated by the immediate danger to which their country was expoſed: for France was by this time poſſeſſed of all the Auſtrian Netherlands, and ſeemed bent upon penetrating into the territories of the United-Provinces. In February, the duke of Cumberland began to aſſemble the allied forces; and in the latter end of March they took the field in three ſeperate bodies. His royal highneſs with the Engliſh, Hanoverians, and Heſſians, fixed his head-quarters at the village of Tilbergh: the prince of Waldeck was poſted with the Dutch troops at Breda; and mareſchal Bathiani collected the Auſtrians and Bavarians in the neighbourhood of Venlo. The whole army amounted to 120,000 men, who lay inactive ſix weeks expoſed to the inclemency of the weather, and almoſt deſtitute of forage and proviſion. Count Saxe, by this time created mareſchal-general of France, continued his troops within their cantonments at Brûges, Antwerp, and Bruſſels, declaring, that when the allied army ſhould be weakened by ſickneſs and mortality, he would convince the duke of Cumberland, that the firſt duty of a general is to provide for the health and preſervation of his troops. In April this fortunate commander took the field, at the head of 140,000 men; and the count de Clermont commanded a ſeperate body of 19 battalions and 30 ſquadrons. Count Lowendahl was detached on the 16th day of the month, with 27,000 men, to invade Dutch Flanders: at the ſame time, the French miniſter at the Hague preſented a memorial to the ſtates, intimating, that his maſter was obliged to take this ſtep by the neceſſity of war: but that his troops ſhould obſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline, without interfering with the religion, government, or commerce of the republic: he likewiſe declared, that the countries and places of which he might be obliged to take poſſeſſion ſhould be detained no otherwiſe than as a pledge, to be reſtored as ſoon as the United-Provinces ſhould give convincing proofs that they would no longer furniſh the enemies of France with ſuccours.

While the ſtates deliberated upon this declaration, count Lowendahl entered Dutch Brabant, and inveſted the town and fortreſs of Sluys, the garriſon of which ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war on the 19th day of April. This was likewiſe the fate of Sas-van-Ghent; while the marquis de Contades, with another detachment, reduced the forts Perle and Leitkenſhoek, with the town of Philippine, even within hearing of the confederate army. The fort of Sanberg was vigorouſly defended by two Engliſh battalions: but they were overpowered, and obliged to retire to Welſthoorden; and count Lowendahl undertook the ſiege of Huſſt, which was ſhamefully ſurrendered by La Roque, the Dutch governor, though he knew that a re-enforcement of nine battalions was on the march to his relief. Then the French general took poſſeſſion of Axel and Terneueſe, and began to prepare flat-bottomed boats for a deſcent on the iſland of Zealand. The Dutch people were now ſtruc with conſternation. They ſaw the enemy at their doors, and owed their immediate preſervation to the Britiſh ſquadron ſtationed at the Swin, under the command of commodore Mitchel, [y] who, by means of his ſloops, tenders, and ſmall craft, took ſuch meaſures as defeated the intention of Lowendahl. The common people in Zealand being reduced to deſpair, began to clamour loudly againſt their governors, as if they had not taken the proper meaſures for their ſecurity. The friends of the prince of Orange did not neglect this opportunity of promoting his intereſt. They encouraged their diſcontent; and exaggerated the danger; they reminded them of the year 1672, when the French king was at the gates of Amſterdam, and the republic was ſaved by the choice of a ſtadtholder: they exhorted them to turn their eyes on the deſcendant of thoſe heroes who had eſtabliſhed the liberty and independence of the United-Provinces: they extolled his virtue and ability; his generoſity, his juſtice, his unſhaken love to his country. The people in ſeveral towns, inflamed by ſuch repreſentations to tumult and ſedition, compelled their magiſtrates to declare the prince of Orange ſtadtholder. He himſelf, in a letter to the ſtates of Zealand, offered his ſervices for the defence of the province. On the 28th day of April he was nominated captain-general and admiral of Zealand. Their example was followed by Rotterdam and the whole province of Holland; and on the 2d day of May, the prince of Orange was, in the aſſembly of the ſtates-general, inveſted with the power and dignity of ſtadtholder, captain-general, and admiral of the United-Provinces. The vigorous conſequences of this reſolution immediately appeared. All commerce and contracts with the French were prohibited: the peaſants were armed and exerciſed: a reſolution paſſed for making a conſiderable augmentation of the army: a council of war was eſtabliſhed for enquiring into the conduct of the governors who had given up the frontier places; and orders were iſſued to commence hoſtilities againſt the French, both by ſea and land.

Mean while, the duke of Cumberland took poſt with his whole army between the two Nethes, to cover Bergen-op-zoom and Maeſtricht; and mareſchal Saxe called in his detachments, with a view to hazard a general engagement. In the latter end of May, the French king arrived at Bruſſels; and his general reſolved to undertake the ſiege of Maeſtricht. For this purpoſe he advanced towards Louvain; and the confederates perceiving his drift, began their march to take poſt between the town and the enemy. On the 20th day of June, they took poſſeſſion of their ground, and were drawn up in order of battle, with their right at Bilſen, and their left extending to Wirle, within a mile of Maeſtricht, having in the front of their left-wing the village of Laffeldt, in which they poſted ſeveral battalions of Britiſh infantry. The French had taken poſſeſſion of the heights of Herdeeren, immediately above the allies; and both armies cannonaded each other till the evening. In the morning, the enemy's infantry marched down the hill, in a prodigious column, and attacked the village of Laffeldt, which was well fortified, and defended with amazing obſtinacy. The aſſailants ſuffered terribly in their approach, from the cannon of the confederates, which was ſerved with ſurprizing dexterity and ſucceſs; and they met with ſuch a warm reception from the Britiſh muſquetry as they could not withſtand: but, when they were broken and diſperſed, freſh brigades ſucceeded with aſtoniſhing perſeverance. The confederates were driven out of the village: yet being ſuſtained by three regiments, they meaſured bac their ground, and repulſed the enemy with great ſlaughter. Nevertheleſs, counte Saxe continued pouring in other battalions, and the French regained and maintained their footing in the village, after it had been three times loſt and carried. The action was chiefly confined to this poſt, where the field exhibited a horrible ſcene of carnage. At noon the duke of Cumberland ordered the whole left-wing to advance againſt the enemy, whoſe infantry gave way: prince Waldeck led up the centre: mareſchal Bathiani made a motion with the right-wing towards Herdeeren, and victory ſeemed ready to declare for the confederates, when the fortune of the day took a ſudden turn to their prejudice. Several ſquadrons of Dutch horſe, poſted in the centre, gave way, and flying at full gallop, overthrew five battalions of infantry that were advancing from the body of reſerve. The French cavalry charged them with great impetuoſity, increaſing the confuſion that was already produced, and penetrating through the lines of the allied army, which was thus divided about the centre. The duke of Cumberland, who exerted himſelf with equal courage and activity in attempting to remedy this diſorder, was in danger of being taken; and the defeat would in all probability have been total, had not Sir John Ligonier taken the reſolution of ſacrificing himſelf and a part of the troops to the ſafety of the army. At the head of three Britiſh regiments of dragoons, and ſome ſquadrons of imperial horſe, he charged the whole line of the French cavalry, with ſuch intrepidity and ſucceſs, that he overthrew all that oppoſed him, and made ſuch a diverſion as enabled the duke of Cumberland to effect an orderly retreat to Maeſtricht. He himſelf was taken by a French carabineer, after his horſe had been killed: but the regiments he commanded retired with deliberation. The confederates retreated to Maeſtricht, without having ſuſtained much damage from the purſuit, and even brought off all their artillery, except 16 pieces of cannon. Their loſs did not exceed 6000 men killed and taken; whereas the French general purchaſed the victory at a much greater expence. The common cauſe of the confederate powers is ſaid to have ſuffered from the pride and ignorance of their

[y] Not the perſon who commanded in the Weſt-Indies.

generals. On the eve of the battle, when the detachment of the count de Clermont appeared on the hill of Herdeeren, mareſchal Bathiana aſked permiſſion of the commander in chief to attac them before they ſhould be re-enforced, declaring he would anſwer for the ſucceſs of the enterprize. No regard was paid to this propoſal: but the ſuperior aſked in his turn where the mareſchal would be in caſe he ſhould be wanted? He replied, 'I ſhall always be found at the head of my troops,' and retired in diſguſt. The ſubſequent diſpoſition has likewiſe been blamed, inaſmuch as not above one-half of the army could act, while the enemy exerted their whole force.

The confederates paſſed the Maeſe, and encamped in the duchy of Limburg, ſo as to cover Maeſtricht; while the French king remained with his army in the neighbourhood of Tongres. Mareſchal Saxe, having amuſed the allies with marches and counter-marches, at length detached count Lowendahl with 36,000 men to beſiege Bergen-op-zoom, the ſtrongeſt fortification of Dutch Brabant, the favourite work of the famous engineer Coehorn, never conquered, and generally eſteemed invincible. It was ſecured with a garriſon of 3000 men, and well provided with artillery, ammunition, and magazines. The enemy appeared before it on the 12th day of July, and ſummoned the governor to ſurrender. The prince of Saxe Hildburghauſen was ſent to its relief, with 20 battalions and 14 ſquadrons of the troops that could be moſt conveniently aſſembled: he entered the lines of Bergen-op-zoom, where he remained in expectation of a ſtrong re-enforcement from the confederate army; and the old baron Cronſtrom, whom the ſtadtholder had appointed governor of Brabant, aſſumed the command of the garriſon. The beſiegers carried on the operations with great vivacity; and the troops in the town defended it with equal vigour. The eyes of all Europe were turned upon this important ſiege: count Lowendahl received divers re-enforcements; and a conſiderable body of troops was detached from the allied army, under the command of baron Schwartzemberg, to co-operate with the prince of Saxe-Hildburghauſen. The French general loſt a great number of men by the cloſe and continual fire of the beſieged; while he, in his turn, opened ſuch a number of batteries, and plied them ſo warmly, that the defenſes began to give way. From the 16th day of July to the 15th of September, the ſiege produced an unintermitting ſcene of horror and deſtruction: deſperate ſallies were made, and mines ſprung with the moſt dreadful effects: the works began to be ſhattered: the town was laid in aſhes; the trenches were filled with carnage: nothing was ſeen but fire and ſmoke; nothing heard but one continual roar of bombs and cannon. But, ſtill the damage fell chiefly on the beſiegers, who were ſlain in heaps; while the garriſon ſuffered very little, and could be occaſionally relieved or re-enforced from the lines. In a word, it was generally believed that count Lewendhalt would be baffled in his endeavours; and by this belief the governor of Bergen-op-zoom ſeems to have been lulled into a blind ſecurity. At length, ſome inconſiderable breaches were made in one ravelin and two baſtions, and theſe the French general reſolved to ſtorm, though Conſtrom believed they were impracticable; and on that ſuppoſition preſumed that the enemy would not attempt an aſſault. For this very reaſon count Lowendahl reſolved to hazard the attac, before the preparations ſhould be made for his reception. He accordingly regulated his diſpoſitions, and at four o'clock in the morning, on the 16th day of September, the ſignal was made for the aſſault. A prodigious quantity of bombs being thrown into the ravelin, his troops threw themſelves into the foſſé, mounted the breaches, forced open a ſally-port, and entered the place, almoſt without reſiſtance. In a word, they had time to extend themſelves along the curtains, and form in order of battle, before the garriſon could be aſſembled. Cronſtrom was aſleep, and the ſoldiers upon duty had been ſurpriſed by the ſuddenneſs and impetuoſity of the attac. Though the French had taken poſſeſſion of the ramparts, they did not gain the town without oppoſition. Two battalions of the Scottiſh troops, in the pay of the ſtates-general were aſſembled in the market-place, and attacked them with ſuch fury, that they were driven from ſtreet to ſtreet, until freſh re-enforcements arriving, compelled the Scots to retreat in their turn: yet, they diſputed every inch of ground, and fought until two-thirds of them were killed upon the ſpot. Then they brought off the old governor, abandoning the town to the enemy: the troops that were encamped in the lines retreating with great precipitation, all the forts in the neighbourhood immediately ſurrendered to the victors, who now became maſters of the whole navigation of the Schelde. The French king was no ſooner informed of Lowendahl's ſucceſs, then he promoted him to the rank of mareſchal of France; appointed count Saxe governor of the conquered netherlands; and returned in triumph to Verſailles. In a little time after this tranſaction, both armies were diſtributed into winter-quarters, and the duke of Cumberland embarked for England.

In Italy the French arms did not triumph with equal ſucceſs, though the mareſchal de Belleiſle ſaw himſelf at the head of a powerful army in Provence. In April he paſſed the Var without oppoſition, and took poſſeſſion of Nice. He met with little or no reſiſtance in reducing Montalban, Villafranca, and Vantimiglia; while general Brown, with 28,000 Auſtrians, retired towards Final and Savona. In the mean time, another large body, under count Schuylemberg, who had ſucceeded the marquis de Botta, co-operated with 15,000 Piedmonteſe in an attempt to recover the city of Genoa. The French king had ſent thither ſupplies, ſuccours, and engineers, with the duke of Boufflers, as ambaſſador to the republic, who likewiſe acted as commander in chief of the forces employed for its defence. The Auſtrian general aſſembled his troops in the Milaneſe: having forced the paſſage of the Rochetta on the 13th of January, he advanced into the territories of Genoa, and the Riviera was ravaged without mercy. On the laſt day of March he appeared before the city, at the head of 40,000 men, and ſummoned the revolters to lay down their arms. The anſwer he received was, that the republic had 54,000 men in arms, 260 cannon, 34 mortars, with abundance of ammunition and proviſion; that they would defend their liberty with their laſt blood, and be buried in the ruins of their capital, rather than ſubmit to the clemency of the court of Vienna, except by an honourable capitulation, guaranteed to the king of Great-Britain and Sardinia, the republic of Venice, and the United Provinces. In the beginning of May, Genoa was inveſted on all ſides; a furious ſally was made by the duke de Boufflours, who drove the beſiegers from their poſts; but the Auſtrians rallying, he was repulſed in his turn, with the loſs of 700 men. General Schuylemberg carried on his operations with ſuch ſkill, vigour, and intrepedity, that he made himſelf maſter of the ſuburbs of Biſagno; and in all probability would have reduced the city, had not he been obliged to deſiſt, in conſequence of the repeated remonſtrances made by the king of Sardinia and count Brown, who preſented the neceſſity of his abandoning his enterpriſe, and drawing off his army, to cover Piedmont and Lombardy from the efforts of mareſchal de Belleiſle. Accordingly, he raiſed the ſiege on the 10th day of June, and returned in the Milaneſe, in order to join his Sardinian majeſty: while the Genoeſe made an irruption into the Parmeſan and Placentin, where they committed terrible outragee, in revenge for the miſchiefs they had undergone.

While the mareſchal de Belliſle remained at Ventimiglia, his brother, at the head of 34,000 French and Spaniards, attempted to penetrate into Piedmont; on the 6th day of July he arrived at the paſs of Exilles, a ſtrong fortreſs on the frontiers of Dauphiné, ſituated on the north ſide of the river Doria. The defence of this important poſt the king of Sardinia had committed to the care of the count de Brigueras, who formed an encampment behind the lines, with 14 battalions of Piedmonteſe and Auſtrians, while divers detachments were poſted along all the paſſes of the Alps. On the 8th day of the month the Piedmonteſe entrenchments were attacked by the chevalier de Belleiſle, with incredible intrepidity: but the columns were repulſed with great loſs in three ſucceſſive attacs. Impatient of this obſtinate oppoſition, and determined not to ſurvive a miſcarriage, this impetuous general ſeiſed a pair of colours, and advancing at the head of his troops, through a prodigious fire, pitched them with his own hand on the enemy's entrenchments. At that inſtant he fell dead, having received two muſquet balls and the thruſt of a bayonet in his body. The aſſailants were ſo much diſpirited by the death of their commander, that they forthwith gave way, and reteated with precipitation towards Seſtrieres, having loſt near 5000 men in the attac. The mareſchal was no ſooner informed of his brother's misfortune than he retreated towards the Var, to join the troops from Exilles: while the king of Sardinia, having aſſembled an army of 70,000 men, threatened Dauphiné with an invaſion: but the exceſſive rains prevented the execution of his deſign. General Leutrum was detached with 20 battalions to drive the French from Ventimiglia; but, Belleiſle marching bac, that ſcheme was likewiſe fruſtrated: and thus ended the campaign.

In this manner was the French king baffled in his projects

upon Italy: nor was he more fortunate in his naval operations. He had, in the preceding year, equipped an expenſive armament, under the command of the duke d'Anville, for the recovery of Cape-Breton: but it was rendered ineffectual by ſtorms, diſtempers, and the death of the commander. Not yet diſcouraged by theſe diſaſters, he reſolved to renew his efforts againſt the Britiſh colonies in North-America, and their ſettlements in the Eaſt-Indies. For theſe purpoſes two ſquadrons were prepared at Breſt, one to be commanded by the commodore De la Jonquiere; and the other, deſtined for India, by monſieur de St. George. The miniſtry of Great-Britain, being appriſed of theſe meaſures, reſoved to intercept both ſquadrons, which were to ſet ſail together. For this purpoſe vice-admiral Anſon and rear-admiral Warren took their departure from Plymouth with a formidable fleet, and ſteered their courſe to Cape-Finiſterre, on the coaſt of Gallacia. On the 3d day of May they fell in with the French ſquadrons commanded by la Jonquiere and St. George, conſiſting of 6 large ſhips of war, as many frigates and 4 armed veſſels equipped by their Eaſt-India company, having under their convoy about 30 ſhips laden with merchandize. Thoſe prepared for war immediately ſhortened ſail, and formed a line of battle; while the reſt under the protection of the 6 frigates, proceeded on their voyage with all the ſail they could carry. The Britiſh ſquadron was likewiſe drawn up in line of battle but mr. Warren perceiving that the enemy began to ſheer off, now their convoy was at a conſiderable diſtance, adviſed admiral Anſon to haul in the ſignal for the line, and hoiſt another for giving chaſe and engaging, otherwiſe the French would in all probability eſcape by favour of the night. The propoſal was embraced; and in a little time the engagement began with great fury, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. The enemy ſuſtained the battle with equal conduct and valour, until they were overpowered by numbers and then they ſtruc their colours. The admiral detached 3 ſhips in purſuit of the convoy, 9 ſail of which were taken; but the reſt were ſaved by the intervening darkneſs. About 700 of the French were killed and wounded in this action. The Engliſh loſt about 500; and among theſe, captain Grenville, commander of the ſhip Defiance. He was nephew to the lord viſcount Cobham, a youth of the moſt amiable character and promiſing genius, animated with the nobleſt ſentiments of honour and patriotiſm. Eager in the purſuit of glory he ruſhed into the midſt of the battle, where both his legs were cut off by a cannon-ball. He ſubmitted to his fate with the moſt heroic reſignation, and died univerſally lamented and beloved. The ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms in this engagement was chiefly owing to the conduct, activity, and courage of the rear-admiral. A conſiderable quantity of bullion was found in the prizes, which were brought to Spithead in triumph; and the treaſure being landed, was conveyed in 20 waggons to the Bank of London. Admiral Anſon was enobled, and mr. Warren honoured with the order of the Bath.

About the middle of June, commodore Fox, with 6 ſhips of war, cruiſing in the latitude of Cape Ortegal in Gallacia, took above 40 French ſhips, richly laden from St. Domingo, after they had been abandoned by their convoy. But the French king ſuſtained another more important loſs at ſea, in the month of October. Rear-admiral Hawke ſailed from Plymouth in the beginning of Auguſt, with 14 ſhips of the line, to intercept a fleet of French merchants ſhips bound for the Weſt-Indies. He cruiſed for ſometime on the coaſt of Bretagne; and at length the French fleet ſailed from iſle the of Aix, under convoy of 9 ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, commanded by monſieur de Letendeur. On the 14th day of October the two ſquadrons were in ſight of each other, in the latitude of Belleiſle. The French commodore immediately ordered one of his great ſhips and the frigates to proceed with the trading ſhips, while he formed the line of battle, and waited the attac. At 11 in the forenoon admiral Hawke diſplayed the ſignal to chaſe, and in half an hour both fleets were engaged. The battle laſted till night, when all the the French ſquadron, except the Intrepide and Tonant, had ſtruc to the Engliſh flag. Theſe two capital ſhips eſcaped in the dark, and returned to Breſt in a ſhattered condition. The French captains ſuſtained the unequal fight with uncommon bravery and reſolution, and did not yield until their ſhips were diſabled. Their loſs in men amounted to 800: the number of Engliſh killed in this engagement did not exceed 200, including captain Saumarez, a gallant officer, who had ſerved under lord Anſon in his expedition to the Pacific Ocean. Indeed, it muſt be owned, for the honour of that nobleman, that all the officers formed under his example, and raiſed by his influence, approved themſelves in all reſpects worthy of the commands to which they were preferred. Immediately after the action, admiral Hawke diſpatched a ſloop to commodore Legge, whoſe ſquadron was ſtationed at the Leeward Iſlands, with intelligence of the French fleet of merchant-ſhips, outward bound, that he might take the proper meaſures for intercepting them in their paſſage to Martinique, and the other French iſlands. In conſequence of this advice, he redoubled his vigilance, and a good number of them fell into his hands. Admiral Hawke conducted his prizes to Spithead; and in his letter to the board of admiralty declared that all his captains behaved like men of honour during the engagement, except mr. Fox, whoſe conduct he deſired might be ſubjected to an enquiry. That gentleman was accordingly tried by a court-martial, and ſuſpended from his command, for having followed the advice of his officers, contrary to his own better judgment: but he was ſoon reſtored, and afterwards promoted to the rank of admiral: while mr. Matthews, whoſe courage never incurred ſuſpicion, ſtill laboured under a ſuſpenſion for that which had been ſucceſsfully practiſed in both theſe late actions, namely, engaging the enemy without any regard to the line of battle.

In the Mediterranean, vice-admiral Medley blocked up the Spaniſh Squadron in Carthagena; aſſiſted the Auſtrian general on the coaſt of Villafranca; and intercepted ſome of the ſuccours ſent from France to the aſſiſtance of the Genoeſe. At his death, which happened in the beginning of Auguſt, the command of that ſquadron devolved upon rear-admiral Byng, who proceeded upon the ſame plan of operation. In the ſummer, two Britiſh ſhips of war, having under their convoy a fleet of merchant-ſhips bound to North America, fell in with the Glorioſo, a Spaniſh ſhip of 80 guns, in the latitude of the Weſtern Iſles. She had ſailed from the Havannah, with an immenſe treaſure on board, and muſt have fallen a prize to the Engliſh ſhips, had each captain done his duty. Captain Erſkine, in the Warwick, of 60 guns, attacked her with great intrepidity, and fought until his ſhip was entirely diſabled: but being unſuſtained by his conſort, he was obliged to haul off, and the Glorioſo arrived in ſafety at Ferrol: there the ſilver was landed, and ſhe proceeded on her voyage to Cadiz, which however, ſhe did not reach. She was encountered by the Dartmouth, a Britiſh frigate of 40 guns, commanded by captain Hamilton, a gallant youth, who, notwithſtanding the inequality of force, engaged her without heſitation: but in the heat of the action, his ſhip being ſet on fire by accident, was blown up, and he periſhed with all his crew, except a midſhipman and ten or eleven ſailors, who were taken up alive by a privateer that happened to be in ſight. Favourable as this accident may ſeem to the Glorioſo, ſhe did not eſcape. An Engliſh ſhip of 80 guns, under the command of captain Buckle, came up and obliged the Spaniards to ſurrender, after a ſhort but vigorous engagement. Commodore Griffin had been ſent, with a re-enforcement of ſhips to aſſume the command of the ſquadron in the Eaſt-Indies; and although his arrival ſecured Fort St. David's, and the other Britiſh ſettlements in that country, from the inſults of Monſieur de la Bourdonnais, his ſtrength was not ſufficient to enable him to undertake any enterpriſe of importance againſt the enemy: the miniſtry of England, therefore, reſolved to equip a freſh armament, that when joined by the ſhips in India ſhould be in a condition to beſiege Pondicherry, the principal ſettlement belonging to the French on the coaſt of Coromandel. For this ſervice, a good number of independent companies was raiſed, and ſet ſail, in the ſequel, with a ſtrong ſquadron under the conduct of rear-admiral Boſcowen, an officer of unqueſtioned valour and capacity. In the courſe of this year, the Britiſh cruiſers were ſo alert and ſucceſsful, that they took 644 prizes from the French and Spaniards; whereas the loſs of Great-Britain in the ſame time, did not exceed 550.

All the billigerent powers were by this time heartily tired of a war which had conſumed an immenſity of treaſure, had been productive of ſo much miſchief, and in the events of which all, in their turns, had found themſelves diſappointed. Immediately after the battle of Laffeldt, the king of France had in a perſonal converſation with ſir John Ligonier, expreſſed his deſire of a pacification; and afterwards his miniſter at the Hague preſented a declaration on the ſame ſubject to the deputies of the ſtates-general. The ſignal ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms at ſea confirmed him in theſe ſentiments, which were likewiſe re-enforced by a variety of other conſiderations. His finances were almoſt exhauſted, and his ſupplies from the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies rendered ſo precа-

rious by the vigilance of the Britiſh cruiſers, that he could no longer depend upon their arrival. The trading part of his ſubjects had ſuſtained ſuch loſſes, that his kingdom was filled with bankruptcies; and the beſt part of his navy now contributed to ſtrengthen the fleets of his enemies. The election of a ſtadtholder had united the whole power of the ſtates-general againſt him, in taking the moſt reſolute meaſures for their own ſafety: his views in Germany were entirely fruſtrated by the elevation of the grand-duke to the imperial throne, and the re-eſtabliſhment of peace between the houſes of Auſtria and Brandenburgh: the ſucceſs of his arms in Italy had not at all anſwered his expectation; and Genoa was become an expenſive ally. He had the mortification to ſee the commerce of Britain flouriſh in the midſt of war, while his own people were utterly impoveriſhed. The parliament of England granted, and the nation paid ſuch incredible ſums as enabled their ſovereign not only to maintain invincible navies and formidable armies, but likewiſe to give ſubſidies to all the powers of Europe. He knew that a treaty of this kind was actually upon the anvil between his Britannick majeſty and the czarina, and he began to be apprehenſive of ſeeing an army of the Ruſſians in the Netherlands. His fears from this quarter were not without foundation. In the month of November, the earl of Hyndford, embaſſador from the king of Great-Britain at the court of Ruſſia, concluded a treaty of ſubſidy, by which the czarina engaged to hold in readineſs 30,000 men, and 40 gallies: to be employed in the ſervice of the confederates, on the firſt requiſition. The ſtates-general acceded to this agreement, and even conſented to pay one-fourth of the ſubſidy. His moſt chriſtian majeſty, moved by theſe conſiderations, made further advances towards an accommodation both at the Hague and in London; and the contending powers agreed to another congreſs, which was actually opened in March at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the earl of Sandwich and ſir Thomas Robinſon aſſiſted as plenipotentiaries from the king of Great-Britain

The elections for the new parliament in England had been conducted ſo as fully to anſwer the purpoſes of the duke of Newcaſtle, and his brother mr. Pelham, who had for ſome time wholly engroſſed the adminiſtration. Both houſes were aſſembled on the 10th day of November, when mr. Onſlow was unanimouſly re-elected ſpeaker of the commons. The ſeſſion was opened, as uſual, by a ſpeech from the throne, congratulating them on the ſignal ſucceſſes of the Britiſh navy, and the happy alteration in the government of the United-Provinces. His majeſty gave them to underſtand, that a congreſs would ſpeedily be opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, to concert the means for effecting a general pacification; and reminding them that nothing would more conduce to the ſucceſs of this negotiation than the vigour and unanimity of their proceedings. He received ſuch addreſſes as the miniſters were pleaſed to dictate. Oppoſition now languiſhed at their feet. The duke of Bedford was become a courtier, and in a little time appointed ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of the earl of Cheſterfield, who had lately executed that office which he now reſigned; and the earl of Sandwich no longer harangued againſt the adminiſtration. This new houſe of commons, in imitation of the liberality of their predeceſſors, readily gratified all the requeſts of the government. They voted 40,000 ſeamen, 49,000 land-forces, beſides 11,500 marines; the ſubſidies for the queen of Hungary, the czarina, the king of Sardinia, the electors of Mentz and Bavaria, the Heſſians, and the duke of Wolfenbuttel: the ſum of 235,749l. was granted to the provinces of New-England, to re-imburſe them for the expence of reducing Cape-Breton: 500,000l. were given to his majeſty for the vigorous proſecution of the war; and about 152,000l. to the Scottiſh claimants, in lieu of their juriſdiction. The ſupplies for the the enſuing year fell very little ſhort of nine millions, of which the greater part was raiſed on a loan by ſubſcription, chargeable on a new ſubſidy of poundage exacted from all merchandiſe imported into Great-Britain. Immediately after the rebellion was ſuppreſſed the legiſlature had eſtabliſhed ſome regulations in Scotland, which were thought neceſſary to prevent ſuch commotions for the future. The Highlanders were diſarmed, and an act paſſed, for aboliſhing their peculiarity of garb, which was ſuppoſed to keep up party-diſtinctions, to encourage their martial diſpoſition, and preſerve the memory of the exploits achieved by their anceſtors. In this ſeſſion a bill was brought in to enforce the execution of that law, and paſſed with another act, for the more effectual puniſhment of high-treaſon in the Highlands of Scotland.

[1478] The practice of inſuring French and Spaniſh ſhips at London being deemed the ſole circumſtance that prevented a total ſtagnation of commerce in thoſe countries, it was appropriated by law under ſevere penalties; and this of the Britiſh parliament accelerated the concluſion of the treaty. Several other prudent meaſures were taken in the courſe of this ſeſſion, for the benefit of the public; and among theſe we may reckon an act for encouraging the manufacture of indigo in the Britiſh plantations of North-America; an article for Great-Britain uſed to pay 200,000l. yearly to the ſubjects of France. The ſeſſion was cloſed on the 13th day of May, when the king declared to both houſes, that the preliminaries of a general peace were actually ſigned at Aix-la-Chapelle by the miniſters of Great-Britain, France, and the United-Provinces; and that the baſis of this accommodation was a general reſtitution of the conqueſts which had been made during the war. Immediately after the prorogation of parliament his majeſty ſet out for his German dominions, after having appointed a regency to rule the realm in his abſence.

The articles might have been made much leſs unfavourable to Great-Britain and her allies, had the miniſtry made a proper uſe of the treaty with the czarina; and if the confederates had acted with more vigour and expedition in the beginning of the campaign. The Ruſſian auxiliaries might have been tranſported by ſea to Lubeck before the end of the preceeding ſummer, in their own gallies which had been lying ready for uſe ſince the month of July. Had this expedient been uſed, the Ruſſian troops would have joined the confederate army before the concluſion of the laſt campaign. But this eaſy and expeditious method of conveyance was rejected for a march by land, of incredible length and difficulty, which could not be begun before the month of January, nor accompliſhed till Midſummer. The operations of the campaign had been concerted at the Hague in January, by the reſpective miniſters of the allies, who reſolved to bring an army of 190,000 men into the Netherlands, in order to compel the French to abandon the barrier which they had conquered. The towns of Holland became the ſcenes of tumult and inſurrection. The populace plundered the farmers of the revenue, aboliſhed the taxes, and inſulted the magiſtrates; ſo that the ſtates-general, ſeeing their country on the brink of anarchy and confuſion, authorized the prince of Orange to make ſuch alterations as he ſhould ſee convenient. They preſented him with a diploma, by which he was conſtituted hereditary ſtadtholder and captain-general of Dutch Brabant, Flanders, and the upper quarter of Guelderland; and the Eaſt-India company appointed him director and governor-general of their commerce and ſettlements in the Indies. Thus inveſted with an authority unknown to his anceſtors, he exerted himſelf with equal induſtry and diſcretion in new-modelling, augmenting, and aſſembling the troops of the republic. The confederates knew that the count de Saxe had a deſign upon Maeſtricht; the Auſtrian general Bathiani made repeated remonſtrances to the Britiſh miniſtry, entreating them to take ſpeedy meaſures for the preſervation of that fortreſs. He in the month of January propoſed that the duke of Cumberland ſhould croſs the ſea, and confer with the prince of Orange on this ſubject: he undertook, at the peril of his head, to cover Maeſtricht with 70,000 men, from all attacs of the enemy: but his repreſentation ſeemed to have made very little impreſſion on thoſe to whom they were addreſſed. The duke of Cumberland did not depart from England till towards the latter end of February: part of March was elapſed, before the tranſports ſailed from the Nore with the additional troops and artillery; and the laſt drafts from the foot-guards were not embarked till the middle of Auguſt.

The different bodies of the confederate forces joined each other, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Ruremond, to the number of 110,000 men; and the French army inveſted Maeſtricht, without oppoſition, on the 3d day of April. The garriſon conſiſted of imperial and Dutch troops, under the conduct of the governor, Baron d'Aylva, who defended the place with extraordinary ſkill and reſolution. He annoyed the beſiegers in repeated ſallies; but they were determined to ſurmount all oppoſition, and proſecuted their approaches with incredible ardour. They aſſaulted the covered-way, and there effected a lodgement, after an obſtinate diſpute, in which they loſt 2000 of their beſt troops: but, next day they were entirely diſlodged by the gallantry of the garriſon. Theſe hoſtilities were ſuddenly ſuſpended, in conſequence of the preliminaries ſigned at Aix-la-Chapelle. The plenipotentiaries agreed, that, for the glory of his chriſtian majeſty's arms, the town of Maeſtricht ſhould be ſurrendered to his general,

on condition that it ſhould be reſtored, with all the magazines and artillery. He accordingly took poſſeſſion of it on the 3d day of May, when the garriſon marched out with all the honours of war, and a ceſſation of arms immediately enſued. By this time the Ruſſian auxiliaries, to the number of 37,000, commanded by prince Repnin, had arrived in Moravia, where they were reviewed by their imperial majeſties: then they proceeded to the confines of Franconia, where they were ordered to halt, after they had marched 700 miles ſince the beginning of the year. The French king declared, that ſhould they advance farther, he would demoliſh the fortifications of Maeſtricht and Bergen-op-zoom. This diſpute was referred to the plenipotentiaries, who, in the beginning of Auguſt, concluded a convention, importing, that the Ruſſian troops ſhould return to their own country; and that the French king ſhould diſband an equal number of his forces. The ſeaſon being far advanced, the Ruſſians were provided with winter-quarters in Bohemia and Moravia, where they continued till the ſpring, when they marched bac to Livonia. In the mean time 37,000 French troops were withdrawn from Flanders into Picardy, and the two armies remained quiet till the concluſion of the definitive treaty. The ſuſpenſion of arms was proclaimed at London, and in all the capitals of the contracting powers: orders were ſent to the reſpective admirals in different parts of the world, to refrain from hoſtilities; and a communication of trade and intelligence was again opened between the nations which had been at variance. No material tranſaction diſtinguiſhed the campaign in Italy. The French and Spaniſh troops, who had joined the Genoeſe in the territories of the republic, amounted to 30,000 men, under the direction of the duke de Richelieu, who was ſent from France to aſſume that command, on the death of the duke de Boufflers; while mareſchal de Belleiſle, at the head of 50,000 men, covered the weſtern Riviera, which was threatened with an invaſion by 40,000 Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe, under general Leutrum. At the ſame time general Brown, with a more numerous army, prepared to re-enter the eaſtern Riviera, and re-commence the ſiege of Genoa. But theſe intended operations were prevented by an armiſtice, which took place as ſoon as the belligerent powers had acceeded to the preliminaries.

In the Eaſt-Indies, rear-Admiral Boſcawen undertook the ſiege of Pondicherry, which, in the month of Auguſt, he blocked up by ſea with his ſquadron, and inveſted by land with a ſmall army of 4000 Europeans, and about 2000 natives of that country. He proſecuted the enterpriſe with great ſpirit, and took the fort of Area-Coupan, at the diſtance of three miles from the town: then he made his approaches to the place, againſt which he opened batteries, while it was bombarded and cannonaded by the ſhipping. But the fortifications were ſo ſtrong, the garriſons ſo numerous, and the engineers of the enemy ſo expert in their profeſſion, that he made very little progreſs, and ſuſtained conſiderable damage. At length, his army being diminiſhed by ſickneſs, and the rainy ſeaſon approaching he ordered the artillery and ſtores to be re-embarked; and raiſing the ſiege on the 6th day of October, returned to fort St. David, after having loſt about a thouſand men in this expedition. In the ſequel, ſeveral ſhips of his ſquadron, and above 1200 ſailors, periſhed in a hurricane. The naval force of Great-Britain was more ſucceſsful in the Weſt-Indies. Rear-admiral Knowles, with a ſquadron of eight ſhips, attacked Fort Louis, on the ſouth ſide of Hiſpaniola, which after a warm action of three hours was ſurrendered on capitulation, and diſmantled. Then he made an abortive attempt upon St. Jago de Cuba, and returned to Jamaica, extremely chagrined at his diſappointment, which he imputed to the miſconduct of captain Dent, who was tried in England by a court-martial, and honourably acquitted. On the 1ſt day of October, the ſame admiral cruiſing in the neighbourhood of the Hvannah, with eight ſhips of the line, encountered a Spaniſh ſquadron of nearly the ſame ſtrength, under the command of the admirals Reggio and Spinola. The engagement began between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, and continued with intervals till eight in the evening, when the enemy retired to the Havannah, with the loſs of two ſhips; one of which ſtruc to the Britiſh admiral, and the other was, two days after, ſet on fire by her own commander, that ſhe might not fall into the hands of the Engliſh. Mr Knowles taxed ſome of his captains with miſbehavour, and they recriminated on his conduct. On their return to England, a court-martial was the conſequence of their mutual accuſations. Thoſe who adhered to the commander, and the others whom he impeached, were inflamed againſt each other with the moſt rancorus reſentment. The admiral himſelf did not eſcape uncenſured: two of his captains were reprimanded: but captain Holmes, who had diſplayed uncommon courage, was honourably acquitted. Their animoſity did not end with the court-martial. A bloodleſs encounter happened between the admiral and captain Powlet: but captain Innes and captain Clarke, meeting by appointment in Hyde-park with piſtols, the former was mortally wounded, and died next morning; the latter was tried, and condemned for murder, but indulged with his majeſty's pardon. No naval tranſaction of any conſequence happened in the European ſeas, during the courſe of this ſummer. In January, indeed, the Magnanine, a French ſhip of the line, was taken in the channel by two Engliſh cruiſers, after an obſtinate engagement; and the privateers took a conſiderable number of merchant ſhips from the enemy.

The plenipotentiaries ſtill continued at Aix-la-Chapelle, diſcuſſing all the articles of the definitive treaty, which was at length concluded and ſigned on the 7th day of October. It was founded on former treaties, which were now expreſsly confirmed, from that of Weſtphalia to the laſt concluded at London and Vienna. The contracting parties agreed, That all priſoners on each ſide ſhould be mutually releaſed, without ranſom, and all conqueſts reſtored: that the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla ſhould be ceded as a ſettlement to the infant don Philip, and the heirs-male of his body; but in caſe of his aſcending the throne of Spain, or of the two Sicilies, or his dying without male-iſſue, that they ſhould revert to the houſe of Auſtria: that the king of Great-Britain ſhould, immediately after the ratification of this treaty, ſend two perſons of rank and diſtinction, to reſide in France, as hoſtages, until reſtitution ſhould be made of Cape-Breton, and all the other conqueſts which his Britannic majeſty ſhould have achieved in the Eaſt or Weſt-Indies, before or after the preliminaries were ſigned: that the aſſiento-contract, with the article of the annual ſhip, ſhould be confirmed for four years, during which the enjoyment of that privilege was ſuſpended ſince the commencement of the preſent war: that Dunkirk ſhould remain fortified on the land ſide, and towards the ſea continue on the footing of former treaties. All the contracting powers became guarantees to the king of Pruſſia for the duchy of Sileſia and the country of Glatz as he at preſent poſſeſſed them; and they likewiſe engaged to ſecure the empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia in poſſeſſion of her hereditary dominions, according to the pragmatic ſanction. The other articles regulated the forms and times fixed for this mutual reſtitution, as well as for the termination of hoſtilities in different parts of the world. But the right of Engliſh ſubjects to navigate in the American ſeas, without being ſubject to ſearch, was not once mentioned, though this claim was the original ſource of the differences between Great-Britain and Spain: nor were the limits of Acadia aſcertained. This and all other diſputes were left to the diſcuſſion of commiſſaries. We have already obſerved, that after the troubles of the empire began, the war was no longer maintained on Britiſh principles. It became a continental conteſt, and was proſecuted on the ſide of the allies without conduct, ſpirit, or unanimity. In the Netherlands they were out-numbered and outwitted by the enemy. They never hazarded a battle without ſuſtaining a defeat. Their vaſt armies, paid by Great-Britain, lay inactive, and beheld one fortreſs reduced after another, until the whole country was ſubdued; and as their generals fought their plenipotentiaries negotiated. At a time when their affairs began to wear the moſt promiſing aſpect; when the arrival of the Ruſſian auxiliaries would have ſecured an undoubted ſuperiority in the field; when the Britiſh fleets had trampled on the naval power of France and Spain, intercepted their ſupplies of treaſure, and cut off all their reſources of commerce; the Britiſh miniſters ſeemed to treat, without the leaſt regard to the honour and advantage of their country. They left her moſt valuable and neceſſary rights of trade unowned and undecided: they ſubſcribed to the inſolent demand of ſending the nobles of the realm to grace the court, and adorn the triumphs of her enemy: and they tamely gave up her conqueſts in North-America, of more conſequence to her traffic than all the other dominions for which the powers at war contended: they gave up the important iſle of Cape-Breton, in exchange for a petty factory in the Eaſt-Indies, belonging to a private company, whoſe exiſtence had been deemed prejudicial to the common-wealth. What then were the fruits which Britain reaped from this long and deſperate war? A dreadful expence of blood and

treaſure,[z] diſgrace upon diſgrace, an additional load of grievous impoſitions, and the national debt accumulated to the enormous ſum of eighty millions ſterling.

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, however unſtable or inglorious it might appear to thoſe few who underſtood the intereſts, and felt for the honour of their country, was nevertheleſs not unwelcome to the nation in general. The Britiſh miniſtry will always find it more difficult to ſatisfy the people at the end of a ſucceſsful campaign, than at the concluſion of an unfortunate war. The Engliſh are impatient of miſcarriage and diſappointment, and too apt to be intoxicated with victory. At this period they were tired of the burthens, and ſic of the diſgraces, to which they had been expoſed in the courſe of ſeven tedious campaigns. They had ſuffered conſiderable loſſes and interruption in the article of commerce, which was the ſource of their national opulence and power: they knew it would neceſſarily be clogged with additional duties, for the maintenance of a continental war, and the ſupport of foreign ſubſidiaries; and they drew very fain preſages of future ſucceſs either from the conduct of their allies, or the capacity of their commanders. To a people influenced by theſe conſiderations, the reſtoration of a free trade, the reſpite from that anxiety and ſuſpence which the proſecution of a war never fails to engender, and the proſpect of a ſpeedy deliverance from diſcouraging reſtraint and oppreſſive impoſitions, were advantages that ſweetened the bitter draught of a diſhonourable treaty, and induced the majority of the nation to acquieſce in the peace, not barely without murmuring, but even with ſome degree of ſatisfaction and applauſe.

Immediately after the exchange of ratification at Aix-la-Chapelle the armies were broke up: the allies in the Netherlands withdrew their ſeveral proportions of troops; the French began to evacuate Flanders; and the Engliſh forces were re-embarked for their own country. His Britannick majeſty returned from his German dominions in November, having landed near Margate, in Kent, after a dangerous paſſage; and on the 29th of the ſame month he opened the ſeſſion of parliament. By this time the miſunderſtanding between the two firſt perſonages of the royal family had been increaſed by a freſh acceſſion of matter. The prince of Wales had held a court of ſtannary, in quality of duke of Cornwall; and revived ſome claims attached to that dignity, which, had they been admitted, would have greatly augmented his influence among the Corniſh boroughs. Theſe efforts rouſed the jealouſy of the adminiſtration, which had always conſidered them as an intereſt wholly dependent on the crown; and therefore, the pretenſions of his royal highneſs were oppoſed by the whole weight of the miniſtry. His adherents, reſenting theſe hoſtilities as an injury to their royal maſter, immediately joined the remnant of the former oppoſition in parliament, and reſolved to counteract all the miniſterial meaſures that ſhould fall under their cognizance; at leaſt, they determined to ſeiſe every opportunity of thwarting the ſervants of the crown, in every ſcheme or propoſal that had not an evident tendency to the advantage of the nation. This band of auxiliaries was headed by the earl of E—t, dr. Lee, and mr. N—t. The firſt poſſeſſed a ſpecies of eloquence rather plauſible than powerful: he ſpoke with fluency and fire: his ſpirit was bold and enterpriſing, his apprehenſion quic, and his repartee ſevere. Dr Lee was a man of extenſive erudition and irreproachable morals, particularly verſed in the civil law, which he profeſſed, and perfectly well acquainted with the conſtitution of his country, mr. N—t was an orator of midling abilities, who harangued upon all ſubjects indiſcriminately, and ſupplied with confidence what he wanted in capacity: he had been at ſome pains to ſtudy the buſineſs of the houſe, as well as to underſtand the machine of government; and was tolerably well heard, as he generally ſpoke with an appearance of good humour, and hazarded every whimſical idea, as it roſe in his imagination. But lord Bolingbrooke is ſaid to have been the chief ſpring which, in ſecret, actuated the deliberations of the princes, court. That nobleman, ſeemingly ſequeſtered from the tumults of a public life, reſided at Batterſea, where he was viſited like a ſainted ſhrine by all the diſtinguiſhed votaries of wit, eloquence, and political ambition. There he was cultivated and admired for the elegance of his manners, and the charms of his converſations The prince's curioſity was firſt captivated by his character, and his eſteem was afterwards ſecured by the irreſiſtible addreſs of that extraordinary perſonage, who continued in a regular progreſſion to inſinuate himſelf ſtill farther and farther into the good graces of his royal patron. How far the conduct of his royal highneſs was influenced by the private advice of this nobleman we ſhall not pretend to determine; but, certain it is, the friends of the miniſtry propagated a report, that he was the dictator of thoſe meaſures which the prince adopted; and that, under the ſpecious pretext of attachment to the heir apparent of the crown, he concealed his real aim, which was to perpetuate the breach in the royal family. Whatever his ſentiments and motives might have been, this was no other than a revival of the old miniſterial clamour, that a man cannot be well affected to the king, if he pretends to cenſure any meaſure of the adminiſtation.

The weight which the oppoſition derived from theſe new confederates in the houſe of commons was ſtill greatly overbalanced by the power, influence, and ability that ſuſtained every miniſterial project. Mr Pelham, who chiefly managed the helm of affairs, was generally eſteemed as a man of honeſty and candour, actuated by a ſincere love for his country, though he had been educated in erroneous principles of government, and in ſome meaſure obliged to proſecute a fatal ſyſtem, which deſcended to him by inheritance. At this time he numbered mr. Pitt among his fellow-miniſters. and was moreover ſupported by many other individuals of diſtinguiſhed abilities; among whom the firſt place, in point of genius, was due to mr. M. who executed the office of ſollicitor-general. This gentleman, the ſon of a noble family in North-Britain, had raiſed himſelf to great eminence at the bar, by a moſt keen intuitive ſpirit of apprehenſion, that ſeemed to ſeize every object at firſt glance, an innate ſagacity, that ſaved the trouble of intenſe application, and an irreſiſtible ſtream of eloquence, that flowed pure and claſſical, ſtrong and copious, reflecting, in the moſt conſpicuous point of view, the ſubjects over which it rolled, and ſweeping before it all the ſlime of formal heſitation, and all the entangling weeds of chicanery. Yet, the ſervants of the crown were not ſo implicitly attached to the firſt miniſter as to acquieſce in all his plans, and dedicate their time and talents to the ſupport of every court-meaſure indiſcriminately. This was one material point in which mr. Pelham deviated from the maxims of his predeceſſor, who admitted of no contradiction from any of his adherents or fellow-ſervants, but inſiſted on ſacrificing their whole perception and faculties to his conduct and diſpoſal. That ſordid deference to a miniſter no longer characteriſed the ſubordinate inſtruments of the adminiſtration. It was not unuſual to ſee the great officers of the government divided in a parliamentary debate, and to hear the ſecretary at war oppoſing with great vehemence a clauſe ſuggeſted by the chancellor of the exchequer. After all, if we coolly conſider thoſe arguments which have been bandied about, and retorted with ſuch eagerneſs and acrimony in the houſe of commons, and diveſt them of thoſe paſſionate tropes and declamatory metaphors which the ſpirit of oppoſition alone had produced, we ſhall find very little left for the ſubject of diſpute, and ſometimes be puzzled to diſcover any material ſource of diſagreement.

In the month of November his majeſty opened the ſeſſion of parliament; with a ſpeech, acquainting them, That the definitive treaty of peace was at length ſigned by all the parties concerned: That he had made the moſt effectual proviſion for ſecuring the rights and intereſts of his own ſubjects; and procured for his allies the beſt conditions, which, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, could be obtained. He ſaid he had found a general good diſpoſition in all parties to bring the negotiation to a happy concluſion; and obſerved, that we might promiſe ourſelves a long enjoyment of the bleſſings of peace. Finally, after having remarked that times of tranquillity were the proper ſeaſons for leſſening the national debt, and ſtrengthening the kingdom againſt future events, he reccommended to the commons the improvement of the public revenue, the maintenance of a conſiderable naval force, the advancement of commerce, and the cultivation of the arts of peace. This ſpeech, as uſual, was echoed bac by an addreſs to the throne

[z] Such an expenſive war could not be maintained without a very extraordinary exertion of a commercial ſpirit: accordingly, we find that Great-Britain, ſince the death of king William, has riſen under her preſſures with increaſed vigour and perſeverance. Whether it be owing to the natural progreſſion of trade extending itſelf from its origin to its acme or ne plus ultra, or to the encouragement given by the adminiſtration to monied men of all denominations; or to neceſſity, impelling thoſe who can no longer live on ſmall incomes to riſque their capitals in traffic, that they may have a chance for bettering their fortunes; or, laſtly, to a concurrence of all theſe cauſes; certain it is, the national exports and imports have been ſenſibly increaſing for theſe forty years: the early medium of woolen exports, from the year 1738 to 1743 incluſive, amounted to about three millions and an half, which was a yearly increaſe on the medium, of 500,000l. above the medium from 1718 to 1724. From this article, the reader will conceive the prodigious extent and importance of the Britiſh commerce.

from both houſes, containing general expreſſions of the warmeſt loyalty and gratitude to his majeſty, and implying the moſt perfect ſatisfaction and acquieſcence in the articles of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The members in the oppoſition, according to cuſtom, cavilled at the nature of this addreſs. They obſerved, that the late pacification was the worſt and moſt inglorious of all the bad treaties to which the Engliſh nation had ever ſubſcribed: that it was equally diſgraceful, indefinite and abſurd: they ſaid the Britiſh navy had gained ſuch an aſcendancy over the French at ſea, that the ſources of their wealth were already choaked up; that the ſiege of Maeſtricht would have employed their arms in the Low-Countries till the arrival of the Ruſſians; and that the acceſſion of theſe auxiliaries would have thrown the ſuperiority into the ſcale of the allies. They did not fail to take notice, that the moſt important and original object of the war was left wholly undecided; and demonſtrated the abſurdity of their promiſing, in the addreſs, to make good ſuch engagements as his majeſty had entered into with his allies, before they knew what thoſe engagements were. In anſwer to theſe objections, the miniſters replied, That the peace was in itſelf rather better than could be expected; and that the ſmalleſt delay might have proved fatal to the liberties of Europe. They affirmed, that the Dutch were upon the point of concluding a neutrality, in conſequence of which their troops would have been withdrawn from the allied army; and, in that caſe, even the addition of the Ruſſian auxiliaries would not have rendered it a match for the enemy. They aſſerted, that if the war had been prolonged another year, the national credit of Great-Britain muſt have been entirely ruined, many of the public funds having ſunk below par in the preceding ſeaſon, ſo that the miniſtry had begun to deſpair of ſeeing the money paid in on the new ſubſcription. With reſpect to the reſtoration of Cape-Breton, the limits of Nova Scotia, and the right of navigating without ſearch in the American ſeas, which right had been left uneſtabliſhed in the treaty, they declared, that the firſt was an unneceſſary expence, of no conſequence to Great-Britain; and that the other two were points in diſpute, to be amicably ſettled in private conferences by commiſſaries duly authoriſed; but by no means articles to be eſtabliſhed by a general treaty.

What the oppoſition wanted in ſtrength it endeavoured to make up with ſpirit and perſeverance. Every miniſterial motion and meaſure was canvaſſed, ſifted, and decried with uncommon art and vivacity: but all this little availed againſt the ſingle article of ſuperior numbers; and accordingly this was the ſource of certain triumph in all debates in which the ſervants of the crown were united. The nation had reaſon to expect an immediate mitigation in the article of annual expence, conſidering the number of troops and ſhips of war which had been reduced at the ratification of the treaty: but they were diſagreeably undeceived in finding themſelves again loaded with very extraordinary impoſitions, for the payment of a vaſt debt which government had contracted in the courſe of the war, notwithſtanding the incredible aids granted by parliament. The committee of ſupply eſtabliſhed four points of conſideration in their deliberations concerning the ſums neceſſary to be raiſed; namely, for fulfilling the engagements which the parliaments had entered into with his majeſty, and the ſervices undertaken for the ſucceſs of the war; for diſcharging debts contracted by government; for making good deficiencies; and for defraying the current expence of the year. It appeared that the nation owed 44,000l. to the elector of Bavaria; above 30,000 to the duke of Brunſwick; the like ſum to the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel; and near 9000l. to the elector of Mentz. The queen of Hungary claimed an arrear of 100,000l. The city of Glaſgow, in North-Britain, preſented a petition, praying to be reimburſed the ſum of 10,000l, extorted from that corporation by the ſon of the pretender, during the rebellion. One hundred and twelve thouſand pounds were owing to the forces in North-America and the Eaſt-Indies; beſides near half a million due on extraordinary expence incurred by the land-forces in America, Flanders, and North-Britain, by the office of Ordinance, and other ſervices of the laſt year, to which the parliamentary proviſion did not extend. The remaining debt of the ordinance amounted to above 230,000l: but the navy-bills could not be diſcharged for leſs than four millions. An addition of 2,374,333l. 15s 2d. was alſo required for the current ſervice of the year. In a word, the whole annual ſupply exceeded eight millions ſterling—a ſum at which the whole nation expreſſed equal aſtoniſhment and diſguſt. It was charged upon the duties on malt, mum, cyder, and perry, the land-tax at four ſhillings in the pound, annuities on the ſinking-fund, an application of one million from that depoſit, and a loan of the like ſum to be charged on the firſt aids of next ſeſſion. The number of ſeamen was reduced to 17000, and that of the land-forces to 18,857, including guards and garriſons.

Every article of expence, however, was warmly diſputed by the anti-courtiers; eſpecially the demand of the queen of Hungary, which was deemed unreaſonably exorbitant and rapacious, conſidering the ſeas of blood which we had ſhed, and the immenſity of treaſure we had exhauſted for her benefit: and ſurely the ſubjects of this nation had ſome reaſon to complain of an indulgence of this nature, granted to a power which they had literally ſnatched from the brink of ruin—a power whoſe quarrel they had eſpouſed with a degree of enthuſiaſm that did much more honour to their gallantry than to their diſcretion—a power that kept aloof, with a ſtatelineſs of pride peculiar to herſelf and family, and beheld her Britiſh auxiliaries fighting her battles at their own expence; while ſhe ſquandered away, in the idle pageantry of barbarous magnificence, thoſe ample ſubſidies which they advanced in order to maintain her armies, and furniſh out her proportion of the war. The leaders of the oppoſition neglected no opportunity of embittering the triumphs of their adverſaries: they inveighed againſt the extravagance of granting 16000l. for the pay of general and ſtaff officers during a peace that required no ſuch eſtabliſhment, eſpecially at a juncture when the national incumbrances rendered it abſolutely neceſſary to practice every expedient of œconomy. They even combated the requeſt of the city of Glaſgow to be indemnified for the extraordinary exaction it underwent from the rebels, though it appeared, from unqueſtionable evidence, that this extraordinary contribution was exacted on account of that city's peculiar attachment to the reigning family: that it had always invariably adhered to revolution principles; and, with an unequalled ſpirit of loyalty and zeal for the proteſtant ſucceſſion, diſtinguiſhed itſelf both in the laſt and preceding rebellion.

But the moſt violent conteſt aroſe on certain regulations which the miniſtry wanted to eſtabliſh in two bills, relating to the ſea and land ſervice. The firſt, under the title of a bill for amending, explaining, and reducing into one act of parliament the laws relating to the navy, was calculated ſolely with a view of ſubjecting half-pay officers to martial law—a deſign which not only furniſhed the oppoſition with a plauſible handle for accuſing the miniſters, as intending to encroach upon the conſtitution, in order to extend the influence of the crown; but alſo alarmed the ſea-officers to ſuch a degree, that they aſſembled to a conſiderable number, with a view to deliberate upon the proper means of defending their privileges and liberties from invaſion. The reſult of their conſultations was a petition to the houſe of commons, ſubſcribed by three admirals and forty-ſeven captains, not members of parliament, repreſenting, that the bill in agitation contained ſeveral clauſes tending to the injury and diſhonour of all naval officers, as well as to the detriment of his majeſty's ſervice; and that the laws already in force had been always found effectual for ſecuring the ſervice of officers on half-pay, upon the moſt preſſing occaſions: they, therefore, hoped, that they ſhould not be ſubjected to new hardſhips and diſcouragements; and begged to be heard by their counſel, before the committee of the whole houſe, touching ſuch parts of the bill as they apprehended would be injurious to themſelves and the other officers of his majeſty's navy. This petition was preſented to the houſe by ſir John Norris, and the motion for its being read was ſeconded by ſir Peter Warren, whoſe character was univerſally eſteemed and beloved in the nation. This meaſure had like to have produced very ſerious conſequences. Many commanders and ſubalterns had repaired to the admiralty, and threatened, in plain terms, to throw up their commiſſions in caſe the bill ſhould paſs into a law; and a general ferment was begun among all the ſubordinate members of the navy. A motion was made, that the petitioners, according to their requeſt, ſhould be heard by their counſel; and this propoſal was ſtrongly urged by the firſt orators of the anti-miniſterial aſſociation; but the miniſter, confiding in his own ſtrength, re-enforced by the abilities of mr. Pitt, mr. Littelton, and mr. Fox, the ſecretary at war, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the motion, which, upon a diviſion, was thrown out by a great majority. The ſeveral articles of the bill were afterwards ſeparately debated with great warmth; and though mr. Pelham had, with the moſt diſintereſted air of candour, repeatedly declared that he required no ſupport, even from his own ad-

herents, but that which might ariſe from reaſon unreſtrained, and full conviction, he, on this occaſion, reaped all the fruit from their zeal and attachment which could be expected from the moſt implicit complaiſance. Some plauſible amendments of the moſt exceptionable clauſes were offered, particularly of that which impoſed an oath upon the members of every court-martial, that they ſhould not, on any account diſcloſe the opinions or tranſactions of any ſuch tribunal. This was conſidered as a ſanction under which any court-martial might commit the moſt flagrant acts of injuſtice and oppreſſion, which even parliament itſelf could not redreſs, becauſe it would be impoſſible to aſcertain the truth, eternally ſealed up by this abſurd obligation. The amendment propoſed was, that the member of a court-martial might reveal the tranſactions and opinions of it, in all caſes wherein the courts of juſtice, as the law now ſtands, have a right to interfere, if required thereto by either houſe of parliament: a very reaſonable mitigation, which, however, was rejected by the majority. Nevertheleſs, the ſuſpicion of an intended encroachment had raiſed ſuch a clamour without doors, and diffuſed the odium of this meaſure ſo generally, that the miniſter thought proper to drop the projected article of war, ſubjecting the reformed officers of the navy to the juriſdictions of courts-martial; and the bill being alſo ſoftened in other particulars, during its paſſage through the upper houſe, at length received the royal aſſent.

The flame which this act had kindled was rather increaſed than abated on the appearance of a new mutiny-bill replete with divers innovations, tending to augment the influence of the crown, as well as the authority and power of a military juriſdiction. All the articles of war eſtabliſhed ſince the reign of Charles II. were ſubmitted to the inſpection of the commons; and in theſe appeared a gradual ſpirit of encroachment, almoſt imperceptibly deviating from the civil inſtitutes of the Engliſh conſtitution towards the eſtabliſhment of a military dominion. By this new bill a power was veſted in any commander in chief to reviſe and correct any legal ſentence of a court-martial, by which the members of ſuch a court, correſponding with the nature of a civil jury, were rendered abſolutely uſeleſs, and a commander in a great meaſure abſolute; for he had not only the power of ſummoning ſuch officers as he might chooſe to ſit on any trial, a prerogative unknown to any civil court of judicature: but he was alſo at liberty to review and alter the ſentence; ſo that a man was ſubject to two trials for the ſame offence, and the commander in chief was judge both of the guilt and the puniſhment. By the final clauſe of this bill, martial law was extended to all officers on half-pay; and the ſame arguments which had been urged againſt this article in the navy-bill were now repeated and re-enforced with redoubled fervour. Many reaſons were offered to prove that the half-pay was allotted as a recompenſe for paſt ſervice; and the opponents of the bill affirmed, that ſuch an article, by augmenting the dependents of the crown, might be very dangerous to the conſtitution. On the other hand, the partiſans of the miniſtry aſſerted that the half-pay was granted as a retaining fee; and that originally all thoſe who enjoyed this indulgence were deemed to be in actual ſervice, conſequently ſubject to martial law. Mr Pitt, who at this time exerciſed the office of paymaſter-general with a rigour of integrity unknown to the moſt diſintereſted of all his predeceſſors in that department, eſpouſed the clauſe in diſpute, as a neceſſary extenſion of military diſcipline, which could never be attended with any bad conſequence to the liberty of the nation. The remarks which he made on this occaſion implied an opinion that our liberties wholly exiſted in dependence upon the direction of the ſovereign, and the virtue of the army. 'To that virtue (ſaid he) we truſt even at this hour, ſmall as our army is———to that virtue we muſt have truſted, had this bill been modelled as its warmeſt oppoſers could have wiſhed; and without this virtue, ſhould the lords, the commons, and the people of England entrench themſelves behind parchment up to the teeth, the ſword will find a paſſage to the vitals of the conſtitution.' All the diſputed articles of the bill being ſuſtained on the ſhoulders of a great majority, it was conveyed to the upper houſe, where it excited another violent conteſt. Upon the queſtion whether officers on half-pay had not been ſubject to martial law, the judges were conſulted and divided in their ſentiments. The earl of Bath declared his opinion, that martial law did not extend to reformed officers; and opened all the ſluices of his ancient eloquence. He admitted a caſe which was urged of ſeven officers on half-pay, who, being taken in actual rebellion at Preſton, in the year 1715, had been executed on the ſpot by martial law, in conſequence of the king's expreſs order. He candidly owned, that he himſelf was ſecretary at war at that period: that he had approved of this order, and even tranſmitted it to general Carpenter, who commanded at Preſton; but now his opinion was entirely changed. He obſerved, that when the forementioned rebellion firſt broke out, the houſe preſented an addreſs to the king, deſiring his majeſty would be pleaſed to employ all half-pay officers, and gratify them with whole pay; and, indeed, all ſuch officers were voted on whole pay, by the houſe of commons. They were afterwards appriſed of this vote, by an advertiſement in the Gazette, and ordered to hold themſelves in readineſs to repair to ſuch places as ſhould be appointed; and finally commanded to repair by ſuch a day to thoſe places, on pain of being ſtruck off the half-pay liſt. Theſe precautions would have been unneceſſary, had they been deemed ſubject to martial law; and the penalty for non-obedience would not have been merely a privation of their penſions, but they would have fallen under the puniſhment of death, as deſerters from the ſervice. His lordſhip diſtinguiſhed, with great propriety and preciſion, between a ſtep which had been precipitately taken in a violent criſis, when the public was heated with apprehenſion and reſentment, and a ſolemn law concerted at leiſure, during the moſt profound tranquillity. Notwithſtanding the ſpirited oppoſition of this nobleman, and ſome attempts to inſert additional clauſes, the bill having undergone a few inconſiderable amendments, paſſed by a very conſiderable majority.

Immediately after the mutiny-bill had paſſed the lower houſe, another fruitleſs effort was made by the oppoſition. The danger of a ſtanding army, on whoſe virtue the conſtitution of Great-Britain ſeemed to depend, did not fail to alarm the minds of many who were zealouſly attached to the liberties of their country, and gave birth to a ſcheme, which, if executed would have enabled the legiſlature to eſtabliſh a militia that muſt have anſwered many national purpoſes, and acted as a conſtitutional bulwark againſt the exceſſes and ambition of a military ſtanding force, under the immediate influence of government. The ſcheme which patriotiſm conceived was, in all probability, adopted by party. A bill was brought in, limiting the time beyond which no ſoldier, or non-commiſſioned officers, ſhould be compelled to continue in the ſervice. Had this limitation taken place, ſuch a rotation of ſoldiers would have enſued among the common people, that in a few years every peaſant labourer and inferior tradeſman in the kingdom would have underſtood the exerciſe of arms: and perhaps the people in general would have concluded that a ſtanding army was altogether unneceſſary. A project of this nature could not, for obvious reaſons, be agreeable to the adminiſtration, and therefore the bill was rendered abortive; for, after having been twice read, it was poſtponed from time to time, till the parliament was prorogued, and never appeared in the ſequel. Such were the chief ſubjects of debate between the miniſtry and the oppoſition, compoſed as we have already obſerved, of the prince's ſervants and the remains of the country party, this laſt being headed by lord Strange, ſon of the earl of Derby, and ſir Francis Daſhwood; the former a nobleman of diſtinguiſhed abilities, keen, penetrating, eloquent, and ſagacious; the other frank, ſpirited and ſenſible.

It muſt be owned, however, for the honour of the miniſtry, that, if they carried a few unpopular meaſures with a high hand, they ſeemed earneſtly deſirous of making amends to the nation, by promoting divers regulations for the benefit and improvement of commerce, which actually took place in the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament. One of the principal objects of this nature, which fell under their cognizance, was the trade to the coaſt of Guinea; a very important branch of traffic, whether conſidered as a market for Britiſh manufactures, or as the ſource that ſupplied the Engliſh plantations with negroes. This was originally monopoliſed by a joint-ſtoc company, which had from time to time derived conſiderable ſums from the legiſlature, for enabling them the better to ſupport certain forts or caſtles on the coaſt of Africa, to facilitate the commerce and protect the merchants. In the ſequel, however, the excluſive privilege having been judged prejudicial to the national trade, the coaſt was laid open to all Britiſh ſubjects indiſcriminately, on condition of their paying a certain duty towards defraying the expence of the forts and factories. This expedient did not anſwer the purpoſes for which it had been contrived. The ſeperate traders, inſtead of receiving any benefit from the protection of the company, induſtriouſly avoided their caſtles, as the receptacles of tyranny and oppreſſion. The company, whether from the miſconduct or knavery of their directors, contracted ſuch a load of debts

their credit being exhauſted, and their creditors growing clamorous, they preſented a petition to the houſe of commons, diſcloſing their diſtreſſes, and imploring ſuch aſſiſtance as ſhould enable them not only to pay their debts, but alſo to maintain the forts in a defenſible condition. This petition, recommended to the houſe in a meſſage from his majeſty, was corroborated by another in behalf of the company's creditors. Divers merchants of London, intereſted in the trade to Africa and the Britiſh plantations in America, petitioned the houſe, that as the African trade was of the utmoſt importance to the nation, and could not be ſupported without forts and ſettlements, ſome effectually means ſhould be ſpeedily taken for protecting and extending this valuable branch of commerce. A fourth was offered by the merchants of Liverpool, repreſenting, that the ſecurity and protection of the trade to Africa muſt always principally depend upon his majeſty's ſhips of war being properly ſtationed on that coaſt, and ſeaſonably relieved; and that ſuch forts, and ſettlements as might be judged neceſſary for marks of ſovereignty and poſſeſſion would prove a nuiſance, and a burthen to the trade, ſhould they remain in the hands of any joint-ſtoc company, whoſe private intereſt always had been, and ever would be, found incompatible with the intereſt of the ſeparate and open trader. They, therefore, prayed that the ſaid forts might either be taken into his majeſty's immediate poſſeſſion, and ſupported by the public, or committed to the merchants trading on that coaſt, in ſuch a manner as the houſe ſhould judge expedient, without veſting in them any other advantage, or right to the commerce, but what ſhould be common to all his majeſty's ſubjects. This remonſtrance was ſucceeded by another, to the ſame effect, from the maſter, wardens, aſſiſtants, and commonalty of the ſociety of merchant adventurers within the city of Briſtol. All theſe petitions were referred to a committee appointed to deliberate on this ſubject; who agreed to certain reſolutions, implying, that the trade to Africa ſhould be free and open; that the Britiſh forts and ſettlements on that coaſt ought to be maintained, and put under proper direction; and, that, in order to carry on the African trade in the moſt beneficial manner to theſe kingdoms, all the Britiſh ſubjects trading to Africa ſhould be united in one open company, without any joint-ſtoc, or power to trade as a corporation. A bill was immediately founded on theſe reſolutions, which alarmed the company to ſuch a degree, that they had recourſe to another petition, demonſtrating their right to the coaſt of Africa, and expreſſing their reliance on the juſtice, of the houſe, that they ſhould not be deprived of their property without an adequate conſideration. In a few days a ſecond addreſs was offered by their creditors, complaing of the company's miſmanagement, promiſing to ſurrender their right, as the wiſdom of parliament ſhould preſcribe; praying that their debts might be enquired into; and that the equivalent to be granted for the company's poſſeſſions might be ſecured and applied, in the firſt place, for their benefit. The commons, in conſequence of this petition, ordered the company to produce a liſt of their debts, together with a copy of their charter, and two remonſtrances which their creditors had preſented to them before this application to parliament. A committee of the whole houſe, having deliberated on theſe papers and petitions, and heard the company by their counſel, reſolved to give them a reaſonable compenſation for their charter, lands, forts, ſettlements, ſlaves, and effects, to be, in the firſt place, applied towards the payment of their creditors. A bill being formed accordingly, paſſed the commons, and was conveyed to the upper-houſe, where a great many objections were ſtarted; and for the preſent it was dropped, until a more unexceptionable plan ſhould be concerted. In the mean time their lordſhips addreſſed his majeſty, that the lords commiſſioners for trade and plantations might be directed to prepare a ſcheme on this ſubject, to be laid before both houſes of parliament at the beginning of next ſeſſion; that inſtant orders ſhould be given for preſerving and ſecuring the forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Guinea belonging to Great-Britain; and, that proper perſons ſhould be appointed to examine into the condition of thoſe forts, as well as of the military ſtores, ſlaves and veſſels belonging to the African company, ſo as to make a faithful report of theſe particulars, with all poſſible expedition.

The miniſtry having profeſſed an inclination, and indeed ſhown a diſpoſition, to promote and extend the commerce of the kingdom, the commons reſolved to take ſome ſteps for encouraging the white fiſhery along the nothern coaſt of the iſland, which is an exhauſtible ſource of wealth to our induſtrious neighbours the Dutch, who employ annually a great number of hands and veſſels in this branch of commerce. The ſenſible part of the Britiſh people, reflecting on this ſubject, plainly foreſaw that a fiſhery under due regulations, undertaken with the protection and encouragement of the legiſlature, would not only prove a fund of national riches and a nurſery of ſeamen, but likewiſe, in a great meaſure, prevent any future inſurrections in the Highlands of Scotland, by diffuſing a ſpirit of induſtry among the natives of that country, who, finding it in their power to become independent, on the fruits of their own labour, would ſoon infranchiſe themſelves from that ſlaviſh attachment by which they had been ſo long connected with their landlords and chieftains. Accordingly, a committee was appointed to deliberate on the ſtate of the Britiſh fiſhery; and upon their report a bill was founded for encouraging the whale fiſhery on the coaſt of Spitſbergen, by a bounty of 40s. per ton for every ſhip equipped for that undertaking. The bill having made its way through both houſes, and obtained the royal aſſent, the merchants in different parts of the kingdom, particularly in North-Britain, began to build and fit out ſhips of great burthen, and peculiar ſtructure, for the purpoſes of that fiſhery, which ever ſince hath been carried on with equal vigour and ſucceſs. Divers merchants and traders of London having preſented to the houſe of commons a petition, repreſenting the benefits that would accrue to the community from a herring and cod fiſhery, eſtabliſhed on proper principles, and carried on with ſkill and integrity; this remonſtrance was referred to a committee, upon whoſe reſolutions a bill was formed; but, before this could be diſcuſſed in the houſe, the parliament was prorogued, and of conſequence this meaſure proved abortive.

The next regulation propoſed in favour of trade, was that of laying open the commerce of Hudſon's-Bay, in the moſt northern parts of America, where a ſmall monopoly maintained a few forts and ſettlements, and proſecuted a very advantageous fur-trade with the Indians of that continent. It was ſuggeſted, that the company had long ago enriched themſelves by their excluſive privilege; that they employed no more than four annual ſhips; that, contrary to an expreſs injunction in their charter, they diſcouraged all attempts to diſcover a north-weſt paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies; that they dealt cruelly and perfidiouſly with the poor Indians, who never traded with them, except when compelled by neceſſity, ſo that the beſt part of the fur-trade had devolved to the enemies of Great-Britain; and that their excluſive patent reſtricted to very narrow limits a branch of commerce, which might be cultivated to a prodigious extent, as well as to the infinite advantage of Great-Britain. Petitions, that the trade of Hudſon's-Bay might be laid open, were preſented to the houſe by the merchants of London, Great-Yarmouth, and Wolverhampton; and a committee was appointed to deliberate upon this ſubject. On the other hand, the company exerted themſelves in petitions and private applications for their own preſervation. The committee examined many papers and records; and the report was taken into conſideration by the whole houſe. Many evidences were interrogated, and elaborate ſpeeches made, on both ſides of the queſtion. At length the majority ſeemed ſatisfied that the traffic on the coaſt of Hudſon's-Bay could not be preſerved without forts and ſettlements, which muſt be maintained either by an excluſive company, or at the public expence; and, as this was not judged a proper juncture to encumber the nation with any charge of that kind, the deſign of diſſolving the company was laid aſide till a more favourable opportunity.

The government had, during the war, found great difficulty in preſſing men for the ſervice of the navy—a practice, which, however ſanctioned by neceſſity, is nevertheleſs a flagrant encroachment on the liberty of the ſubject, and a violent outrage againſt the conſtitution of Great-Britain. The miniſtry, therefore, had employed ſome of their agents to form a ſcheme for retaining in time of peace, by means of a certain allowance, a number of ſeamen, who ſhould be regiſtered for the purpoſe, and be ready to man a ſquadron upon any emergency. Such a plan, properly regulated, would have been a great advantage to commerce, which is always diſtreſſed by the practice of preſſing ſeamen; and, at the ſame time, a great ſecurity to the kingdom in dangerous conjunctures, when it may be neceſſary to equip an armament at a minute's warning. The houſe of commons being moved upon this ſubject, agreed to divers reſolutions, as a foundation for the bill: but the members in the oppoſition affecting to repreſent this meaſure in an odious light, as an imitation of the French method of regiſtering ſeamen without their own conſent, mr. Pelham dropped it, as an unpopular project.

Information having been received, that the French intended to ſettle the neutral iſlands of St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago in the Weſt-Indies, the nation had taken the alarm in the beginning of the year; and a motion was made in the houſe of commons to addreſs his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions for laying before the houſe copies of the inſtructions given to the governors of Barbadoes for ten years laſt paſt, ſo far as they related to theſe neutral iſlands: but whether the miniſter was conſcious of a neglect in this particular, or thought ſuch enquiries trenched upon the prerogative, he oppoſed the motion with all his might; and, after ſome debate, the previous queſtion paſſed in the negative. This was alſo the fate of another motion made by the earl of E—t for an addreſs, entreating his majeſty would ſubmit to the inſpection of the houſe all the propoſals of peace that had been made by the French king ſince the year which preceded the laſt rebellion, to that in which the definitive treaty was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle. This they propoſed as a previous ſtep to the parliament's forming any opinion concerning the utility or neceſſity of the peace which had been eſtabliſhed. Violent debates enſued, in which the oppoſition was as much excelled in oratory as out-numbered in votes. Such were the material tranſactions of this ſeſſion, which in the month of June was cloſed as uſual with a ſpeech from the throne; in which his majeſty ſignified his hope, that the parliament, at their next meeting, would be able to perfect what they had now begun for advancing the trade and navigation of the kingdom. He likewiſe expreſſed his ſatisfaction at ſeeing public credit flouriſh at the end of an expenſive war; and recommended unanimity, as the ſureſt bulwark of national ſecurity.

While the miniſtry, on ſome occaſions, exhibited all the external ſigns of moderation and good humour, they, on others, manifeſted a ſpirit of jealouſy and reſentment, which ſeems to have been childiſh and illiberal. Two or three young riotous ſtudents at Oxford, trained up in prejudice, and heated with intemperance, uttered ſome expreſſions over their cups, implying their attachment to the family of the pretender. The report of this indiſcretion was induſtriouſly circulated by certain worthleſs individuals, who, having no reliance on their own intrinſic merit, hoped to diſtinguiſh themſelves as the tools of party, and to obtain favour with the miniſtry by acting as volunteers in the infamous practice of information. Though neither their age, rank, nor connexions of the delinquents were ſuch as ought to have attracted the notice of the public, the vice-chancellor, heads of houſes, and proctors of the univerſity, knowing the invidious ſcrutiny to which their conduct was ſubjected, thought proper to publiſh a declaration, ſignifying their abhorrence of all ſeditious practices, their determined reſolution to puniſh all offenders to the utmoſt ſeverity and rigour of the ſtatutes; and containing peremptory orders for the regulation of the univerſity. Notwithſtanding theſe wiſe and ſalutary precautions, the three boys, who in the heat of their intoxication, had drunk the pretender's health, were taken into cuſtody by a meſſenger of ſtate; and two of them being tried in the court of King's-Bench, and found guilty, were ſentenced to walk through the courts of Weſtminſter, with a ſpecification of their crime fixed to their foreheads; to pay a fine of five nobles each; to be impriſoned for two years, and find ſecurity for their good behaviour for the term of ſeven years after their enlargement. Many people thought they ſaw the proceedings of the ſtar-chamber revived in the ſeverity of this puniſhment. The adminiſtration, not yet ſatisfied with the vengeance which had been taken on theſe three ſtriplings, ſeemed determined to ſtigmatize the univerſity to which they belonged. The cry of jacobitiſm was loudly trumpeted againſt the whole community. The addreſs of the univerſity, congratulating his majeſty on the eſtabliſhment of the peace, was rejected with diſdain, and an attempt was made to ſubject their ſtatutes to the inſpection of the king's council; but this rule, being argued in the court of King's-Bench, was diſmiſſed, in conſequence of the opinions given by the judges. Finally, the ſame tribunal granted an information againſt dr. Purnel, the vice-chancellor, for his behaviour in the caſe of the rioters above-mentioned: but this was countermanded in the ſequel, his conduct appearing unexceptionable upon a more cool and impartial enquiry.

In proportion as Oxford declined, her ſiſter univerſity roſe in the favour of the adminiſtration, which ſhe at this period cultivated by an extraordinary mark of compliance and attachment. The dignity of chancellor of the univerſity being vacated by the death of the duke of Somerſet, the nation in general ſeemed to think it would naturally devolve upon the prince of Wales, as a compliment at all times due to that rank; but more eſpecially to the then heir apparent, who had eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the virtues of a patriot and a prince. He had even pleaſed himſelf with the hope of receiving this mark of attachment from a ſeminary for which he entertained a particular regard. But the ruling members, ſeeing no immediate proſpect of advantage in glorifying even a prince, who was at variance with the miniſtry, wiſely turned their eyes upon the illuſtrious character of the duke of Newcaſtle, whom they elected without oppoſition, and inſtalled with great magnificence; learning, poetry, and eloquence, joining their efforts in celebrating the ſhining virtues and extraordinary talents of their new patron.

Although oppoſition lay gaſping at the feet of power in the houſe of commons, the people of England did not yet implicitly approve all the meaſures of the adminiſtration; and the dregs of faction, ſtill agitated by an internal ferment, threw up ſome ineffectual bubbles in different parts of the kingdom. Some of thoſe who made no ſecret of their diſaffection to the reigning family determined to manifeſt their reſentment and contempt of certain noblemen, and others, who were ſaid to have abandoned their ancient principles, and to have ſacrificed their conſciences to their intereſt. Many individuals, animated by the fumes of inebriation, now loudly extolled that cauſe which they durſt not avow when it required their open approbation and aſſiſtance; and, though they induſtriouſly avoided expoſing their lives and fortunes to the chance of war in promoting their favourite intereſt when there was a poſſibility of ſucceſs, they betrayed no apprehenſion in celebrating the memory of its laſt effort, amidſt the tumult of a riot, and the clamours of intemperance. In the neighbourhood of Lichfield the ſportſmen of the party appeared in the Highland taſte of variegated drapery; and their zeal deſcending to a very extraordinary exhibition of practical ridicule, they hunted, with hounds clothed in plaid, a fox dreſſed in a red uniform. Even the females at their aſſembly, and the gentlemen at the races, affected to wear the checquered ſtuff by which the prince-pretender and his followers had been diſtinguiſhed. Divers noblemen on the courſe were inſulted as apoſtates; and one perſonage, of high rank, is ſaid to have undergone a very diſagreeable flagellation.

As the public generally ſuffers at the end of a war, by the ſudden diſmiſſion of a great number of ſoldiers and ſeamen, who, having contracted a habit of idleneſs, and finding themſelves without employment and the means of ſubſiſtance, engage in deſperate courſes, and prey upon the community, it was judged expedient to provide an opening, through which theſe unquiet ſpirits might exhale without damage to the common-wealth. The moſt natural was that of encouraging them to become members of a new colony in North-America, which, by being properly regulated, ſupported, and improved, might be the ſource of great advantages to its mother country. Many diſputes had ariſen between the ſubjects of England and France, concerning the limits of Nova-Scotia, which no treaty had as yet properly aſcertained. A fort had been raiſed, and a ſmall garriſon maintained, by the king of Great-Britain, at a part of this very country, called Annapolis-Royal, to over-awe the French neutrals ſettled in the neighbourhood: but this did not anſwer the purpoſe for which it was intended. Upon every rupture or diſpute between the two crowns, theſe planters, forgetting their neutrality, intrigued with the Indians, communicated intelligence to their own countrymen ſettled at St. John's and Cape-Breton, and did all the ill-offices their hatred could ſuggeſt againſt the colonies and ſubjects of Great-Britain. A ſcheme was now formed for making a new eſtabliſhment on the ſame peninſula, which ſhould further confirm and extend the property and dominion of the crown of Great-Britain in that large tract of country, clear the uncultivated grounds, conſtitute communities, diffuſe the benefits of population and agriculture, and improve the fiſhery of that coaſt. which might be rendered a new ſource of wealth and commerce to Old-England. The particulars of the plan being duly conſidered, it was laid before his majeſty, who approved of the deſign, and referred the execution of it to the board of trade and plantations, over which the earl of Halifax preſided. This nobleman, endued by nature with an excellent capacity, which had been diligently and judiciouſly cultivated, animated with liberal ſentiments, and fired with an eager ſpirit of patriotiſm, adopted the plan with the moſt generous ardour, and cheriſhed the infant colony with

paternal affection. The commiſſioners for trade and plantations immediately adverti ſed, under the ſanction of his majeſty's authority, that proper encouragement would be given to ſuch of the officers and private men, lately diſmiſſed from the land and ſea-ſervice, as were willing to ſettle, with or without families, in the province of Nova-Scotia: that the fee-ſimple, or perpetual property, of 50 acres of land ſhould be granted to every private ſoldier or ſeaman, free from the payment of any quit-rents or taxes, for the term of 10 years; at the expiration of which no perſon ſhould pay more than 1s. per annum for every 50 acres ſo granted: that, over and above theſe 50, each perſon ſhould receive a grant of 10 acres for every individual, including women and children, of which his family ſhould conſiſt; that further grants ſhould be made to them as the number ſhould increaſe, and in proportion as they ſhould manifeſt their abilities in agriculture: that every officer, under the rank of enſign in the land-ſervice, or lieutenant in the navy, ſhould be gratified with 80 acres on the ſame conditions: that 200 acres ſhould be beſtowed upon enſigns, 300 upon lieutenants, 400 upon captains, and 600 on every officer above that degree, with proportionable conſiderations for the number and increaſe of every family: that the lands ſhould be parcelled out as ſoon as poſſible after the arrival of the coloniſts, and a civil government eſtabliſhed; by virtue of which they ſhould enjoy all the liberties and privileges of Britiſh ſubjects, with proper ſecurity and protection: that the ſettlers, with their families, ſhould be conveyed to Nova-Scotia, and maintained for 12 months after their arrival at the expence of the government; which ſhould alſo ſupply them with arms and ammunition, as far as ſhould be judged neceſſary for their defence, with proper materials and utenſils for clearing and cultivating their lands, erecting habitations, exerciſing the fiſhery, and ſuch other purpoſes as ſhould be judged neceſſary for their ſupport.

The ſcheme was ſo feaſible, and the encouragement ſo inviting, that in a little time about 4000 adventurers, with their families, were entered, according to the directions of the board of trade, who in the beginning of May ſet ſail from England, under the command of colonel Cornwallis, whom the king had appointed their governor, and towards the latter end of June arrived at the place of their deſtination, which was the harbour of Chebuctou, on the ſea-coaſt of the peninſula, about midway between Cape-Canſeau and Cape-Sable. It is one of the moſt ſecure and commodious havens in the whole world, and well ſituated for the fiſhery: yet the climate is cold, the ſoil barren, and the whole country covered with woods of birch, fir, pine, and ſome oak, unfit for the purpoſes of timber; but at the ſame time extremely difficult to remove and extirpate. Governor Cornwallis no ſooner arrived in this harbour than he was joined by two regiments of infantry from Cape-Breton, and a company of rangers from Annapolis. Then he pitched upon a ſpot for the ſettlement, and employed his people in clearing the ground for laying the foundations of a town; but ſome inconveniencies being diſcovered in this ſituation, he choſe another to the northward, hard by the harbour, on an eaſy aſcent, commanding a proſpect of the whole peninſula, and well ſupplied with rivulets of freſh and wholeſome water. Here he began to build a town on a regular plan, to which he gave the name of Halifax, in honour of the nobleman who had the greateſt ſhare in founding the colony; and before the approach of winter, above 300 comfortable wooden houſes were built, the whole ſurrounded by a ſtrong palliſade. This colony, however, has by no means anſwered the ſanguine expectations of the projectors; for, notwithſtanding the ardour with which the intereſts of it were promoted by its noble patron, and the repeated indulgence it has reaped from the bounty of the legiſlature, the inhabitants have made little or no progreſs in agriculture: the fiſhery is altogether neglected, and the ſettlement entirely ſubſiſts on the ſums expended by the individuals of the army and navy, whoſe duty obliges them to reſide in this part of North-America.

The eſtabliſhment of ſuch a powerful colony in Nova-Scotia could not fail giving umbrage to the French in that neighbourhood, who, though they did not think proper to promulgate their jealouſy and diſguſt, nevertheleſs employed their emiſſaries clandeſtinely in ſtimulating and exciting the Indians to harraſs the coloniſts with hoſtilities, in ſuch a manner as ſhould effectually hinder them from extending their plantations, and perhaps induce them to abandon the ſettlement. Nor was this the only part of America in which the French court countenanced ſuch perfidious practices. More than ever convinced of the importance of a conſiderable navy, and an extenſive plantation trade, they not only exerted uncommon induſtry in re-eſtabliſhing their marine, which had ſuffered ſo ſeverely during the war; but they reſolved, if poſſible, to extend their plantations in the Weſt-Indies, by ſettling the neutral iſlands, which we have already mentioned. In the beginning of the year the governor of Barbadoes, having received intelligence that the French had begun to ſettle the iſland of Tobago, ſent captain Tyrrel thither in a frigate, to learn the particulars. That officer found above 300 men already landed, ſecured by two batteries and two ſhips of war, and in daily expectation of a further re-enforcement from the marquis de Caylus, governor of Martinique; who had publiſhed an ordonnance, authoriſing the ſubjects of the French king to ſettle the iſland of Tobago, and promiſing to defend them from the attempts of all their enemies. This aſſurance was in anſwer to a proclamation iſſued by mr. Grenville, governor of Barbadoes, and ſtuc up in different parts of the iſland, commanding all the inhabitants to remove in thirty days, on pain of undergoing military execution. Captain Tyrrel, with a ſpirit that became a commander in the Britiſh navy, gave the French officers to underſtand, that his moſt chriſtian majeſty had no right to ſettle the iſland, which was declared neutral by treaties; and that, if they would not deſiſt, he ſhould be obliged to employ force in driving them from their new ſettlement. Night coming on, and mr. Tyrrel's ſhip falling to leeward, the French captains ſeiſed that opportunity of ſailing to Martinique; and the next day the Engliſh commander returned to Barbadoes, having no power to commit hoſtilities. Theſe tidings, with a copy of the French governor's ordonnance, were no ſooner tranſmitted to the miniſtry than they diſpatched a courier to the Engliſh envoy at Paris, with directions to make repreſentations to the court of Verſailles on this ſubject. The miniſtry of France, knowing they were in no condition to ſupport the conſequences of an immediate rupture, and underſtanding how much the merchants and people of Great-Britain were alarmed and incenſed at their attempts to poſſeſs theſe iſlands, thought proper to diſown the proceedings of the marquis de Caylus, and to grant the ſatisfaction that was demanded, by ſending him orders to diſcontinue the ſettlement and evacuate the iſland of Tobago. At the ſame time, however, that the court of Verſailles made this ſacrifice for the ſatisfaction of England, the marquis de Puyſieux, the French miniſter, obſerved to the Engliſh reſident, that France was undoubtedly in poſſeſſion of that iſland towards the middle of the laſt century. He ought in candour to have added, that although Louis XIV. made a conqueſt of this iſland from the Hollanders, during his war with that republic, it was reſtored to them by the treaty of Nimeguen; and ſince that time France could not have the leaſt ſhadow of a claim to number it among her ſettlements. It was before this anſwer could be obtained from the court of Verſailles that the motion, of which we have already taken notice, was made in the houſe of commons, relating to the ſubject of the neutral iſlands; a motion diſcouraged by the court, and defeated by the majority.

The peace of Aix-le-Chapelle was celebrated by fireworks, illuminations, and rejoicings, in which the Engliſh, French, and Dutch ſeemed to diſplay a ſpirit of emulation, in point of taſte and magnificence; and, in all probability, theſe three powers were ſincerely pleaſed at the ceſſation of the war. England enjoyed a reſpite from intolerable ſupplies, exorbitant inſurance, and uninterrupted commerce: Holland was delivered from the brink of a French invaſion; and France had obtained a breathing time for re-eſtabliſhing her naval power, for exerting that ſpirit of intrigue, by dint of which ſhe had often embroiled her neighbours, and for executing plans of inſenſible encroachment, which might prove more advantageous than the progreſs of open hoſtilities. In the affair of Tobago the French king had manifeſted his inclination to avoid immediate diſputes with England; and had exhibited another proof of the ſame diſpoſition in his behaviour to the prince-pretender, who had excited ſuch a dangerous rebellion in the iſland of Great-Britain.

Among thoſe princes and powers who excepted againſt different articles of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the chevalier de St. George, foreſeeing that none of the plenipotentiaries would receive his proteſt, employed his agents to fix it up in the public places of Aix-la-Chapelle; a precaution of very little ſervice to his cauſe, which all the ſtates of Chriſtendom ſeemed now to have abandoned. So little was the intereſt of his family conſidered in this negotiation, that the contracting powers agreed, without reſerve, to a literal inſertion of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance; by which it was ſtipulated, that neither

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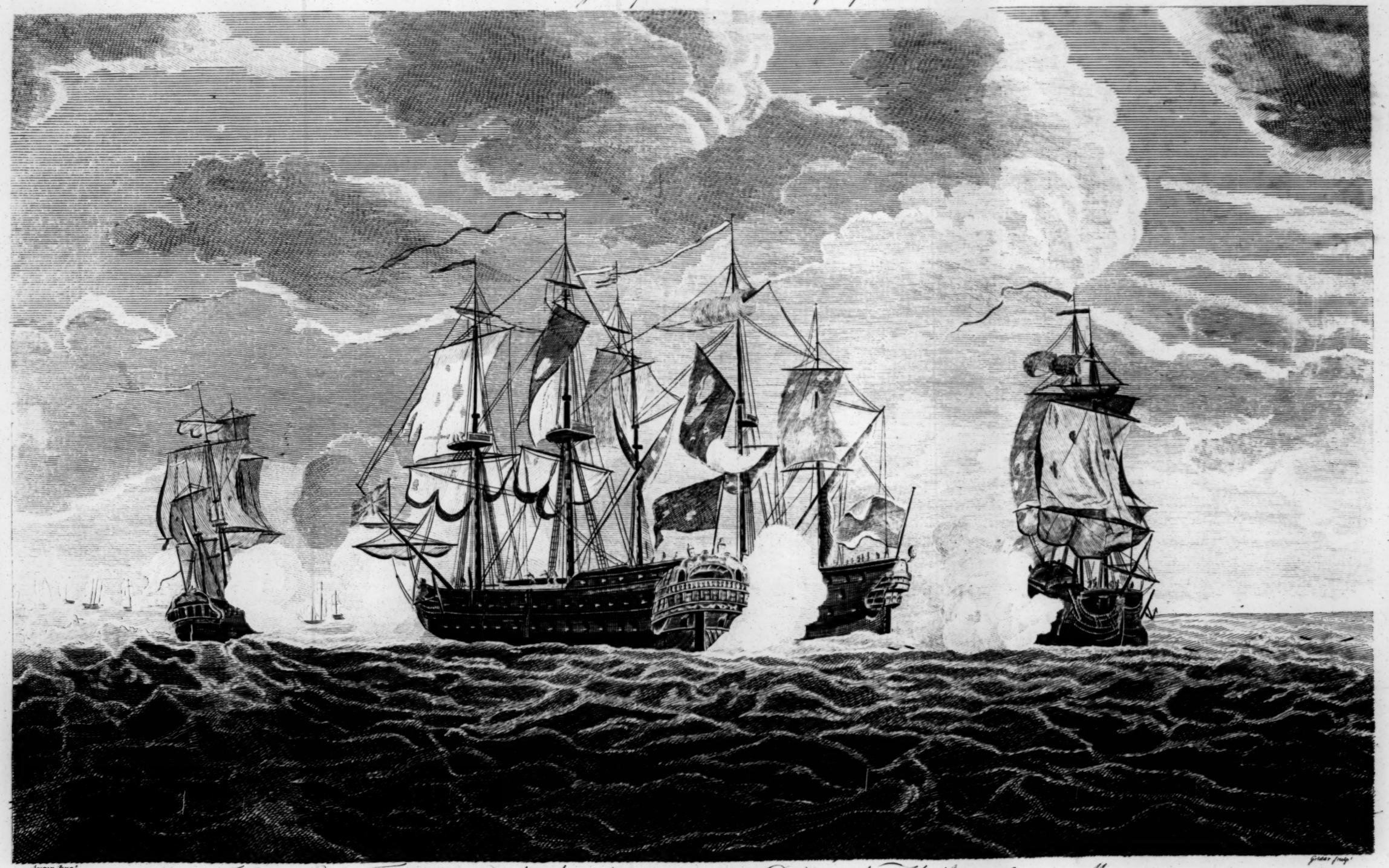

Swain Inv.t

Gilder Sculp.t

The Brave Capt.n Tyrrel in the Buckingham of 66 Guns. 472 Men. Defeating the Florissant 74 Guns. 700 Men.
Aigrette. 38 Guns. 330 Men. Alalante. 28 Guns. 250 Men. three French Ships of War, on the 3 of Nov.r 1758 that were Convoying Dutch Ships with provisions to Martinico.

Publish'd as the Act directs July 28. 1786.

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the pretender nor any of his deſcendants ſhould be allowed to reſide within the territories belonging to any of the ſubſcribing parties. At the ſame time the plenipotentiaries of France promiſed to thoſe of Great-Britain, that prince Charles-Edward ſhould be immediately obliged to quit the dominions of his moſt chriſtian majeſty. Notice of this agreement was accordingly given by the court of Verſailles to the young adventurer; and as he had declared he would never return to Italy, monſieur de Courteille, the French envoy to the cantons of Switzerland, was directed by his ſovereign to demand an aſylum for prince Edward in the city of Fribourg. The regency having complied in this particular with the earneſt requeſt of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, mr. Burnaby, the Britiſh miniſter to the Helvetick body, took the alarm, and preſented the magiſtracy of Fribourg with a remonſtrance, couched in ſuch terms as gave offence to that regency, and drew upon him a ſevere anſwer. In vain had the French king exerted his influence in procuring this retreat for the young pretender, who being preſſed with repeated meſſages to withdraw, perſiſted in refuſing to quit the place, to which he had been ſo cordially invited by his couſin the king of France; and where he ſaid that monarch had ſolemnly promiſed, on the word of a king, that he would never forſake him in his diſtreſs, nor abandon the intereſt of his family. Louis was not a little perplexed at this obſtinancy of prince Edward, which was the more vexatious, as that youth appeared to be the darling of the Pariſans; who not only admired him for his own accompliſhments, and pitied him for his ſufferings, but alſo revered him, as a young hero linially deſcended from the renowned Henry the fourth. At length, the two Engliſh noblemen arriving at Paris, as hoſtages for the performance of the treaty, and ſeeing him appear at all public places of diverſion, complained of this circumſtance, as an inſult to their ſovereign, and an infringement of the treaty ſo lately concluded. The French king, after ſome heſitation between punctilio and convenience, reſolved to employ violence upon the perſon of this troubleſome ſtranger, ſince milder remonſtrances had not been able to influence his conduct: but this reſolution was not taken till the return of a courier whom he diſpatched to the chevalier de St. George: who being thus informed of his ſon's deportment, wrote a letter to him, laying ſtrong injunctions upon him, to yield to the neceſſity of the times, and acquieſce with a good grace in the ſtipulation which his couſin of France had found it neceſſary to ſubſcribe, for the intereſt of his realm. Edward, far from complying with this advice and injunction, ſignified his reſolution to remain in Paris; and even declared that he would piſtol any man who ſhould preſume to lay violent hands on his perſon. In conſequence of this bold declaration, an extraordinary council was held at Verſailles, when it was determined to arreſt him without further delay, and the whole plan of this enterpriſe was finally adjuſted. That ſame evening, the prince entering the narrow lane that leads to the Opera, the barrier was immediately ſhut, and the ſerjeant of the guard called 'to arms,' on which monſieur de Vaudreuil, exempt of the French guards, advancing to Edward, 'prince (ſaid he) I arreſt you in the king's name, by virtue of this order.' At that inſtant the youth was ſurrounded by four grenadeers, in order to prevent any miſchief he might have done with a caſe of pocket piſtols which he always carried about him; and a guard was placed at all the avenues and doors of the Opera-houſe, leſt any tumult ſhould have enſued among the populace. Theſe precautions being taken, Vaudreuil, with an eſcorte, conducted the priſoner through the garden of the Palais-royal to houſe where the duke de Biron waited with a coach and ſix to convey him to the caſtle of Vincennes, whither he was immediately accompanied by a detachment from the regiment of French guards, under the command of that nobleman. He had not remained above three days in this confinement when he gave the French miniſtry to underſtand, that he would conform himſelf to the king's intentions; and was immediately enlarged, upon giving his word and honour that he would, without delay, retire from the dominions of France. Accordingly, he ſet out in four days from Fontainebleau, attended by three officers, who conducted him as far as Pont-Beauveſion on the frontiers, where they took their leave of him, and returned to Verſailles. He proceeded for ſome time in the road to Chamberri; but ſoon returned into the French dominions, and, paſſing through Dauphné, repaired to Avignon, where he was received with extraordinary honours by the pope's legate. In the mean time, his arreſt excited great murmurings at Paris; the inhabitants blaming, without ſcruple, their king's conduct in this inſtance, as a ſcandalous breach of hoſpitality, as well as a mean proof of condeſcenſion to the king of England; and many ſevere paſquinades, relating to this tranſaction, were fixed up in the moſt public places of that metropolis.

Although peace was now re-eſtabliſhed among the principal powers of the continent, yet another ſtorm ſeemed ready to burſt upon the northern parts of Europe, in a freſh rupture between Ruſſia and Sweden. Whether the czarina had actually obtained information that the French faction meditated ſome revolution of government at Stockholm, or ſhe wanted a pretence for annexing Findland to her empire; certain it is, ſhe affected to apprehend that the prince-ſucceſſor of Sweden waited only for the deceaſe of the reigning king, who was very old and infirm, to change the form of government, and reſume that abſolute authority which ſome of the monarchs his predeceſſors had enjoyed. She ſeemed to think that a prince thus veſted with arbitrary power, and guided by the councils of France and Pruſſia, with which Sweden had lately engaged in cloſe alliance, might become a very troubleſome and dangerous neighbour to her in the Baltic: ſhe, therefore, recruited her armies, repaired her fortifications, filled her magazines, ordered a ſtrong body of troops to advance towards the frontiers of Finland, and declared in plain terms to the court of Stockholm, that if any ſtep ſhould be taken to alter the government, which ſhe had bound herſelf by treaty to maintain, her troops ſhould enter the territory of Sweden, and ſhe would act up to the ſpirit of her engagements. The Swediſh miniſtry, alarmed at theſe peremptory proceedings, had recourſe to their allies; and, in the mean time, made repeated declarations to the court of Peterſburgh, that there was no deſign to make the leaſt innovation in the nature of their eſtabliſhed government: but little or no regard being paid to theſe repreſentations, they began to put the kingdom in a poſture of defence; and the old king gave the czarina to underſtand, that if, notwithſtanding the ſatisfaction he had offered, her forces ſhould paſs the frontiers of Finland, he would conſider their march as an hoſtile invaſion, and employ the means which God had put in his power for the defence of his dominions.

This declaration, in all probability, did not produce ſuch effect as the interpoſition of his Pruſſian majeſty, the moſt enterpriſing prince of his time, at the head of 140,000 of the beſt troops that Germany ever trained. Perhaps he was not ſorry that the empreſs of Muſcovy furniſhed him with a plauſible pretence for maintaining ſuch a formidable army, after the peace of Europe had been aſcertained by a formal treaty, and all the ſurrounding ſtates had diminiſhed the number of their forces. He now wrote a letter to his uncle the king of Great-Britain, complaining of the inſults and menaces which had been offered by the czarina to Sweden; declaring, that he was bound by a defenſive alliance, to which France had acceded, to defend the government at preſent eſtabliſhed in Sweden: and that he would not ſit ſtill, and tamely ſee that kingdom attacked by any power whatſoever, without acting up to his engagements; he therefore entreated his Britannic majeſty to interpoſe his good offices, in conjunction with France and him, to compromiſe the diſputes which threatened to embroil the northern parts of Europe. By this time the Ruſſian army had approached the frontiers of Finland: the Swedes had aſſembled their troops, repleniſhed their magazines, and repaired their marine; and the king of Denmark, jealous of the czarina's deſigns with regard to the duchy of Sleſwich which was conteſted with him by the prince-ſucceſſor of Ruſſia, kept his army and navy on the moſt reſpectable footing. At this critical juncture the courts of London, Verſaillies, and Berlin co-operated ſo effectually by remonſtrances and declarations at Peterſburgh and Stockholm, that the empreſs of Ruſſia thought proper to own herſelf ſatisfied, and all thoſe clouds of trouble were immediately diſperſed. Yet, in all probability, her real aim was diſappointed; and, however ſhe might diſſemble her ſentiments, ſhe never heartily forgave the king of Pruſſia for the ſhare he had in this tranſaction. That monarch, without relaxing in his attention to the ſupport of a very formidable military power, exerted very extraordinary endeavours in cultivating the civil intereſts of his country. He reformed the laws of Brandenburgh, and reſcued the adminiſtration of juſtice from the frauds of chicanery. He encouraged the arts of agriculture and manufacture: and even laid the foundation of naval commerce, by eſtabliſhing an Eaſt-India company in the port of Embden.

Nor did the French miniſtry neglect any meaſure that might contribute to repair the damage which the kingdom had ſuſtained in the courſe of the war. One-half of the army was diſbanded: the ſevere impoſition of the 10th penny was

ſuſpended by the king's edict: a ſcheme of œconomy was propoſed, with reſpect to the finances; and the utmoſt diligence uſed in procuring materials, as well as workmen, for ſhip-building, that the navy of France might ſpeedily retrieve its former importance. In the midſt of theſe truely patriotic ſchemes, the court of Verſailles betrayed a littleneſs of genius, and a ſpirit of tyranny, joined to fanaticiſm, in quarelling with their parliament about ſuperſtitious forms of religion. The ſacraments had been denied to a certain perſon on his death-bed, becauſe he refuſed to ſubſcribe to the bull Unigenitus. The nephew of the defunct preferred a complaint to the parliament, whoſe province it was to take cognizance of the affair: a deputation of that body attended the king with the report of the reſolutions; and his majeſty commanded them to ſuſpend all proceedings relating to a matter of ſuch conſequence, concerning which he would take an opportunity of ſignifying his royal pleaſure. This interpoſition was the ſources of diſputes between the crown and parliament, which had like to have filled the whole kingdom with inteſtine troubles.

At Vienna the empreſs-queen was not more ſollicitous in promoting the trade and internal manufactures of her dominions, by ſumptuary regulations, neceſſary reſtrictions on foreign ſuperfluities, by opening her ports in the Adriatick, and giving proper encouragement to commerce, than ſhe was careful and provident in reforming the œconomy of her finances, maintaining a reſpectable body of forces, and guarding, by defenſive alliances, againſt the enterpriſes of his Pruſſian majeſty, on whoſe military power ſhe looked with jealouſy and diſtruſt. In Holland all the authority and influence of the ſtadtholder were ſcarcely ſufficient to allay the ferments excited among the people, by the proviſional taxation which had ſucceeded the abolition of the pachters, and was indeed very grievous to the ſubject. As this was no more than a temporary expedient, the prince of Orange propoſed a more equitable plan, which was approved by the ſtates, and eſtabliſhed with great difficulty. In Italy the ſyſtem of politics ſeemed to change its complexion. The king of Sardinia effected a match between one of the infantas of Spain and the prince of Piedmont; and whether irritated by the conduct of the Auſtrians in the laſt war, or apprehenſive of ſuch a powerful neighbour in the Milaneſe, he engaged with the kings of France and Spain in a defenſive alliance, comprehending the king of the two Sicilies, the republic of Genoa, and the dukes of Modena and Parma. His moſt catholic majeſty, ſincerely diſpoſed to cultivate the arts of peace, and encourage every meaſure that could contribute to the advantage of his country, was no ſooner releaſed from the embarraſſments of war, than he began to execute plans of eternal œconomy; to reduce unneceſſary penſions, diſcharge the debts contracted in the war, repleniſh his arſenals, augment his navy, promote manufactures, and encourage an active commerce by ſea, the benefits of which the kingdom of Spain had not known ſince the firſt diſcovery and conqueſt of the Weſt-Indies.

The preparations for refitting and increaſing the navy of Spain were carried on with ſuch extraordinary vigour, that other nations believed an expedition was intended againſt the Corſairs of Algiers, who had for ſome time grievouſly infeſted the trade and coaſts of the Mediterranean. The exiſtence of this and other predatory republics, which entirely ſubſiſt upon piracy and rapine, petty ſtates of barbarous ruffians, maintained, as it were, in the midſt of powerful nations, which they inſult with impunity, and of which they even exact an annual contribution, is a flagrant reproach upon Chriſtendom; a reproach the greater, as it is founded upon a low, ſelfiſh, illiberal maxim of policy. All the powers that border on the Mediterranean, except France and Tuſcany, are at perpetual war with the Moors of Barbary, and, for that reaſon, obliged to employ foreign ſhips for the tranſportation of their merchandiſe. This employment naturally devolves to thoſe nations whoſe veſſels are in no danger from the depredations of the barbarians; namely, the ſubjects of the maritime powers, who, for this puny advantage, not only tollerate the piratical ſtates of Barbary, but even ſupply them with arms and ammunition, ſollicit their paſſes, and purchaſe their forbearance with annual preſents, which are, in effect, equivalent to a tribute: whereas, by one vigorous exertion of their power, they might deſtroy all their ſhips, lay their towns in aſhes, and totally extirpate thoſe pernicious broods of deſperate banditti. Even all the condeſcenſion of thoſe who diſgrace themſelves with the title of allies to theſe miſcreants is not always ſufficient to reſtrain them from acts of cruelty and rapine. At this very period four cruiſers from Algiers made a capture of an Engliſh packet-boat, in her voyage from Liſbon, and conveyed her to their city, where ſhe was plundered of money and effects to the amount of 100,000l. and afterwards diſmiſſed. In conſequence of this outrage, commodore Keppel was ſent with ſeven ſhips of war to demand ſatisfaction, as well as to compromiſe certain differences which had ariſen on account of arrears claimed of the Engliſh by the dey of Algiers. The muſſulman frankly owned, that the money having been divided among the captors, could not poſſibly be refunded. The commodore returned to Gibraltar; and, in the ſequel, an Algerine ambaſſador arrived in London, with ſome preſents of wild beaſts for his Britannic majeſty. This tranſaction was ſucceeded by another injurious affront, offered by the governor or alcayde of Tetuan to mr. Latton, an Engliſh ambaſſador, ſent thither to redeem the Britiſh ſubjects, who had been many years enſlaved in the dominions of the king of Morocco. A revolution having lately happened in this empire, Muley Abdallah, the reigning ruffian, inſiſted upon the ambaſſador's paying a pretended balance for the ranſom of the captives, as well as depoſiting a conſiderable ſum, which had already been paid to a deceaſed baſhaw; alledging, that as he (the emperor) received no part of it, the payment was illegal. Mr Latton refuſing to comply with this arbitrary demand, his houſe was ſurrounded by a detachment of ſoldiers, who violently dragged his ſecretary from his preſence, and threw him into a diſmal ſubterranean dungeon, where he continued 20 days. The Engliſh ſlaves, to the number of 27, were condemned to the ſame fate: the ambaſſador himſelf was degraded from his character, deprived of his allowance, and ſequeſtered from all communication. All the letters directed to him were intercepted, and interpreted to the alcayde: two negro porters were entruſted with the keys of all his apartments, and a couple of ſoldiers poſted at his chamber-door; nay, this Mooriſh governor threatened to load him with irons, and violently ſeiſed part of the preſents deſigned by his Britannic majeſty for the emperor. At length, finding that neither mr. Latton nor the governor of Gibraltar, to whom he had written, would depoſit the money, without freſh inſtructions from the court of London, the barbarian thought proper to relax in his ſeverity: the priſoners were enlarged, the reſtrictions removed from the perſon of the ambaſſador, and, after all theſe indignities offered to the honour of the Britiſh nation, the balance was paid, and the affair quietly adjuſted.

Britain, in the mean while, was altogether barren of events which might deſerve a place in a general hiſtory. Commerce and manufacture flouriſhed again, to ſuch a degree of increaſe as had never been known in the iſland: but this advantage was attended with an irreſiſtible tide of luxury and exceſs, which flowed through all degrees of the people, breaking down all the mounds of civil policy, and opening a way for licenſe and immorality. The highways were infeſted with rapine and aſſaſſination; the cities teemed with the brutal votaries of lewdneſs, intemperance, and profligacy. The whole land was overſpread with a ſucceſſion of tumult, riot, and inſurrection, excited in different parts of the kingdom by the erection of new turnpikes, which the legiſlature judged neceſſary for the convenience of inland carriage. In order to quell theſe diſturbances, recourſe was had to the military power; ſeveral individuals were ſlain, and ſome were executed as examples.

In the month of November the ſeſſion of parliament was opened with a ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty expreſſed a particular pleaſure in meeting them at a time when the perfect re-eſtabliſhment of a general peace had reſtored to his people the bleſſings of quiet and tranquillity. He ſaid, the good effects of theſe already appeared in the flouriſhing condition of national commerce, and in the riſe of public credit, which were the foundations of ſtrength and proſperity of theſe kingdoms. He declared, That, during the ſummer, he had uſed every opportunity of cementing and ſecuring the peace; that it was his firm reſolution to do every thing in his power for the preſervation of it, and religiouſly adhere to the engagements into which he had entered. Finally, he took notice of the good diſpoſition he had found in the other contracting parties to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to cheriſh the public tranquillity of Europe; and he earneſtly recommended to the two houſes the maintenance of a ſtrong naval power, as the bulwark of national ſecurity.

When the motion was made for an addreſs of thanks in the houſe of commons, the firſt paragraph of his majeſty's ſpeech furniſhed the oppoſition with a handle to declaim againſt the late treaty. Sir John Hinde Cotton obſerved, That the peace could not be properly ſtiled complete, as nothing had been ſtipulated with reſpect to the article of

'no ſearch;' alluding to the interruption our commerce had ſuſtained from the Spaniards in the Weſt-Indies: a ſtipulation, without which both houſes of parliament had formerly voted that there ſhould be no peace with that kingdom.

[1749] In the preſent conjuncture of affairs, ſuch an objection favoured rather of party than of patriotiſm; and indeed ſir John declared, that the remarks he made upon the occaſion were rather in diſcharge of the duty he owed to his country, than in hope of ſeeing his ſentiments eſpouſed by the majority. Some ſharp altercation was uſed in the debate which aroſe on this ſubject; and many ſevere invectives were levelled at thoſe who negotiated, as well as at thoſe who approved and confirmed the treaty. But mr. Pelham, who ſuſtained the whole weight of the debeat on the ſide of adminiſtration, anſwered every objection with equal candour and ability; and if he failed in proving that the terms of peace were as favourable as could be expected, conſidering the unfortunate events of the war, and the ſituation of the contending powers; he at laſt demonſtrated, that it would be the intereſt of the kingdom to acquieſce for the preſent in the treaty which had been concluded, and endeavour to remedy its imperfections by ſubſequent conventions, amicably opened among thoſe powers between whom any cauſe of diſpute remained. With reſpect to the vote of both houſes, mentioned by ſir John Hinde Cotton, he declared that he had never approved of that ſtep, when it was firſt taken; or if it had, times and circumſtances, which could not be foreſeen, would have juſtified his deviating from it in the re-eſtabliſhment of peace. He reminded them, that a parliament of Great-Britain had once voted 'no peace while any part of the Weſt-Indies ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh king,' yet a train of incidents, which they could not poſſibly foreſee, afterwards rendered it expedient to adopt a peace without inſiſting upon the accompliſhment of that condition. In a word, we muſt own, that, in the majority of debates excited in the courſe of this ſeſſion, the miniſtry derived their triumphs from the force of reaſon, as well as from the weight of influence. We ſhall always, however, except the efforts that were made for reducing the number of land-forces to 15,000, and maintaining a greater number of ſeamen than the miniſtry propoſed. On theſe conſtitutional points the earl of Egmont, and other chiefs of the oppoſition, expatiated with all the energy of eloquence; which, however, was fruſtrated by the power of ſuperior numbers. Ten thouſand ſeamen were voted for the ſervice of the enſuing year, notwithſtanding his majeſty's injunction to maintain a conſiderable navy; and the number of land-forces was continued at 18,857. The ſums granted for making good his majeſty's engagements with the electors of Bavaria and Mentz, and the duke of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttel, amounted to 53,225l. ſterling. The ſervices done by the colonies in North-America, during the war, were gratified with the ſum 122,246l. The expence incurred by the new colony of Nova-Scotia exceeded 76,000l. A ſmall ſum was voted for the improvement of Georgia; and 10,000l. was granted towards the ſupport of the Britiſh forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa. The ſum total granted in this ſeſſion aroſe to 4,141,661l. 9s. 11½d. to be raiſed by the land-tax, at 3s. in the pound; the malt and other duties, the ſurplus of divers impoſitions remaining in the Bank and Exchequer; one million by annuities, at three per cent. charged on the ſinking-fund, until redeemed by parliament; and 900,000l. out of the exceſs or over-plus of monies denominated the ſinking fund.

But the capital meaſure which diſtinguiſhed this ſeſſion of parliament was the reduction of the intereſt on the public funds; a ſcheme was planned and executed by the miniſter, without any national diſturbance or diſquiet, to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe; the different nations of which could not comprehend how it would be poſſible for the government, at the cloſe of a long expenſive war, which had ſo conſiderably drained the country, and augmented the enormous burthen of national debt, to find money for paying off ſuch of the public creditors as might chooſe to receive their principal, rather than ſubmit to a reduction of the intereſt. It was not very much for the honour of the oppoſition, that ſome of its leading members endeavoured to impede this great machine of civil œconomy, by taking opportunities of affirming in parliament, in oppoſition to his majeſty's ſpeech, that the nation, far from being in a flouriſhing condition, was almoſt entirely exhauſted; that commerce drooped and declined; that public credit ſtood tottering on the brink of ruin; and that all the treaties lately concluded among the different powers of Europe were, in effect, diſadvantageous and prejudicial to the intereſts of Great-Britain. In anſwer to theſe aſſertions, Mr Pelham undertook to prove, from the regiſter of exports and imports, that the commerce of the kingdom was more extenſive at this than at any former period; and that the public credit was ſtrong enough to admit of an experiment, which he would not preſume to hazard, except upon a moral certainty of its being firmly rooted, beyond the power of accident and faction to ſhake or overturn. He declared, that his deſign of reducing the intereſt upon the the funds was the reſult of the love he bore his country, and an opinion that it was the duty of the ſervants of the crown to eaſe the burthens of the people. He ſaid, he had conferred on this ſubject with perſons of the moſt approved knowledge, and undoubted experience; and choſe to promulgate the method propoſed for alleviating the load of the national debt, that the public, in knowing the particulars of the ſcheme, might have time to conſider them at leiſure, and ſtart ſuch objections as ſhould occur to their reflection, before it might be too late to adobt amendments. He obſerved, that nothing could more clearly demonſtrate the vigour of public credit, and the augmentation of national commerce, than the price of ſtoc, which had within three years riſen to a very conſiderable increaſe; and the duties on imports, which in nine months had added one million to the ſinking-fund, notwithſtanding a very extraordinary ſum which had been paid as bounties for exported corn. He expreſſed great tenderneſs and regard for the intereſt of thoſe who had advanced their money for the ſervice of the government; declaring that his aim was to contrive a fair, honeſt, and equitable method for leſſening the national incumbrances, by lowering the intereſt, conformable to parliamentary faith, and agreeable to the rules of eternal juſtice. His plan was accordingly communicated, canvaſſed, and approved in the houſe of commons, and an act paſſed for reducing the intereſt of the funds which conſtitute the national debt. [a]. In purſuance of this act, for the reduction of the intereſt, the greater part of the creditors complied with the terms propoſed, and ſubſcribed their reſpective annuities before the end of February; but the three great companies at firſt kept aloof, and refuſed to ſubſcribe any part of their capital.

[1750] About the middle of march the commons ordered the proper officers to lay before them an account of the ſums which had been ſubſcribed, and theſe were taken into conſideration by a committee of the whole houſe. It was then that mr. Pelham, as chancellor of the exchequer, obſerved, that, beſides the debts due to the three great companies in their corporate capacity, all the reſt, carrying four per centum intereſt, had been ſubſcribed, except about eight or nine millions, the proprietors of which had forfeited the favour deſigned them by parliament: but as many of theſe had been miſled by evil counſellors, who perhaps were more intent on diſtreſſing the government, than ſollicitious to ſerve their friends; and as many were foreigners, reſiding beyond ſea, who had not time to take proper advice, and give the neceſſary inſtructions; and as theſe could not poſſibly be diſtinguiſhed from ſuch as refuſed to ſubſcribe from mere obſtinancy or diſaffection, it might be thought cruel to take the moſt rigorous advantage of the forfeiture they had incurred. With reſpect to the proprietors of the ſtoc or capital belonging to the three great companies; he aſſerted, that many of them would willingly have ſubſcribed their properties within

[a] The reſolutions of the commons on this head were printed by authority in the London Gazette, ſignifying, That thoſe who were, or ſhould be, proprietors of any part of the public debt, redeemable by law, incurred before Michaelmas, in the year 1749, carrying an intereſt of four per centum per annum, who ſhould, on or before the 28th day of February in that year, ſubſcribe their names, ſignifying their conſent to accept of an intereſt of three pounds per centum, to commence from the 25th day of December, in the year 1757, ſubject to the ſame proviſions, notices, and clauſes of redemption, to which their reſpective ſums at four per centum were then liable, ſhould, in lieu of their preſent intereſt, be intitled to four per centum till the 25th day of December, in the year 1750; and after that day to 3l. 10s. per centum per annum, till the 25th of December 1757; and no part of that debt, except what was due to the Eaſt-India company, ſhould be redemable to this period; That if any part of the national debt, incurred before laſt Michaelmas, redeemable by law, and carrying an intereſt of four per centum, ſhould remain unſubſcribed on or before the 30th day of May, the government ſhould pay off the principal. For this purpoſe his majeſty was enabled to borrow of any perſon or perſons, bodies politic or corporate, any ſum or ſums of money, not exceeding that part of the national debt which might remain unſubſcribed, to be charged on the ſinking-fund, upon any terms not exceeding the rate of intereſt in the foregoing propoſal.

All the duties appropriated to the payment of the intereſt were ſtill continued, and the ſurplus of theſe incorporated with the ſinking-fund for the diſcharge of the principal. Books were opened for the ſubſcription at the Exchequer, Bank of England, and the South-ſea-houſe; and copies of theſe reſolutions tranſmitted to the directors of all the monied corporations.

the time limited, but were neceſſarily excluded by the majority on the ballot; and as it was equally impoſſible to know thoſe who were againſt the queſtion on the ballot, he thought that ſome tenderneſs was due even to the proprietors of thoſe three companies; his opinion, therefore, was, that they and the uncomplying annuitants ſhould be indulged with further time to complete their ſubſcription; but, in order to preſerve the authority of parliament, and the reſpect due to that auguſt aſſembly, they ought not to be gratified with ſuch advantageous terms as were allowed to the annuitants who at firſt chearfully complied with the propoſals offered by the legiſlature. For theſe reaſons he propoſed, that although the time of ſubſcribing ſhould be protracted till the 30th day of May the encouragement of 3l. 10s. per centum per annnum ſhould not be continued to the ſecond ſubſcribers longer than till the 5th of December, in year 1755. The propoſal being approved, a bill was framed for this purpoſe, as well as for redeeming ſuch annuities as ſhould not be ſubſcribed, which paſſed through both houſes, and was enacted into a law, after having received an additional clauſe, empowering the Eaſt-India company, in caſe they ſhould ſubſcribe all their ſtoc bearing an intereſt of four per centum, or borrow, with the conſent of the treaſury, any ſum not exceeding 4,200,000l. after the ſeveral rates of intereſt before propoſed to be paid by the public, and one million more at three per centum per annum. They were alſo veſted with a power to raiſe money by bonds, as formerly; yet ſo as the whole, including the annuities, ſhould not exceed what they were by former acts empowered to borrow. The objections to the execution of this project, which by many were deemed inſurmountable, entirely vaniſhed before the fortitude, perſeverance, and caution of the miniſter; who had ſecured, among the moneyed men of the nation, the promiſe of ſuch ſums as would have been ſufficient to pay off the capital belonging to thoſe creditors who might refuſe to accept the intereſt thus reduced. The ſecond ſubſcription had the deſired effect. The three great companies acquieſced, and their example was followed by the other ſcrupulous annuitants: the national burthen was comfortable lightened, and the ſinking-fund conſiderably increaſed, without producing the leaſt perplexity or diſturbance in the common-wealth; a circumſtance that could not fail to excite the admiration and envy of all Chriſtendom.

The mutiny-bill for the enſuing year was mitigated with an eſſential alteration, relating to the oath of ſecreſy impoſed upon the members of every court-martial, who were now releaſed from this reſerve if required to give evidence, by due courſe of law, in any court of judicature; and whereas, by the former mutiny-bill, a general was empowered to order the reviſal of any ſentence by a court-martial as often as he pleaſed, and, on that pretence, to keep in confinement a man who had been acquitted upon a fair trial, it was now enacted, that no ſentence pronounced by any court-martial, and ſigned by the preſident, ſhould be more than once liable to reviſal. Colonel George Townſhend, ſon of lord viſcount Townſhend, who had equally diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his civil and military accompliſhments, propoſed another clauſe, for preventing any non-commiſſioned officer's being broke, or reduced into the ranks; or any ſoldier's being puniſhed, but by the ſentence of a court-martial. He gave the houſe to underſtand, that certain perſons attended at the door, who from the ſtation of non-commiſſioned officers had been broke, and reduced into the ranks, without trial, or any cauſe aſſigned; and he expatiated not only upon the iniquity of ſuch proceedings, but alſo upon the danger of leaving ſuch arbitrary power in the hands of any individual officer. A warm debate was the conſequence of this motion, which, however, was over-ruled by the majority.

Among other regulations made in the courſe of this ſeſſion for the encouragement of the Britiſh manufactures, a large duty was laid upon Iriſh ſail-cloth, which being ſold at an under price, was found to interfere with the ſame ſpecies of commodity fabricated in the iſland of Great-Britain; and, for the further benefit of this laſt, the bounty upon the exportation of it, which had been deducted from a defective fund, was now made payable out of the cuſtoms. This meaſure, however, was not of ſuch importance to the nation as the act which they paſſed for encouraging the importation of pig and bar-iron from the Britiſh colonies in North-America. Every well-wiſher to his country reflected with concern on the nature of the Britiſh trade with Sweden, from which kingdom the ſubjects of his Britannick majeſty imported more iron and ſteel than all the other countries in Europe. For this article they paid a very great balance in ready money, which the Swedes again expended in purchaſing from the French, and other mercantile powers, thoſe neceſſaries and ſuperfluities with which they might have been as cheaply furniſhed by Great-Britain. In the mean time, the Engliſh colonies in America were reſtricted by ſevere duties from making advantage of their own produce, in exchanging their iron for ſuch commodities as they were under the neceſſity of procuring from their mother-country. Such reſtriction was not only a cruel grievance upon our own ſettlements, but alſo attended with manifeſt prejudice to the intereſt of Great-Britain, annually drained of great ſums, in favour of an ungrateful nation, from which no part of them returned; whereas the iron imported from America muſt of neceſſity come in exchange for our own manufactures. The commons having appointed a day for taking this affair into conſideration, carefully examined into the ſtate of the Britiſh commerce carried on with Sweden, as well as into the accounts of iron imported from the plantations in America; and a committee of the whole houſe having reſolved, that the duties on American pig and and bar-iron ſhould be removed, a bill[b] was brought in for that purpoſe, containing a clauſe, however, to prevent his majeſty's ſubjects from making ſteel, and eſtabliſhing mills for ſlitting and rolling iron within the Britiſh colonies of America; this precaution being taken, that the coloniſts might not interfere with the manufactures of their mother-country.

The next commercial improvement, of which we ſhall take notice, was the bill for the encouragement of the Britiſh white-herring and cod fiſheries. This was likewiſe the reſult of mature deliberation, importing, that a bounty of 30s. per ton ſhould be granted, and paid out of the cuſtoms, to all new veſſels from 20 to 80 tons burthen, which ſhould be built for that purpoſe, and actually employed in the fiſhery: that a ſociety ſhould be incorporated, under the name of the Free Britiſh Fiſhery, by a charter, not excluſive, with power to raiſe a capital not exceeding 500,000l. and that 3l. 10s. per centum per annum ſhould be granted and paid out of the cuſtoms to the proprietors for 14 years, for ſo much of the capital as ſhould be actually employed in the ſaid fiſheries. Correſponding chambers were propoſed to be erected in remote parts of North-Britain, for taking in ſubſcriptions, and proſecuting the trade, under the directions of the company at London; and the nation in general ſeemed eager to diſpute this branch of commerce with the ſubjects of Holland, whom they conſidered as ungrateful interlopers. In the houſe of peers, however, the bill met with a formidable oppoſition from the earl of Winchelſea

[b] The moſt remarkable circumſtance attending the progreſs of this bill, which made its way through both houſes, and obtained the royal aſſent, was the number of contradictory petitions in favour and in prejudice of it, while it remained under conſideration. The tanners of leather in and about the town of Sheffield, in Yorkſhire, repreſented, that if the bill ſhould paſs, the Engliſh iron would be underſold; conſequently a great number of furnaces and forges would be diſcontinued: in that caſe the woods uſed for fuel would ſtand uncut, and the tanners be deprived of oak-bark ſufficient for the continuance and ſupport of their occupation. They nevertheleſs owned, that ſhould the duty be removed from pig-iron only, no ſuch conſequence could be apprehended; becauſe, ſhould the number of furnaces be leſſened, that of forges would be increaſed. This was likewiſe the plea urged in divers remonſtrances by maſters of iron-works, gentlemen, and freeholders, who had tracts of wood-land in their poſſeſſion. The owners, proprietors, and farmers of furnaces and iron-forges, belonging to Sheffield and its neighbourhood, enlarged upon the great expence they had incurred in erecting and ſupporting iron-works, by means of which great number of his majeſty's ſubjects were comfortably ſupported. They expreſſed their apprehenſion, that ſhould the bill paſs into a law, it could not in any degree leſſen the conſumption of Swediſh iron, which was uſed for purpoſes which neither the American nor Britiſh iron would anſwer: but that the propoſed encouragement, conſidering the plenty and cheapneſs of wood in America, would enable the colonies to underſell the Britiſh iron, a branch of traffic which would be totally deſtroyed, to the ruin of many thouſand labourers, who would be compelled to ſeek their livelihood in foreign countries. They likewiſe ſuggeſted, that if all the iron manufacturers of Great-Britain ſhould be obliged to depend upon a ſupply of iron from the plantations, which muſt ever be rendered precarious by the hazard of the ſeas and the enemy, the manufactures would probably decay for want of materials, and many thouſand families be reduced to want and miſery. On the other hand, the ironmongers and ſmiths belonging to the flouriſhing town of Birmingham, in Warwickſhire, preſented a petition, declaring, that the bill would be of great benefit to the trade of the nation, as it would enable the coloniſts to make larger returns of their own produce, and encourage them to take a greater quantity of the Britiſh manufactures. They affirmed, that all the iron-works in the iſland of Great-Britain did not ſupply half the quantity of that metal ſufficient to carry on the manufacture; that if this deficiency could be ſupplied from the colonies in America, the importation would ceaſe, and conſiderable ſums of money be ſaved to the nation. They obſerved, that the importation of iron from America could no more affect the iron-works and freeholders of the kingdom than the like quantity imported from any other country; but they prayed that the people of America might be reſtrained from erecting ſlitting or rolling-mills, or forges for plating iron, as they would interfere with the manufactures of Great-Britain.

Many remonſtrances to the ſame effect were preſented from different parts of the kingdom; and it appeared, upon the moſt exact enquiry, that the encouragement of American iron would prove extremely beneficial to the kingdom, as it had been found, upon trial, applicable to all the uſes of Swediſh iron, and as good in every reſpect as the produce of that country.

and lord Sandys, who juſtly obſerved, that it was a crude, indigeſted ſcheme, which, in the execution, would never anſwer the expectations of the people: that in contending with the Dutch, who are the patterns of unwearied induſtry, and the moſt rigid œconomy, nothing could be more abſurd than a joint-ſtoc company, which is always clogged with extraordinary expence: and the reſolution of fitting out veſſels at the port of London, where all ſorts of materials, labour, and ſeamen are ſo much dearer than in any other part of the united kingdom, excluſive of the great diſtance and dangerous voyage between the metropolis and the ſound of Braſſa in Shetland, the rendezvous at which all the herring-buſſes were to aſſemble in the beginning of the fiſhing ſeaſon. They likewiſe took notice of the heavy duty on ſalt, uſed in curing the fiſh for ſale, and the beef for proviſion to the mariners; a circumſtance of itſelf ſufficient to diſcourage adventurers from embarking in a commerce which, at beſt, yields but very ſlender profits to the trader in particular, how important ſoever it might prove to the community in general. Theſe objections were anſwered by the duke of Argyle and the earl of Granville, who ſeemed to think that this branch of trade could not be fairly ſet on foot, without ſuch a conſiderable ſum of money as no ſingle individual would care to advance; that a joint-ſtoc company would be able to proſecute the fiſhery at a ſmaller expence than that which particular traders muſt neceſſarily incur; that the preſent ſpirit of the nation, which was eagerly bent upon trying the experiment, ought not to be baulked by delay, leſt it ſhould evaporate; and that though the plan was not unexceptionable, the defects of it might in the ſequel be remedied by the legiſlature. In a word, the bill was adopted by the majority, with a ſmall amendment in the title, which produced ſome diſquiets in the lower-houſe: but this diſpute was compromiſed, and it was enacted into a law towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion. Nothing could be more agreeable to the public than a ſanction of the legiſlature to this favourite plan, which was ardently promoted, and patroniſed by men of the greateſt eminence for wealth and popularity. The company choſe for their governor the prince of Wales, who received this proof of their attachment and reſpect with particular marks of ſatisfaction: the preſident and vice-preſident were both aldermen of London; and the council was compoſed of 30 gentlemen, the majority of whom were members of parliament. Great pains were taken, and ſome artifice was uſed, to learn the Dutch method of curing the fiſh. People crowded with their ſubſcriptions; a number of hands were employed in building and equipping the buſſes or veſſels uſed in the fiſhery; and the moſt favourable conſequences were expected from the general vigour and alacrity which animated theſe preparations. But the ſucceſs did not gratify the ſanguine hopes of the projectors and adventurers. The objections made in the houſe of lords ſoon appeared to have been well founded: theſe co-operating with miſmanagement in the directors, the ſpirit of the company began to flag, the natural conſequences of commercial diſappointment, and now the Britiſh fiſhery ſeems to languiſh under the neglect of the legiſlature.

Touching the trade to the coaſt of Africa, petitions were renewed by the company and its creditors, the merchants of Briſtol, Liverpool, and Lancaſter; and a remonſtrance was preſented by the planters and merchants intereſted in the Britiſh ſugar ſettlements in America: but the commons adhered to their former reſolutions of laying open the trade, maintaining the forts at the public expence, and regulating the commerce by a committee of merchants, repreſenting the chief trading towns in the kingdom, to be ſuperintended by the board of trade and plantations. The bill was accordingly framed and preſented, and having proceeded through both houſes without oppoſition, obtained the royal aſſent. Over and above theſe wiſe, ſalutary, and patriotic meaſures for the improvement of commerce, they encouraged the importation of raw ſilk by an act, reducing the duties, formerly payable on that which was the growth of China, to the ſame that is raiſed on the raw ſilk from Italy, and allowing the ſame drawbac upon the exportation of the one which had been uſually granted on the other. A ſecond bill was brought in for the encouragement of the growth and culture of ſilk in Carolina and Georgia, where it had been lately produced with extraordinary ſucceſs, by freeing from all duties that which ſhould be imported from his majeſty's dominions in America: and a third was framed, permitting raw ſilk of the growth or produce of Perſia, purchaſed in Ruſſia, to be imported into Great-Britain, from any port or place belonging to the empire of Ruſſia. Divers efforts were made, by different members in the oppoſition, to rectify certain abuſes in the army and adminiſtration: ſome bills were brought in, and ſeveral petitions were left on the table; but all of them proved abortive, from the power and influence of the miniſter, who ſeemed reſolved that no benefit ſhould flow upon the nation through any channel but his own. Nevertheleſs, it muſt be acknowledged, for the honour of his memory, that there is no ſeſſion on record ſo productive as this was of meaſures advantageous to the community.

The people, however, were not entirely ſatisfied with the conduct of the adminiſtration, if we may judge from the ferment and commotions raiſed during the progreſs of an election for a citizen to repreſent the city of Weſtminſter in parliament. The ſeat which had been filled by lord Trentham, eldeſt ſon of earl Gower, having become vacant, in conſequence of that nobleman's accepting a place at the board of Admiralty, he again declared himſelf a candidate, and met with a violent oppoſition. Thoſe, who ſtiled themſelves the independent electors of Weſtminſter, being now incenſed to an uncommon degree of turbulence by the interpoſition of miniſterial influence, determined to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to baffle the deſigns of the court, and at the ſame time take vengeance on the family of earl Gower, who had entirely abandoned the oppoſition, of which he was formerly one of the moſt reſpected leaders. With this view they held conſultations, agreed to reſolutions, and ſet up a private gentleman, named ſir George Vandeput, as the competitor of lord Trentham, declaring that they would ſupport his pretenſions at their own expence, being the more encouraged to this enterpriſe by the countenance and aſſiſtance of the prince of Wales and his adherents. They accordingly opened houſes of entertainment for their partiſans, ſollicited votes, circulated remonſtrances, and propagated abuſe: in a word, they canvaſſed, with ſurpriſing ſpirit and perſeverance, againſt the whole intereſt of St. James's. Mobs were hired and proceſſions made on both ſides, and the city of Weſtminſter was filled with tumult and uproar. The mutual animoſity of the parties ſeemed every day to increaſe during the election, and a great number of unqualified votes were preſented on both ſides: all the powers of inſinuation, obloquy, and ridicule were employed to vilify and depriciate both candidates. At length the poll being cloſed, a majority of votes appeared in behalf of lord Trentham; but a ſcrutiny being demanded by the other ſide, the returning officer complied with their requeſt. The ſpeaker of the lower-houſe had iſſued his warrant for a new writ of election about the middle of November; and towards the end of February mr. Fox, ſecretary at war, ſtanding up, and obſerving that no return had yet been made, thought proper to move, that the clerk of the crown, the meſſenger extraordinary attending the great ſeal, the under-ſheriff of Middleſex, and the high-bailiff of Weſtminſter, ſhould attend next morning, and give an account of their iſſuing, delivering, and executing the writ of election. Theſe being examined, and the high-bailiff declaring that he would proceed with all poſſible diſpatch in the ſcrutiny, which had been demanded and was begun, mr. ſpeaker explained to him ſome particulars of his duty; in the diſcharge of which, he was given to underſtand he might depend upon the protection of the houſe, ſhould he meet with any obſtruction which he could not otherwiſe ſurmount. By the violence and caprice with which a great number of votes were conteſted on both ſides, the ſcrutiny was protracted a long time, and the return attended with ſome extraordinary conſequences, which ſhall be particulariſed among the tranſactions of the next year.

In the mean time, the preſent ſeſſion of parliament was cloſed on the 12th day of April, with a ſpeech from the throne, commending the commons for having ſeiſed the very firſt opportunity of reducing the intereſt of the national debt, without the leaſt infringement upon thr faith of parliament; and congratulating them on the flouriſhing ſtate of the public credit, which could not fail to add ſtrength and reputation to the government, both at home and abroad. Immediately after the riſing of the parliament his majeſty appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his abſence, and embarked for the continent, in order to viſit his German dominions.

The month of January and the beginning of February were diſtinguiſhed, the firſt day by a very remarkable Aurora Boreales, appearing at night to the north-eaſt, of a deep and duſky red colour, like the reflexion of ſome great fire, for which it was by many people miſtaken; and the corruſcations, unlike thoſe that are generally obſerved, did not meet in the zenith, but in a point ſome degrees to the ſouthward. February was uſhered in by terrible peals of thunder, flaſhes of lightning, and ſuch a tempeſt of

wind, hail, and rain, as overwhelmed with fear and conſternation the inhabitants of Briſtol, where it chiefly raged. On the 8th day of the ſame month, between twelve and one in the afternoon, the people of London were ſtill more dreadfully alarmed by the ſhoc of an earthquake, which ſhook all the houſes with ſuch violence, that the furniture rocked on the floors, the pewter and porcelaine rattled on the ſhelves, the chamber bells rang, and the whole of this commotion was attended with a clap or noiſe reſembling that produced by the fall of ſome heavy piece of furniture. The ſhoc extended through the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and was felt on both ſides the river Thames, from Greenwich to the weſtward of London; but not perceptible at any conſiderable diſtance. On the very ſame day of the next month, between five and ſix o'clock in the morning, the inhabitants of the metropolis were again affrighted by a ſecond ſhoc, more violent than the firſt, and abundantly more alarming, as it waked the greater part of the people from their repoſe. It was preceded by a ſucceſſion of thic low flaſhes of lightning, and a rumbling noiſe, like that of a heavy carriage rolling over a hollow pavement. The ſhoc itſelf conſiſted of repeated vibrations, which laſted ſome ſeconds, and violently ſhook every houſe from top to bottom. Again the chairs rocked, the ſhelves clattered, the ſmall bells rang, and in ſome places public clocks were heard to ſtrike. Many perſons rouſed by this terrible viſitation, ſtarted naked from their beds, and ran to their doors and windows in diſtraction: yet no life was loſt, and no houſe overthrown by this concuſſion, though it was ſo dreadful as to threaten an immediate diſſolution of the globe. The circumſtance, however, did not fail to make a deep impreſſion upon ignorant, weak and ſuperſtitious minds, which were the more affected by the conſideration that the two ſhocs were periodical; that the ſecond, which happened exactly one month after the firſt, had been the more violent; and that the next increaſing in proportion, might be attended with the moſt diſmal conſequences. This general notion was confirmed, and indeed propogated among all ranks of people by the admonitions of a fanatic ſoldier, who publicly preached up repentance, and boldly propheſied that the next ſhoc would happen on the ſame day of April, and totally deſtroy the cities of London and Weſtminſter. Conſidering the infectious nature of fear and ſuperſtition, and the emphatic manner in which the imagination had been prepared and prepoſſeſſed, it was no wonder that the prediction of this illiterate enthuſiaſt ſhould have contributed in a great meaſure to augment the general terrour. The churches were crowded with penitent ſinners: the ſons of riot and profligacy were over-awed into ſobriety and decorum. The ſtreets no longer reſounded with execrations, or the noiſe of brutal licentiouſneſs; and the hand of charity was liberally opened. Thoſe, whom fortune enabled to retire from the devoted city, fled to the country with hurry and precipitation, inſomuch that the highways were encumbered with horſes and carriages. Many who had in the beginning, combated theſe groundleſs fears with the weapons of reaſon and ridicule, began inſenſibly to imbibe the contagion, and felt their hearts fail, in proportion as the hour of probation approached: even ſcience and philoſophy were not proof againſt the unaccountable effects of this communication. In after-ages it will hardly be believed, that on the evening of the 8th day of April the open fields that ſkirt the metropolis were filled with an incredible number of people, aſſembled in chairs, in chaiſe, and coaches, as well as on foot, who waited in the moſt fearful ſuſpenſe until morning and the return of day diſproved the truth of the dreadful propheſy. Then their fears vaniſhed: they returned to their reſpective habitations in a tranſport of joy; and were ſoon reconciled to their abandoned vices, which they ſeemed to reſume with redoubled affection, and once more bade defiance to the vengeance of heaven.

By this time all the gaols in England were filled with the refuſe of the army and navy, which having been diſmiſſed at the peace, and either averſe to labour, or excluded from employment, had naturally preyed upon the commonwealth. Great numbers of thoſe wretches who, by proper regulations, might have been rendered ſerviceable to the community, were executed as examples; and the reſt periſhed miſerably, amidſt the ſtench and horrors of noiſome dungeons. Even the priſon of Newgate was rendered ſo infectious by the uncommon crowds of confined felons, ſtowed together in cloſe apartments, that the very air they breathed acquired a peſtilential degree of putrefaction. It was this putrified air, which, adhering to the clothes of the malefactors brought to trial at the bar of the Old Bailey in May, produced among the audience a peſtilential fever, which infected and proved fatal to the lord-mayor of London, to one alderman, two of the judges, divers lawyers who attended the ſeſſion, the greateſt part of the jury, and a conſiderable number of the ſpectators. In order to prevent ſuch diſaſters for the future, the gaols were cleanſed, and accommodated with ventilators, which exhauſt the foul and ſupply a circulation of freſh air; and other humane precautions were taken for the benefit of the priſoners.

The affairs of the continent underwent no remarkable alteration. An ambaſſador extraordinary being ſent to Peterſburgh from the court of London, declared to the czarina's miniſter, that in caſe of a rupture between Ruſſia and Sweden, occaſioned by the hoſtilities committed by the former power, his Britannic majeſty would conſider Ruſſia as the aggreſſor, and the czarina could not expect that he would ſupply her with the ſuccours which he was engaged by treaty to furniſh for her defence, in caſe ſhe ſhould be attacked. A declaration of the ſame nature was made by the ambaſſador of her imperial majeſty the queen of Hungary, while the miniſters of France and Pruſſia, who were in ſtrict alliance with Sweden, gave her to underſtand, that they would punctually fulfil their engagements with the court of Stockholm, ſhould ſhe actually invade the Swediſh territories of Finland. The ſpirit with which the king of Pruſſia exerted himſelf on this occaſion gave infinite umbrage to the czarina, who, indeed, expreſſed her reſentment, by treating the miniſter of Brandenburgh with contemptuous neglect, and even refuſed to favour him with an audience, till he ſhould be veſted with the character of ambaſſador. Thus were ſown the ſeeds of miſunderſtanding between thoſe two powers, which, in the ſequel, grew up to the moſt bitter animoſity, and ſerved to inflame thoſe diſſentions which have deſolated the faireſt provinces of Germany. The remonſtrance of his Pruſſian majeſty with reſpect to the troubles of the north was couched in ſuch terms as gave diſſatisfaction to the court of Peterſburgh. The Ruſſian miniſter retired from Berlin without the ceremony of taking leave, and the Pruſſian ambaſſador Warendorf was recalled from the court of the czarina.

The attention of his Britannick majeſty was not wholly engroſſed by the diſputes between Ruſſia and Sweden. He had another object in view, which more nearly concerned the intereſt of his German dominions; and had ſet on foot two negotiations of the utmoſt importance to the commerce and advantage of Great-Britain. His firſt and principal aim was, in conjunction with the court of Vienna, to take ſuch meaſures as would ſecure the ſucceſſion of the imperial dignity to the archduke Joſeph, eldeſt ſon and heir to the reigning emperor. As the previous ſtep to that elevation, it was propoſed to elect this young prince king of the Romans; and for this purpoſe it was neceſſary to procure a majority not only of the electors, but alſo in the diet of the empire, through which the propoſal muſt have paſſed. No ſtone was left unturned to reconcile this expedient to the German princes. Subſidies were offered by the maratime powers of England and the ſtates-general to the electors of Mentz and Cologn; and a treaty of the ſame nature was concluded with the elector of Bavaria, who, in conſideration of an annual ſubſidy, amounting to 40,000l. ſterling, two-thirds to be paid by Britain, and the reſt by the ſtates-general, engaged to keep in readineſs a body of 6000 infantry, as auxiliaries to the miratime powers, though not to act againſt the emperor or empire; and to join the intereſt of his Britannick majeſty in the diet, as well as in the electoral college. In order to render the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, propitious to this deſign, he was accommodated with the loan of a very conſiderable ſum, upon the mortgage of certain bailiwicks and lordſhips belonging to the Saxon dominions. Thus, a majority of the electors was ſecured, and ſuch foundations were laid for the ſucceſs of this project, that it was generally believed it would be accompliſhed in his Britannick majeſty's next viſit to his German dominions. Hopes, it was ſaid, were given to the king of Sweden, that his concurrence would be gratified by erecting the houſe of Heſſe-Caſſel, of which he was head, into a tenth electorate. Arguments of an intereſting nature were uſed with the king of Pruſſia, and the elector Palatine, that if poſſible, the diet might unanimouſly approve of this meaſure, ſo neceſſary for eſtabliſhing the peace of the empire, and preventing ſuch troubles as aroſe from a diſputed ſucceſſion at the death of Charles VI. Theſe endeavours, however, did not ſucceed in their full extent.

The king of Pruſſia, as elector of Bradenburgh, oppoſed the election as unneceſſary and improper, on account of the health and vigour of the reigning emperor, and the tender

years of the archduke. This monarch had ſet himſelf up as a balance to the power of the houſe of Auſtria, which had long aſpired to abſolute dominion over its co-eſtates, and endeavoured to eſtabliſh an hereditary right of ſucceſſion to the empire: he, therefore, employed all his influence to fruſtrate the meaſure propoſed, either actuated by a ſpirit of pure patriotiſm, or inſpired with deſigns which he had not yet thought proper to declare. The oppoſition was joined by the elector Palatine, and countenanced by the French king; who, proteſted, that, for the ſake of peace, he would not oppoſe this election, though contrary to the Golden Bull, provided it ſhould be confirmed by the unanimous conſent of the electoral college: but, ſhould any one member ſignify his diſſent, and he or any ſtate of the empire claim the protection and aſſiſtance of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, he could not diſpenſe with granting both, in conſequence of his being guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia; an engagement by which he was obliged to ſuccour thoſe princes and ſtate of the empire who might have recourſe to him, in caſe of any grievance they ſuffered, contrary to what was ſtipulated in that conſtitution. This declaration co-operating with the known character of his Pruſſian majeſty, whoſe great army over-awed Hanover and Bohemia, in all probability damped that vigour with which the courts of Vienna and Herenhauſen had hitherto proſecuted this important negotiation.

The ſecond object that employed the attention of the Britiſh miniſtry was the eſtabliſhment of the preciſe limits of Acadia, or Nova-Scotia, where the new colony had ſuffered great miſchief and interruption from the incurſions of the Indians, excited to theſe outrages by the ſubjects and emiſſaries of France. Commiſſaries had been appointed, by both crowns, to meet at Paris, and compromiſe theſe diſputes: but the conferences were rendered abortive by every art of cavilling, chicanery, and procraſtination, which the French commiſſioners oppoſed to the juſtice and perſpicuity of the Engliſh claims. They not only miſinterpreted treaties, though expreſſed with the utmoſt preciſion, and perplexed the conferences with difficulties and matter foreign to the ſubject, but they carried the fineſſe of perfidy ſo far as to produce falſe charts and maps of the country, in which the rivers and boundaries were miſplaced and miſrepreſented. At this time alſo the inſincerity of the French court appeared in affected delays and artful objections, with reſpect to the evacuation of the neutral iſlands in the Weſt-Indies; and the governors of the Britiſh plantations, in different parts of North-America, tranſmitted intelligence, that the French had begun to make encroachments on the bac of the Engliſh colonies.

Perhaps the precarious footing on which the peace ſtood between Great-Britain and France at this juncture, and the critical ſituation of affairs in Germany, determined the miniſtry of England to compromiſe all differences with Spain, upon ſuch terms as at any other time they would hardly have embraced. In order to diſcuſs thoſe points between the two nations, which had not been ſettled by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, conferences were alſo begun at Madrid, and carried on by mr. Keene, plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty, and don Joſeph de Carvajal and Lancaſtro, the Spaniſh king's miniſter. At length a treaty was concluded on theſe conditions: the king of Spain engaged to pay, in three months to the South-ſea company of England 100,000l. ſterling, as an indemnification for all claims upon his crown, by virtue of the Aſſiento. In other reſpects, the trade and navigation of the Engliſh to the ports of Spain were regulated by former treaties. It was ſtipulated, that they ſhould pay no other duties than thoſe that were exacted of them in the reign of Charles II. of Spain: that they ſhould be treated on the footing of the moſt favoured nations; and continue to enjoy the privilege of taking ſalt at the iſland of Tortuga. But there was no article reſtricting the Spaniſh guarda-coſtas from ſearching the Britiſh veſſels on the high ſeas; although, as we have already obſerved, this inſolent prerogative, aſſumed without right, and exerciſed without humanity, was, in effect, the original and ſole cauſe of the late rupture, which had been attended with ſuch enormous expence to the nation. It muſt be owned, however, that his catholic majeſty was at this period extremely well diſpoſed to live upon good terms with Great-Britain. He was reſolved to indulge his people with the bleſſings of peace, to propagate a ſpirit of induſtry throughout his dominions, and in particular to encourage commerce, which he foreſaw would prove a much more certain and inexhauſtible ſource of wealth, power, and influence, than all the treaſures he could drain from the mines of Mexico and Peru. His reſolutions on this intereſting ſubject were chiefly directed by don Richardo Wall, who now acted as his miniſter at London; a gentleman of Iriſh extract, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the field as well as in the cabinet, and poſſeſſed the joint qualifications of a general and a ſtateſman. He had, by virtue of a paſſport, come over privately to England before the peace, in order to pave the way for the treaty, by a ſecret negotiation with the Engliſh miniſters; but, immediately after the peace was proclaimed, he appeared in the character of ambaſſador. He was poſſeſſed of the moſt inſinuating addreſs, ſhrewd, penetrating, and inquiſitive. While he reſided in London, he ſpared no pains in learning the nature of thoſe manufactures, and that commerce, by which Great-Britain had been ſo remarkably aggrandized; and on his return to Spain, where in a little time he was placed at the helm of affairs, he turned the knowledge he had thus acquired to the advantage of his country. He not only promoted the uſeful arts within the kingdom of Spain, but demonſtrated the infinite advantage that would accrue from an active trade, which the Spaniards had for many ages neglected; and in a few years their ſhips were ſeen to ſwarm in all the commercial ports of Europe. Of other foreign events which diſtinguiſhed this ſummer, the moſt remarkable was the death of John, king of Portugal, who perfectly underſtood, and ſteadily purſued, the true intereſts of his country, and in whom many princely qualities were debaſed by a cruel ſpirit of bigotry and ſuperſtition. He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Joſeph, who, if he has fallen ſhort of his father in ſome reſpects, cannot be juſtly charged with having inherited this paternal weakneſs.

The king of Great-Britain having returned to England, opened the ſeſſion of parliament in January with a ſpeech, importing, that he had concluded a treaty with the king of Spain, and amicably adjuſted ſuch differences as could not be ſo properly compromiſed in a general treaty: that the commerce of this nation with that country was re-eſtabliſhed upon the moſt advantageous and ſure foundations; and that there was the greateſt reaſon to hope the ancient friendſhip between Great-Britain and Spain would, from mutual inclination as well as intereſt, be now effectually reſtored. He told them, that, in conjuction with the empreſs-queen and the ſtates-general, he had concluded a treaty with the elector of Bavaria; and was employed in taking ſuch further meaſures as might beſt tend to ſtrengthen and ſecure the tranquillity of the empire, ſupport its ſyſtem, and timely anticipate ſuch events as had been found by experience to endanger the common cauſe, involve Europe in the calamities of war, and occaſion the loſs of much blood and treaſure to theſe kingdoms. He promiſed, that both theſe treaties ſhould be ſubjected to their peruſal: he gave them to underſtand, that he had received from all the other contracting powers in the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle the moſt full and clear declarations of their reſolution to preſerve the general peace; and that he had taken care to conſolidate the ties of union and friendſhip between him and his allies, the better to ſecure their mutual intereſt, maintain the peace already ſubſiſting, and prevent the occaſion of any future rupture. Finally, he recommended unanimity, the improvement of commerce, and the effectual ſuppreſſion of ſuch outrages and violences as are inconſiſtent with good order and government, and endanger the lives and properties of the ſubject, whoſe happineſs and flouriſhing condition he had entirely at heart.

When the motion was made for an addreſs of thanks, couched in terms that favoured of the moſt implicit complaiſance, approbation, and acquieſcence in the meaſures which the crown had taken, the earl of Eg—t, and ſome other anti-courtiers, affirmed, that ſuch an addreſs would be equally ſervile and abſurd. They obſerved, that nothing could be more prepoſterous than a blind approbataion of meaſures which they did not know: that nothing could be more ridiculous than their congratulations on the preſent happy tranquillity, when almoſt every day's news-papers informed them of ſome Britiſh ſhips being ſeiſed by the Spaniards, or ſome new attac made by the French on our infant colony in Nova-Scotia. With reſpect to the continent of Europe, they affirmed, that the tranquillity of Germany would have been upon a much more ſolid foundation, had England never interpoſed in the affairs of the empire: in that caſe the princes would of themſelves have ſupported the conſtitution of their own country: that the election of an infant for king of the Romans was much more likely to diſturb than eſtabliſh the tranquillity of Europe; becauſe it would help to overturn the conſtitution of the empire, by rendering the imperial dignity hereditary in one houſe, inſtead of being the reſult of a free election. They took notice, that the conſtitution had provided vicars to govern the empire during the vacancy of the imperial throne; but had made no proviſion of regents, protectors, or guardians, for a minor emperor, be-

cauſe it was never ſuppoſed that a minor would be choſen. They inveighed againſt the late treaty with Spain; in which, they ſaid, the miniſtry, for the paltry ſum of 100,000l. had given up the claims of the South-ſea company, and other Britiſh merchants, who had ſuffered from depredations to the amount of 1,300,000l. and bartered away the freedom of our trade and navigation, by leaving untouched that prerogative which the Spaniards have aſſumed of ſearching the Britiſh ſhips in the open ſeas, and confiſcating them, ſhould they find on board the leaſt particle of what they called contraband merchandiſe. They produced an inſtance of an Engliſh ſhip, lately driven by ſtreſs of weather into one of the ports of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, where ſhe was ſearched ſeiſed, and condemned, under this pretence. They recapitulated the conduct of the French, who, in the midſt of their declarations of peace and moderation, were ſtill employed in fortifying their ſettlements on the neutral iſlands, as well as in harraſſing and encroaching upon our plantations in North-America. They exclaimed againſt the treaty of ſubſidy with the elector of Bavaria, or any other prince in time of peace; obſerving, that for ſome years the nation had paid ſuch penſions to the Danes and the Heſſians; but, in the courſe of the late war the former abandoned our intereſts and the latter actually took arms againſt Great-Britain. They affirmed, that the ſubſidy was greater than the nation could ſpare; for, unleſs the land-tax ſhould be continued at four ſhillings in the pound, they could not afford a ſhilling to any prince in Germany, without encroaching upon the ſinking-fund. 'At ſuch a juncture (ſaid a certain member) will any gentleman preſume to propoſe the continuation of ſuch an impoſition on the land-holder, for the ſake of bribing the princes of Germany to do what?———to preſerve the freedom and independency of their native country. I ſay, princes of Germany, becauſe this ſubſidy to Bavaria will ſignify nothing, unleſs we take half a ſcore more of them into our pay; and when we have thus indulged them for ſeven years of peace, they may give us the ſlip, as others have done, whenever another war ſhould be declared.' Againſt theſe objections the motion was ſupported by mr. William Pitt, at this time an advocate for the miniſtry. He obſerved, that the addreſs was no more than the uſual compliment to the throne, which did not imply an obligation on the parliament to approve of meaſures which they might find cauſe to cenſure upon further enquiry. He ſaid, the trivial diſputes ſtill ſubſiſting between this nation and the Spaniards, or French, would ſoon be terminated amicably, and could never affect the general tranquillity of Europe, which was to be eſtabliſhed upon a firm alliance between his majeſty and ſuch a confederacy upon the continent as would be an over-match for the houſe of Bourbon. He expatiated upon his majeſty's wiſdom in taking off from the French intereſt ſuch a powerful prince as the elector of Bavaria, and concerting other ſalutary meaſures for preſerving the balance of power on the continent. He defended the articles of the late treaty with Spain; obſerving, that what remained of the Aſſiento contract was a matter of very little conſequence to the South-Sea company; that the demands of this company, and other Britiſh merchants, were all cancelled by the rupture with Spain, and more than recompenſed to the nation by a great balance of captures during the war, as well as by the great traffic carried on with the Spaniſh ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies, after it had been laid open by the demolition of their fortreſſes. He aſſerted, that by this treaty the court of Spain had made many important conceſſions: they had condeſcended to pay a great ſum to the South-ſea company: they had conſented to the re-eſtabliſhment of the Britiſh trade in Spain, upon a very advantageous and ſolid footing, by agreeing that the ſubjects of Great-Britain ſhould pay no other duties on merchandiſe than thoſe exacted of his Catholic majeſty's own ſubjects, and to aboliſh all innovations that had been introduced into the commerce.

He affirmed, that the article of No Search was a ſtipulation which it would have been ridiculous to inſiſt upon; and thought proper to obviate a reproach which he foreſaw the oppoſition would throw upon him, from the circumſtance of his having, upon a former occaſion, heartily concurred in a motion for an addreſs, that no treaty of peace with Spain ſhould be admitted, unleſs ſuch a ſtipulation ſhould be firſt obtained as a preleminary. He owned he had ſtrenuouſly contended for ſuch a motion, becauſe at that time, being very young and ſanguine, he thought it right and reaſonable: but he was now ten years older, had conſidered matters more coolly, and was convinced that the privilege of No Search, with reſpect to Britiſh veſſels ſailing near the American ſhore, would never be obtained, unleſs Spain ſhould be brought ſo low as to acquieſce in any terms we as victors might propoſe. He likewiſe ſignified his conviction, that all addreſſes from the houſe of commons, during the courſe of a war, for preſcribing terms of peace, were in themſelves ridiculous; and that every ſuch addreſs was an encroachment on the king's prerogative, which had always been attended with unlucky conſequences. How far theſe arguments are ſatisfactory, concluſive, and conſiſtent, we ſhall leave to the reader's determination. Certain it is, they were adobted by the majority, and the addreſs was preſented without further oppoſion.

The two grand committees appointed to diſguſs the ſupplies for the enſuing year, and the funds upon which they were to be raiſed, proceeded as uſual, under the direction of the miniſtry; yet not without ſome vehement oppoſition, in which certain ſervants of the crown expreſſed the moſt hearty concurrence. When a motion was made for reducing the number of ſeamen to 8000, mr. W. Pitt, mr. Lyttelton, and mr. G. Grenville oppoſed it with all their might of argument and elocution; but they were over-ruled. Annual debates were alſo revived, with the ſame ſucceſs, upon the number of troops conſtituting the ſtanding army; but the other reſolutions of the grand committees met with little or no oppoſition. The number of ſeamen for the enſuing year was limited to 8000; and that of the ſtanding forces continued to 18,857 effective men, including 1815 invalids. The commons granted a conſiderable ſum of money for paying off the principal of ſuch redeemable ſtocs as had not been ſubſcribed in purſuance of two acts paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion for reducing the intereſt of annuities. Thirty thouſand pounds were given for fulfilling the king's engagement with the elector of Bavaria: large grants were made for ſupplying deficiencies, and replacing ſums borrowed from the ſinking-fund. The expence incurred by the new colony in Nova-Scotia, not provided for by parliament, exceed 57,000l. and the maintenance of it for the enſuing year was fixed at 53,927l. 14s. 4d. An enormous charge! if we conſider to how little purpoſe all this bounty was beſtowed. A fund was eſtabliſhed under the ſanction of parliament, for the relief and maintenance of the widows and ſea-officers, by allowing, upon the books of every ſhip of war in ſea-pay, the wages and victuals of one man for every hundred of which the complement ſhall conſiſt, for ſuch time only as the number of men employed in the ſervice of the royal navy ſhall not exceed 20,000. This was an additional indulgence, over and above the allowance of one man granted by a former act of parliament. On the whole, the proviſions of this year amounted to 5,125,23l. 11s. 7d. to be raiſed by the uſual duties; the ſum of 1,26,476l. 4s. 6d. advanced by the bank of England, to pay off their own unſubſcribed annuities, for which they accepted exchequer-bills at 3 per cent. intereſt; by the land-tax at 3s. in the pound; a lottery and annuities, at the rate of 3 per cent. per ann. to be charged on the ſinking-fund, redeemable by parliament. The annual meaſure called the mutiny-bill was not paſſed without diſpute and altercation: ſome alterations were propoſed, but not adobted; and the ſentences of court-martials ſtill ſubjected to one reviſion.

In the midſt of theſe deliberations the kingdom was alarmed with an event which overwhelmed the people with grief and conſternation. His royal highneſs the prince of Wales, in conſequence of a cold caught in his garden at Kew, was ſeiſed with a pleuretic diſorder; and after a ſhort illneſs, expired on the 20th day of March, to the unſpeakable affliction of his royal conſort and the unfeigned ſorrow of all who wiſhed well to their country. This excellent prince, who now died in the 45th year of his age, was poſſeſſed of every amiable quality which could engage the affection of the people: a tender and obliging huſband, a fond parent, a kind maſter, liberal, generous, candid, and humane; a munificent patron of the arts, an unwearied friend to merit; well diſpoſed to aſſert the rights of mankind in general, and warmly attached to the intereſt of Great-Britain. The nation could not but be afflicted at ſeeing a prince of ſuch expectations raviſhed from their hopes; and their grief was the better founded, as the king had already attained to an advanced age, and the heir apparent George, now prince of Wales, was a minor.

[1751] His majeſty foreſeeing all the inconveniencies which might ariſe from a minority, deliberated with his council on this ſubject, and reſolved to obtain a parliamentary ſanction for the meaſures judged neceſſary to ſecure the ſucceſſion. With this view he ſent a meſſage to both houſes on the 26th day of April, importing, That nothing could conduce ſo much to the preſervation of the proteſtant ſucceſſion in his royal family, as proper proviſions for

the tuition of the perſon of his ſucceſſor, and for the regular adminiſtration of the government, in caſe the ſucceſſor ſhould be of tender years: his majeſty, therefore, earneſtly recommended this weighty affair to the deliberation of parliament; and propoſed, that when the imperial crown of theſe realms ſhould deſcend to any of the late prince's ſons, being now under the age of 18 years, his mother, the princeſs dowager of Wales, ſhould be guardian of his perſon, and regent of theſe kingdoms, until he ſhould attain the age of majority, with ſuch powers and limitations as ſhould appear neceſſary and expedient for theſe purpoſes. This meſſage produced a very affectionate addreſs, promiſing to take the affair into their ſerious conſideration; and in the beginning of May the duke of Newcaſtle preſented to the houſe of peers a bill to provide for the adminiſtration of government, in caſe the crown ſhould deſcend to a minor. The bill was read a ſecond time, and committed, when a ſecond meſſage arrived from his majeſty, recommending, to their conſideration the ſettlement of ſuch a council of regency as the bill propoſed, conſiſting of his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, who at that time commanded the army, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord-chancellor, the lord-high treaſurer, or firſt lord-commiſſioner of the treaſury, the preſident of the council, the lord privy-ſeal, the lord-high admiral of Great-Britain, or firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty, the two principal ſecretaries of ſtate, and the lord chief juſtice of the king's-bench, all theſe great officers, except his royal highneſs the duke, for the time being. This bill did not paſs through the lower-houſe without violent debate and bitter ſarcaſms. The council of regency, though eſpouſed by all the miniſtry, including the paymaſter-general, met with fierce oppoſition, as an unneceſſary and fatal reſtriction, that would impede the machine of government, and as the council was conſtituted, might be productive of the moſt pernicious conſequence. Some of the members ventured even to inſinuate the danger of leaving at the head of a large ſtanding army a prince of the blood, veſted with a ſhare of the regency, poſſeſſed of great perſonal influence, the darling of the ſoldiery, brave, popular, and enterpriſing; ſuppoſed not wholly devoid of ambition, and not at all remarkable for any ſymptoms of extraordinary affection towards the perſon of the heir apparent. The hiſtory of England was ranſacked for invidious inſtances of royal uncles and regents, who had injured the ſovereigns, and diſtreſſed the government, by their pride, cruelty, and ambition. The characters of John Lackland, and John of Ghent, Humphrey and Richard dukes of Glouceſter, were called in review, canvaſſed, compared, and quoted, with ſome odious applications: but the majority being convinced of the loyalty, virtue integrity, and great abilities of his royal highneſs, to whom the nation owed obligations of the moſt important nature, paſſed the bill with a few amendments, in which the lords acquieſced; and in a little time it received the royal ſanction.

The death of the prince of Wales was fatal to a bill which had been brought into the houſe of commons, for naturalizing all foreign proteſtants who ſhould ſettle within the dominions of Great-Britain. Political arithmeticians have generally taken it for granted, that to every commercial nation an increaſe of people is an increaſe of opulence; and this maxim is certainly true, on the ſuppoſition that every individual is induſtrious, and that there is a ſufficient field for employment; but all theſe general maxims ought to be received under certain qualifications. When all branches of manufacture are over-ſtocked, an addition of workmen will doubtleſs be an additional incumbrance on the community. In the debates which this bill produced, the members of the miniſtry were divided among themſelves. The meaſure was enforced by the chancellor of the exchequer, mr. W. Pitt, and mr. Lyttelton; and in oppoſing it the earl of Egmont was joined by mr. Fox, ſecretary at war. Petitions and counter-petitions were preſented by the merchants of London, Briſtol, and other trading towns of the kingdom. All merchants and traders of foreign extraction exerted themſelves vigorouſly in its behalf, and it was without doubt countenanced by the adminiſtration; but the project was odious to the people in general. The lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of London, in common council aſſembled, compoſed a remonſtrance to the lower-houſe, ſetting forth the danger and inutility of a general naturalization of foreign proteſtants. A petition of the merchants and principal inhabitants of Briſtol repreſented that ſuch a law would be prejudicial to the trade and commerce of this kingdom, by preventing many induſtrious artificers from procuring a ſufficient ſupport for themſelves and their families, and of conſequence increaſing the rates of the poor; that the introduction of ſuch a number of foreigners, inſtead of being a ſupport to the preſent happy eſtabliſhment, might endanger the very baſis of our conſtitution: that it would greatly tend to the diminution of our manufactures, as many ſtrangers would doubtleſs come and reſide in England for a time, in order to learn the methods and management of our manufacturers and artificers; and, after having obtained this inſtruction, return to their native countries, where they would eſtabliſh and carry on works of the ſame nature. The 20th day of March being appointed for the third reading of the bill, it was poſtponed, in conſequence of the unfortunate death of the prince of Wales; and other petitions from different cities of the kingdom being muſtered againſt it in the ſequel, the miniſtry did not think proper to perſiſt in any unpopular meaſure at ſuch a delicate conjuncture; ſo the bill was no more brought upon the carpet. Divers other regulations, relating to civil policy as well as to the commerce of Great-Britain, were propounded in the houſe of commons; but theſe propoſals proved abortive, either becauſe they appeared crude and indigeſted in themſelves, or the houſe could not obtain proper information touching the allegations they contained.

There were no other tranſactions in this ſeſſion except the concurrence of both houſes in ſtigmatiſing a printed paper, intituled, 'Conſtitutional Queries, earneſtly recommended to the ſerious conſideration of every true Briton;' and the ſteps taken by the commons, in conſequence of the commotions occaſioned by the Weſtminſter election. The above mentioned paper, which had been conveyed by letter to the majority of both houſes, was communicated to the lords in the month of January by the duke of Marlborough, who moved for reſolutions againſt it as a ſeditious libel, and that the concurrence of the commons might be deſired. A conference accordingly enſued, and both houſes concurred in voting the paper a falſe, malicious, ſcandalous, infamous, and ſeditious libel, containing the moſt falſe, audacious, and abominable calumnies and indignities upon his majeſty, and the moſt preſumptuous and wicked inſinuations that our laws, liberties, and properties, and the excellent conſtitution of this kingdom, were in danger under his majeſty's legal, mild, and gracious government, with intent to inſtill groundleſs ſuſpicions and jealouſies into the minds of his majeſty's good ſubjects, and to alienate their affections from his majeſty and the royal family. It was, therefore, reſolved by the lords ſpiritual and temporal and commons in parliament aſſembled, that, in abhorrence and deteſtation of ſuch abominable and ſeditious practices, the paper ſhould be burnt by the hands of the common hangman in the New Palace-yard of Weſtminſter; and this ſentence was executed accordingly. Then they preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, deſiring that the moſt effectual means might be taken for diſcovering the author, printer, or publiſher, that he or they might be brought to condign puniſhment. Directions were given for this purpoſe; but without effect. Thoſe concerned in writing, printing, and circulating the paper had acted with ſuch caution, that not one of them was ever diſcovered.

The proceedings of the commons with reſpect to the election of a burgeſs for Weſtminſter were attended with ſome extraordinary circumſtances, which we ſhall now record, for the edification of thoſe who pique themſelves on the privilege of a Britiſh ſubject. We have already obſerved, that a majority appearing on the poll for lord Trentham, the adherents of the other candidate, ſir George Vandeput, demanded a ſcrutiny, which was granted by the high-bailiff of Weſtminſter, the returning officer. During this tedious inveſtigation, which rolled chiefly on the qualifications of voters, he acted with ſuch addreſs and ſeeming candour as gave entire ſatisfaction to both parties, till at length he determined in favour of lord Trentham, whom he returned as duly elected. Thoſe who ſtiled themſelves the independent electors did not acquieſce in this determination without clamour, reproach, menaces, and riot. They taxed mr. Leigh, the high-bailiff, with partiality and injuſtice: they loudly affirmed, that miniſterial influence had been uſed in the moſt ſcandalous manner; and, finally, joined ſir George Vandeput in a petition to the lower-houſe, complaining of an undue election and return of a member for the city of Weſtminſter. The commons inſtead of enquiring into the merits of theſe petitions, ordered them to lie upon the table; and, without any complaint from any perſon whatever, a motion was made that Leigh, the high-bailiff, ſhould attend the houſe immediately, in order to make them acquainted with what he had done in purſuance of the

directions he had formerly received from that houſe, touching the execution of the writ for electing a new member to repreſent the city of Weſtminſter. As this motion had been preconcerted, Leigh was attending in the lobby, and immediately called into the houſe to be examined on this ſubject. Having, in the courſe of his examination, alledged that the election had been protracted by affected delays, he was aſked by whom, and by what means; but, before he could anſwer, the earl of Egmont, interpoſing, objected to the queſtion as improper, and moved for the order of the day. A debate immediately enſued, in which the impropriety of the queſtion was demonſtrated by mr. Henley, now lord-keeper, dr. Lee, and ſome others, the moſt ſenſible and moderate members of the houſe: but they were oppoſed with great violence by lord viſcount Corke, Henry Fox, eſq. ſir William Yonge, colonel Lyttelton, and the weight of the miniſtry; ſo that the motion for the order of the day was carried in the negative, and the high-bailiff required to anſwer the queſtion. Thus interrogated, he declared that he had been impeded in the ſcrutiny, and mal-treated, by mr. Crowle, who had acted as counſel for ſir George Vandeput, by the honourable Alexander Murray, brother to lord Elibank, and one Gibſon, an upholſterer, who had been very active, zealous, and turbulent in his endeavours to promote the intereſt of ſir George Vandeput, or rather to thwart the pretenſions of the other candidate, who was ſuppoſed to be countenanced by the miniſtry. Theſe three perſons, thus accuſed, were brought to the bar of the houſe, notwithſtanding the ſtrenuous remonſtrances of ſeveral members, who oppoſed this method of proceeding, as a ſpecies of oppreſſion equally arbitrary and abſurd. They obſerved, that, as no complaint had been preferred, they had no right to take cognizance of the affair: that if any undue influence had been uſed, it would naturally appear when the merits of the election ſhould fall under their enquiry: that a complaint having been lodged already againſt the returning officer, it was their duty to inveſtigate his conduct, and puniſh him, if he ſhould be found delinquent; but that nothing could be more flagrantly unjuſt, and apparently partial, than their neglecting the petitions of the other candidate and electors, and encouraging the high-bailiff, who ſtood charged with iniquity, to recriminate upon his accuſers, that they might be diſabled from giving evidence on the enquiry into the merits of the election. What difference is it to the ſubject, whether he is oppreſſed by an arbitrary prince, or by the deſpotic inſolence of a miniſterial majority? Mr Crowle alledged, in his own vindication, that he had been employed as a counſel by the electors of Weſtminſter, and attended the ſcrutiny in that character; that after the high-bailiff had, in the courſe of the laſt ſeſſion, received the order of the houſe to expedite the election, he hurried on the ſcrutiny with ſuch precipitation as, he apprehended, was unjuſt, and prejudicial to his clients; that, in this apprehenſion, he (mr. Crowle) inſiſted upon the high-bailiff's proceeding with more deliberation, and in ſo doing he thought he did his duty to his employers. Some evidence being examined againſt him, declared he had not only protracted the ſcrutiny, but alſo ſpoken diſreſpectful words of the houſe of commons: he was, therefore, reprimanded on his knees by the ſpeaker, and diſcharged.

Mr Murray being charged with having uttered ſome threatening and affrontive expreſſions, the houſe adjourned the conſideration of this affair for ſome days, at the expiration of which mr. Murray was to be heard by his counſel: but, in the mean time, they ordered him to be taken into cuſtody by the ſerjeant at arms attending the houſe. This ſtep, however, was not taken without a warm oppoſition by ſome of the moſt ſedate and intelligent members of the houſe, who conſidered it as a cruel act of oppreſſion. They obſerved, that in caſes of breach of privilege no perſon complained of was ever taken into cuſtody, until after he had been fully heard in his defence: that this was literally prejudging the cauſe before it had been examined; and the oppreſſion was the greater, as the alledged offence conſiſted entirely of words, of which no complaint or information had been made for above eight months after the ſuppoſed offence had been committed; and, even then, not till an accuſation had been lodged againſt the informant, upon the trial of which accuſation the perſons informed againſt might very probably be the moſt material witneſſes. They obſerved, that in one of the higheſt offences which can be committed by words, namely, that of denying the king's right to the crown, or renouncing the Trinity the information muſt be brought in three or four days after the words are ſpoken; the words muſt be proved to have been ſpoken maliciouſly, directly, and adviſedly, and the proſecution muſt commence in three months after the information. Theſe ſuggeſtions made no more impreſſion than if they had been uttered in a deſart. Thoſe who were ſecure in their number aſſerted that the houſe of commons was not reſtricted by the forms of proceedings at common law; and that it was neceſſary to vindicate their own honour and dignity, by making examples of thoſe who ſeemed to hold them in contempt. Mr Murray was committed to the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms, and found bail; and Gibſon was ſent priſoner to Newgate, from whence he was in a few days releaſed, upon preſenting an humble petition, profeſſing his ſorrow for having incurred the diſpleaſure of the houſe, to the bar of which he was brought, and received a reprimand on his knees from the ſpeaker. In the mean time, divers witneſſes being examined before the houſe, declared, that mr. Murray had been ſeen, about the time of the return of a member for Weſtminſter, heading and exciting a tumult to acts of violence againſt the high-bailiff. The majority, therefore, after a long and warm debate, agreed, that for his dangerous and ſeditious practices, in violation and contempt of the privileges of the houſe, and of the freedom of elections, he ſhould be committed cloſe priſoner to Newgate. Then, in the cloſe of another violent debate, they reſolved, that he ſhould be brought to the bar of the houſe, to receive that ſentence on his knees. He accordingly appeared, and being directed by the ſpeaker to kneel, refuſed to comply. He knew that he could not be diſcharged from Newgate during the ſeſſion, without petitioning, acknowledging his offence, and making ſuch conceſſions as he thought would imply a conſciouſneſs of guilt: he conſidered this whole tranſaction as an oppreſſive exertion of arbitrary power, and, being appriſed of the extent of their authority, determined to bear the brunt of their indignation, rather than make ſubmiſſions which he deemed beneath the dignity of his character. When he refuſed to humble himſelf the whole houſe was in commotion; he was no ſooner removed from the bar than they reſolved, that his having in a moſt inſolent and audacious manner refuſed to be on his knees at the bar of that houſe, in conſequence of their former reſolution, was a high and moſt dangerous contempt of the authority and privilege of the commons: it was, therefore, ordered, that he ſhould be committed cloſe priſoner to Newgate, debarred the uſe of pen, ink, and paper; and that no perſon ſhould have acceſs to him, without the leave of the houſe. Finally, a committee was appointed to conſider what methods might be proper to be taken by them, in relation to this inſtance of contempt. Mean while, the petitioners againſt the return made by the high-bailiff, perceiving the temper of the houſe, and the complexion of the majority, withdrew their petition; and the order which had paſſed for hearing the merits of the election was diſcharged. Mr Murray being taken dangerouſly ill in Newgate, application was made to the commons, by ſome of his relations, that he might be removed to a more convenient ſituation; and his phyſician, being examined, gave it as his opinion that he was infected with the gaol diſtemper. Upon this repreſentation the houſe agreed that the ſpeaker ſhould iſſue a warrant for removing him from Newgate to the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms; but this favour he refuſed to accept, and expreſſed the warmeſt reſentment againſt thoſe relations who had applied to the commons in his behalf. Thus he remained ſequeſtered even from his own brother and ſiſter, under the diſpleaſure of the commons of England, who condeſcended ſo far as to make reſolutions touching the phyſician, apothecary, and nurſe who attended this priſoner. But the prorogation of parliament having put an end to their authority for that ſeſſion, mr. Murray was diſcharged of courſe, and conducted by the ſheriffs from Newgate to his own houſe, in proceſſion, with flags and ſtreamers, exhibiting the emblems of liberty.

In the month of June the ſeſſion was cloſed with a ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty thanked both houſes for the zeal and affection they had manifeſted towards him and his government; and congratulated the commons in particular, upon their firmneſs and prudence in reducing the intereſt of the national debt, a meaſure as agreeable to him as eſſential to the ſtrength and welfare of the kingdom. The interior œconomy of Great-Britain produced, within

[c] One of the moſt remarkable acts which paſſed in the courſe of this ſeſſion, was that for regulating the commencement of the year, and correcting the calendar, according to the Gregorian computation, which had been adopted by all the other nations in Europe. By this new law it was decreed that the new year ſhould begin on the firſt day of January; and that eleven intermediate nominal days, between the ſecond and 14th days of September, 1752, ſhould for that time be omitted, ſo that the day ſucceeding the ſecond ſhould be denominated the 14th of that month. By this eſtabliſhment of the

the circle of this year, nothing elſe worthy of hiſtorical regard, except a ſeries of enormous crimes, ariſing from the profligacy of individuals, which reflected diſgrace upon the morals and the polity of the nation. Rapine and robbery had domineered without intermiſſion ever ſince the return of peace, which was attended with a reduction of the army and navy; but no crimes of a deeper dye ſeemed to lift up their heads, in contempt of law and humanity[d]. Every day almoſt produced freſh inſtances of perjury, forgery, fraud, and circumvention; and the kingdom exhibited a moſt amazing jumble of virtue and vice, honour and infamy, compaſſion and obduracy, ſentiment and brutality.

The royal family of England had ſuſtained three ſevere ſhocs in the compaſs of a few months. Beſides the loſs of the prince of Wales, which the nation lamented as irreparable, his majeſty was deeply afflicted by the untimely death of his youngeſt daughter, the queen of Denmark, who died at Copenhagen, on the 19th day of December, in the prime of youth. She was one of the moſt amiable princeſſes of the age in which ſhe lived, whether we conſider the virtues of her heart, or the accompliſhments of her perſon; generous, mild, and tender-hearted; beloved even almoſt to adoration by her royal conſort, to whom ſhe had borne a prince and two princeſſes: and univerſally admired and revered by the ſubjects of his Daniſh majeſty. Her death had been preceded about two months by that of her brother-in-law, the prince of Orange, no leſs regretted by the ...tives of the United Provinces, for his candour, integrity, and hereditary love to his country. Though he had not diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the luſtre of a ſuperior genius, he had been at great pains to cultivate his underſtanding, and ſtudy the true intereſt of that community of which he was a member. He had always approved himſelf a good and zealous citizen, and ſince his elevation to the ſtadtholderſhip, taken many ſalutary ſteps for the advantage of his country. Among other excellent ſchemes which he ſuggeſted, he left a noble plan with the ſtates-general for reſtoring their commerce to its former luſtre, and lived long enough to receive their warmeſt acknowledgments for this laſt proof of his prudence and patriotiſm. His ſon and daughter being both infants, the adminiſtration of the government devolved upon the princeſs, as governante during her ſon's minority; and as ſuch ſhe ſucceeded to all the power which her huſband had enjoyed.

With reſpect to the affairs of the continent, the peace of the north ſeemed ſtill as precarious as ever: for though the difference between Ruſſia and Sweden had been compromiſed, the mutual diſguſt between the czarina and the king of Pruſſia had gained ſuch acceſſion from reciprocal inſults, ill offices, and inflammatory declarations, that theſe two powers ſeemed to be on the eve of a rupture, and each was employed in making extraordinary preparations for war. The courts of Vienna and Great-Britain, foreſeeing that ſuch a rupture would embroil the empire, and raiſe inſurmountable obſtructions to their favourite ſcheme of electing the archduke Joſeph king of the Romans, reſolved to employ all their influence, in order to effect a reconciliation between the courts of Peterſburgh and Berlin. His Pruſſian majeſty had ſignified to the king of Great-Britain, and the ſtates-general, the ſituation in which he ſtood with the czarina, and ſollicited their interpoſition, that the difference might be amicably accommodated. At the ſame time, he ſent an envoy-extraordinary to Verſailles, to negotiate with the French king a very conſiderable body of auxiliaries, in caſe he ſhould be attacked. Theſe circumſtances induced the maritime powers, and the court of Vienna, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours for the prevention of a rupture; and accordingly they made remonſtrances on this ſubject by their miniſters at Peterſburgh, propoſing that the quarrel ſhould be terminated without bloodſhed, and all cauſe of animoſity be buried in oblivion.

In the mean time, they eagerly proſecuted the deſign of the election; and the imperial miniſter at Berlin not only communicated to his Pruſſian majeſty the ſentiments of the king of England on this expedient, but even ſollicited his vote for the archduke Joſeph, when the election of a king of the Romans ſhould be propoſed in the electoral college. To this propoſal he replied, That he was extremely well diſpoſed to manifeſt his regard for their imperial majeſties, and to give them moſt genuine proofs of it, even in the propoſed election of a king of the Romans, conſidering the great merit of the preſent candidate, the archduke Joſeph: but he left it to the conſideration of their imperial majeſties, whether the election would not be a little premature, if tranſacted at a time when his imperial majeſty was in the flower of his age, enjoying perfect health; and when all Europe, particularly the empire, was huſhed in the boſom of tranquillity, ſo that no circumſtance ſeemed to prognoſticate the neceſſity of ſuch an election; or of putting in execution the motives mentioned in the capitulation of the reigning emperor's election; eſpecially as the examination of theſe motives belonged to the whole empire, and ought to precede the election, by virtue of the eighth article of the treaty of Weſtphalia. He obſerved, that, in caſe of the emperor's death, Germany would find herſelf in a very diſagreeable ſituation, under the government of a minor. For theſe reaſons, he ſaid, he could not help adviſing their imperial majeſties to wait until the archduke ſhould be of age, when his election might be carried on more conformably to the laws and conſtitutions of the empire, and more ſuitable to the majeſty of the whole Germanick body. This reply he circulated among the electors, and in particular tranſmitted it to the king of Great-Britain, deſiring they would deliberate maturely on this ſubject, and confer together in a body, as well as in private, that they might proceed accordingly to the ancient cuſtom of the electoral college, and take ſuch meaſures as ſhould be judged expedient for the honour and advantage of the community. This circular letter was anſwered both by the king of England and the elector of Bavaria, who demonſtrated, that it was the privilege of the electoral college only, without any participation of the other princes of the empire, to elect a king of the Romans during the life of the emperor, in order to maintain the peace and preſerve the liberties of Germany; and that the neglect of this wiſe precaution hath produced bloody wars, and many fatal conſequences to the empire. They obſerved, that nothing could more contribute to the eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity than this meaſure, ſo ardently deſired by the majority of the German princes; and that, although the archduke Joſeph wanted a few years of being of age, and it might poſſibly happen that the reigning emperor ſhould die during that prince's minority, yet it would be much leſs prejudicial to the empire to have a minor chief, than to ſee the ſucceſſion altogether unſettled. His Pruſſian majeſty received a declaration to the ſame purpoſe from the elector of Mentz; and underſtanding that this prince, as arch-chancellor of the empire, intended to convoke an electoral diet, in order to propoſe the election of a king of the Romans, he wrote an elaborate letter to his electoral highneſs, explaining at more length, his reaſons for poſtponing the election. He quoted that ſentence of the treaty of Weſtphalia which expreſsly declares, that the election of a king of the Romans ſhall be diſcuſſed and ordained by the common conſent of the ſtates of the empire; and therefore he could not conceive what right the electorate college had to arrogate the privilege to themſelves, excluding the other ſtates of the empire. He obſerved, that the imperial capitulations, which were the only laws of the empire that treated of this ſubject, mentioned only three caſes in which it was lawful to proceed to ſuch an election; namely, the emperor's leaving and long abſence from Germany; his advanced age, or an indiſpoſition, rendering him incapable of managing the reins of government; and any caſe of emergency in which the preſervation of the empire's proſperity is intereſted. He affirmed, that none of theſe motives at preſent exiſted: that in caſe the imperial crown ſhould devolve to a minor, many miſchiefs and diſorders muſt enſue, as the conſtitution of the empire have eſtabliſhed no regulations nor regency in that event; that an election of this nature, carried on under the power, influence, and authority of the head of the empire, would ſtrike at the fundamental privileges of the princes and ſtates; conſequently, in time overturn the conſtitution of the empire, which, from being an elective dignity, conferred by the free and independent ſuffrages of the electoral college and the ſtates of Germany,

new ſtile, the equinoxes and ſolſtices will happen nearly on the ſame nominal days on which they fell in the year 325, at the council of Nice; and the correſpondence between the Engliſh merchants and thoſe of foreign countries will be greatly facilitated, with reſpect to the dates of letters and accounts.

[d] An indulgent parent was poiſoned by his only daughter, on whom, beſides other marks of tenderneſs and paternal affection, he had beſtowed a liberal education, which greatly aggravated her guilt and ingratitude. Another young woman was concerned in the aſſaſſination of her own uncle, who had been her conſtant benefactor and ſole guardian. A poor old woman having from the ignorance and ſuperſtition of her neighbours, incurred the ſuſpicion of ſorcery and witchcraft, was murdered in Hertfordſhire by the populace, with all the wantonneſs of barbarity. Rape and murder were perpetrated upon an unfortunate woman in the neighbourhood of London, and an innocent man ſuffered death for this complicated outrage, while the real criminals aſſiſted at his execution, heard him appeal to heaven for his innocence, and in the character of friends, embraced him, while he ſtood on the brink of eternity.

under certain capitulations, obliging the prince thus choſen to govern according to law, would become an hereditary ſucceſſion, perpetuated in one family, which, of courſe, muſt be aggrandiſed to the prejudice of its co-eſtates, and the ruin of the Germanick liberties. In a word all Germany in general, and Ratiſbon in particular, was filled with writings publiſhed on both ſides; by the emperor and his adherents, to demonſtrate that the election of a king of the Romans, during the life of the emperor, had often happened, and at this preſent time was neceſſary, and would be advantageous to the empire: while the king of Pruſſia and his friends laboured to prove that ſuch an election, at the preſent juncture, would be ill-timed, irregular, and of dangerous conſequence. Perhaps, if the truth was known, this enterpriſing prince had projected ſome great ſcheme, with the execution of which this propoſed eſtabliſhment would have interfered. Certain it is, he exerted himſelf with that ſpirit and perſeverance which were peculiar to his character to fruſtrate the intention of the courts of Vienna and London in this particular, and was aſſiſted with all the intrigue of the French miniſtry. Their joint endeavours were ſo effectual that the elector of Cologn renounced his ſubſidiary treaty with the maritime powers, and once more threw himſelf into the arms of France. The elector Palatine being ſollicited by the empreſs-queen and his Britannick majeſty to co-operate with their views, inſiſted, as a preliminary article, upon being indemnified by the court of Vienna for the ravages committed in his territories by the Auſtrian troops, during the courſe of the laſt war: the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, made the ſame demand of the like indemnification, which was granted by the mediation of king George; and then he ſubſcribed to a ſubſidy-treaty, obliging himſelf to furniſh a body of 6000 auxiliaries, in caſe they ſhould be required by the maritime powers; and to act as elector, in concert with the houſe of Auſtria, in every thing relating to the welfare of his country that ſhould ſquare with the fundamental laws of the empire. The courts of London and Vienna had this election ſo much at heart, that they ſounded almoſt all the powers of Europe, to know how they ſtood affected towards the meaſure propoſed. The king of Spain declined intermeddling in a domeſtic affair of the empire. The French king returned an ambiguous anſwer; from whence it was concluded, that nothing but oppoſition could be expected from that quarter. The Swediſh monarch was rendered propitious to the project, by aſſurances that the houſe of Heſſe-Caſſel, of which he was the head, ſhould be elevated into an electorate. They even endeavoured to ſoften his Pruſſian majeſty, by conſenting at laſt, that the treaty of Dreſden, confirming to him the poſſeſſion of Sileſia, ſhould be guaranteed by the diet of the empire; a ſanction which he now actually obtained, together with the ratification of his imperial majeſty. Notwithſtanding this indulgence, he ſtill perſiſted in raiſing freſh objections to the favourite project, on pretence of concerting meaſures for preventing the inconveniences that might reſult from a minority; for regulating the capitulations to be agreed on with the king of the Romans; ſecuring the freedom of future elections, and preſerving the prerogatives and privileges of the Germanick body in all its members. In conſequence of theſe obſtacles, joined to the apoſtacy of the elector of Cologn, the obſtinacy of the elector Palatine, and the approaching diet of Hungary, at which their imperial majeſties were obliged perſonally to preſide, the meaſures for the election were ſuſpended till next ſummer, when his Britannick majeſty was expected at Hanover, to put the finiſhing ſtroke to this great event in favour of the houſe of Auſtria.

Another diſappointment with reſpect to this election the promoters of it ſuſtained in the death of his Swediſh majeſty, who expired in a good old age, and was ſucceeded by Adolphus Frederick duke of Holſtein Eutin, biſhop of Lubeck, upon whom the ſucceſſion had been ſettled for ſome years, by the unanimous concurrence of the ſtates of the kingdom. This prince aſcended the throne of Sweden without the leaſt diſturbance; and, of his own accord, took an oath in full ſenate, that he would never attempt to introduce a deſpotic authority; but maintain their liberties with his blood, and govern his ſubjects in all reſpects according to the laws, and the form of government eſtabliſhed in Sweden. This public act which was communicated to all the foreign miniſters, and particularly to the envoy from Peterſburgh, met with ſuch a favourable reception from the czarina, that ſhe expreſſed her ſatisfaction in a public declaration; and the good underſtanding between the two courts was perfectly reſtored.

When the parliament of England was opened, in the month of November, the king, in his ſpeech from the throne, gave them to underſtand, that for the ſame purpoſes which ſuggeſted the treaty with the elector of Bavaria, he had now, in conjunction with the ſtates-general, concluded another with the king of Poland, elector of Saxony. He told them, that the unfortunate death of the prince of Orange had made no alteration in the ſtate of affairs in Holland; and that he had received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances from the ſtates, of their firm reſolution to maintain the intimate union and friendſhip happily ſubſiſting between his majeſty and thoſe ancient and natural allies of his crown. He exhorted both houſes to conſider ſeriouſly of ſome effectual proviſions, to ſuppreſs thoſe audacious crimes of robbery and violence, grown ſo frequent about the capital, proceeding in a great meaſure from that profligate ſpirit of irreligion, idleneſs, gaming, and extravagance, which had of late extended itſelf in an uncommon degree, to the diſhonour of the nation, and the great offence and prejudice of the ſober and induſtrious part of the people. The paragraphs of this ſpeech were as uſual, echoed bac to the throne in addreſſes, replete with expreſſions of loyalty, affection, and approbation. Oppoſition was by this time almoſt extinguiſhed; and the proceedings of both houſes took place with ſuch unanimity as was hardly ever known before this period in a Britiſh parliament. The commons, however, ſeem to have aſſembled with ſuch ſentiments as did no great honour to their temper and magnanimity. In a few days after the ſeſſion opened, lord viſcount C———e, a young nobleman, whoſe character entitled him to very little regard or influence among men of ſenſe and probity, made a motion, that mr. Murray, who had been ſo ſeverely perſecuted in the laſt ſeſſion for refuſing to humble himſelf on his knees before them, ſhould be again committed cloſe priſoner to Newgate for the ſame offence. This propoſal, which ſuppoſed a power that the commons had never before exerciſed, was ſharply diſputed by the earl of Egmont, and others, who had not reſigned all ſenſe of moderation; but the majority adopted the meaſure with great eagerneſs, and the ſpeaker was ordered to iſſue his warrant accordingly. Then the houſe reſolved, that the ſaid Alexander Murray ſhould receive the ſentence, for his now being committed cloſe priſoner to his majeſty's goal of Newgate, at the bar of the houſe, upon his knees; and the ſerjeant at arms was commanded to take him into cuſtody for this purpoſe. Their indignation, however, was eluded by the caution of the delinquent, who, having foreſeen the effects of their reſentment, had prudently retired to another country. They determined, nevertheleſs to proceed againſt him as a perſon of ſome conſequence in the common-wealth; for, being informed of his retreat, they condeſcended ſo far as to preſent an addreſs to his majeſty, deſiring that his royal proclamation might be iſſued for apprehending the ſaid mr. Murray, promiſing a reward to him who ſhould have the good fortune to apprehend this fugitive—a requeſt with which his majeſty moſt graciouſly complied.

Nor was this the only addreſs preſented to the king upon ſuch an important ſubject. A pamphlet, intituled, 'The Caſe of the hon. Alexander Murray, eſquire, in an appeal to the people of Great-Britain,' was firſt ſtigmatized in a complaint to the houſe, and afterwards produced, and read at the table. The piece was written with great acrimony, and abounded with ſevere animadverſions, not only upon the conduct of the returning officer, but alſo on the proceedings of the commons. The violent members immediately took fire, and the flame extended itſelf to the majority. Nay, the houſe unanimouſly reſolved, that the pamphlet was an impudent, malicious, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libel, falſely and moſt injuriouſly reflecting upon, and aſperſing the proceedings of the houſe, tending to create miſapprehenſions in the minds of the people, to the great diſhonour of the ſaid houſe, and in violation of the privileges thereof. They furthermore preſented an addreſs to the king, deſiring his majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions to his attorney-general to proſecute the authors or author, the printers or printer, and the publiſhers or publiſher of the ſaid ſcandalous libel, that they might be brought to condign puniſhment. Directions were accordingly given for this purpoſe, and a proſecution commenced againſt the publiſher, who had ſome reaſon to be diſmayed, conſidering the great weight of influence he was doomed to encounter—influence ariſing from a proſecution of the crown, inſtituted at the requeſt, and founded on a vote of the houſe of commons. Nevertheleſs, when the cauſe was heard before the lord chief juſtice of England, a jury of free-born Engliſhmen, citizens of London, aſſerted their privilege of judging the law as well as the fact, and acquitted the defendant with a truly

admirable ſpirit of independency. They conſidered the pamphlet as an appeal againſt oppreſſion; and, convinced that the contents were true, they could not in conſcience adjudge it a falſe libel, even though it had been ſo declared by one of the branches of the legiſlature.

The commons, in regulating the ſupplies of the enſuing year, voted the continuation of 18,857 men for the land-ſervice, though not without ſome oppoſition from certain patriots, who, rather from a ſenſe of duty than from any hope of influencing the majority, affirmed, that 16,000 men, in time of peace, would anſwer all the ends propoſed by a ſtanding army. The number of ſeamen was fixed at 10,000, large ſums were granted to make up deficiencies, and fulfil the engagements of the crown with the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, as well as for the maintenance of Nova-Scotia and Georgia, and the caſtles on the coaſt of Guinea; and 112,152l. 3s. 3d. were voted, as a full compenſation to the old royal African company for their excluſive charter and property, to be applied for the relief of their creditors[e].

[1752] The laws enacted for the encouragement of traffic, and the regulations of civil polity, conſiſted in an act for licenſing pawnbrokers, and for the more effectual preventing the receiving of ſtolen goods: another for preventing thefts and robberies, by which places of entertainment, dancing, and muſic in London, Weſtminſter, and within 20 miles of the capital, were ſuppreſſed and prohibited, unleſs the proprietors of them could obtain licences from the juſtices of the peace, empowered for that purpoſe: a third for annexing the forfeited eſtates in Scotland unalienably in the crown, after having made ſatisfaction to the lawful creditors; eſtabliſhing a method of leaſing theſe eſtates, and applying the rents and profits of them for the better civiliſing and improving the Highlands, and preventing future diſorders in that part of the united kingdom. Nothing could be more ſalutary than the purpoſes of theſe regulations. The ſuburbs of the metropolis abounded with an incredible number of public-houſes, which continually reſounded with the noiſe of riot and intemperance: they were the haunts of idleneſs, fraud, and rapine; and the ſeminaries of drunkenneſs, debauchery, extravagance, and every vice incident to human nature: yet the ſuppreſſion of theſe receptacles of infamy was attended with an inconvenience, which, in ſome caſes aroſe even to a degree of oppreſſion. The juſtices being veſted, by the legiſlature with the power of granting or refuſing licences, were conſtituted, in effect, the arbiters on whoſe deciſion the fortunes and livelihood of many individuals abſolutely depended. Many of thoſe who exerciſed this ſpecies of magiſtracy within the bills of mortality were, to the reproach of government, men of profligate lives, needy, mean, ignorant, and rapacious, and often acted from the moſt ſcandalous principles of ſelfiſh avarice.

The law relating to the Highlands of Scotland was well calculated for promoting, among the inhabitants of that country, ſuch a ſpirit of induſtry as might detach them from their dangerous connexions, and gradually ſupercede that military genius which had been ſo productive of danger and alarm to the ſouthern parts of Great-Britain. The king, by this act, was empowered to appoint commiſſioners for managing the forfeited eſtates; who were enabled to grant leaſes of ſmall farms, not above 20l. a year, to individuals, who ſhould take an oath to government to reſide upon and cultivate the lands thus let. It was alſo provided, that no leaſe ſhould be granted for a longer term than 21 years; and that the leſſees ſhould not pay above three-fourths of the annual value. Although theſe forfeited eſtates were generally encumbered with claims beyond their real value, and the act directed that they ſhould be diſpoſed of by public ſale; yet, as they lay in the moſt diſaffected parts of the Highlands, it was thought neceſſary that they ſhould remain in the poſſeſſion of the crown, becauſe, in caſe of their being publicly ſold, they might be purchaſed in truſt for the families of the perſons by whom they were forfeited, and thus the ſpirit of diſaffection would ſtill ſurvive. A valuation, therefore, was made by the court of ſeſſion in Scotland, at the joint ſuit of the crown and the creditors; and the value being aſcertained, the juſt claimants were paid out of the next aids granted by parliament. The bill met with conſiderable oppoſition in the houſe of peers from the duke of Bedford and the earl of Bath, who probably foreſaw that the good effects of this ſcheme, ſo laudable in itſelf, would be fruſtrated in the execution; and that the act, inſtead of anſwering the purpoſes for which it was intended, would ſerve only as a job to gratify the rapacious retainers to the government, and their emiſſaries, in that country. After a warm debate, however, it was adopted by a great majority, and obtained the royal aſſent

A third law related to certain articles of the national debt, which were now converted into ſeveral joint ſtocs of annuities, transferable at the Bank of England, to be charged on the ſinking-fund. A great number of different funds for annuities, eſtabliſhed at different times, and by different acts, ſubſiſted at this period; ſo that it was neceſſary to keep many different accounts, which could not be regulated without conſiderable trouble and expence, for the removal of which the bill was calculated.

In conſequence of petitions from the woolen manufacturers of Weſtmorland and Yorkſhire, two bills were brought in, and paſſed through both houſes, by which the ports of Lancaſter and Great Yarmouth were opened for the importation of wool and woolen yarn from Ireland; but why this privilege was not extended to all the frequented ports of the kingdom it is not eaſy to conceive, without ſuppoſing a little national jealouſy on one hand, and a great deal of grievous reſtraint on the other. Over and above theſe new laws, ſome unſucceſsful endeavours were uſed in behalf of commerce and police. A bill was offered for laying further reſtrictions on pawnbrokers and brokers, that they might no longer ſuc the blood of the poor, and act as the acceſſaries of theft and robbery, which was canvaſſed, debated, and made its way through the lower-houſe; but the lords rejected it as a crude ſcheme, which they could not amend, becauſe it was a money-bill, not cognizable by their houſe, without engaging in a diſpute with the commons. Another bill was prepared, for giving power to change the puniſhment of felony, in certain caſes, to confinement and hard labour in doc-yards or garriſons. It was the opinion of many who wiſhed well to their country, and were properly qualified to proſecute ſuch enquiries, that the practice of conſigning ſuch a number of wretches to the hands of the executioner ſerved only, by its frequency, to defeat the purpoſe of the law, in robbing death of all its terror, and the public of many ſubjects, who might, notwithſtanding their delinquency, be in ſome meaſure rendered uſeful to ſociety. Such was the motive that influenced the promoters of this bill; by which it was propoſed, in imitation of that œconomy practiſed in other countries, to confine felons convicted under certain circumſtances to hard labour upon the public works of the kingdom. The ſcheme was adopted by the lower-houſe, but rejected by the lords, who ſeemed apprehenſive of its bringing ſuch diſcredit upon his majeſty's doc-yards as would diſcourage perſons who valued their reputation from engaging in ſuch employment.

Of ſtill greater importance to the nation was the next meaſure propoſed, in a bill for making the militia of England more uſeful, preſented by mr. Thornton, a gentleman of Yorkſhire, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his loyalty and patriotiſm. It was canvaſſed in a committee of the whole houſe, and underwent divers amendments; but miſcarried, through the averſion of the miniſtry to any project tending to remove or leſſen the neceſſity of maintaining a ſtanding army. A conſiderable number of petitions for different regulations, in reſpect to commerce and convenience of traffic, were preſented, conſidered, and left upon the table. A remonſtrance from the priſoners confined in the gaol of the King's-bench, complaining of their miſerable ſituation, ariſing from want of room and other conveniences, being taken into conſideration by a committee, among other evidences, they examined that remarkable perſonage who had ſignalized himſelf in different parts of Chriſtendom, under the name of Theodore king of Corſica. Though formerly countenanced, and even treated as a ſovereign prince by the Britiſh miniſtry, he was now reduced to the forlorn condition of a confined debtor; and, to the reproach of this kingdom, died in priſon, ſurrounded with all the miſery of indigence, and overwhelmed with the infirmities of old age. But the moſt remarkable circumſtance of the parliamentary tranſactions that diſtinguiſhed this ſeſſion, was a motion made in both houſes for an addreſs to the king, beſeeching his majeſty, that in time of public tranquillity he would be graciouſly pleaſed to avoid entering into ſubſidiary treaties with foreign princes, which are ſo burthenſome to this nation. This extraordinary propoſal was made and ſtrenuouſly

[e] Theſe expences were defrayed by a continuation of the duties on malt, &c. a land-tax at three ſhillings in the pound; a duty on licences, to be yearly paid by pawnbrokers and dealers in ſecond-hand goods, within the bills of mortality; the ſum of 1,400,000l. advanced by the Bank, according to a propoſal made for that purpoſe; 500,000l. to be iſſued from the ſinking-fund; a duty laid on gum ſenega; and the continuation of divers other occaſional impoſitions. The grants for the year amounted to ſomething leſs than four millions, and the proviſions made for this expence exceeded it in the ſum of 200,71000,24l. 10s. 6½d.

urged by the duke of B—, and a vehement debate enſued, in which the earls of G—, S—, and H, oppoſed it with an exertion of ſuperior abilities; and the queſtion being put, was carried in the negative, without a diviſion. The ſame fate attended it in the houſe of commons, where it was introduced by lord H—y, and ſupported by ſome diſtinguiſhed orators. The ſeſſion ended in the latter end of March, when his majeſty, having given his aſſent to 95 public and private bills, harangued both houſes, and prorogued the parliament[f].

Immediately after the prorogation the king appointed a regency, and ſet out for Hanover, in order to complete the great ſcheme he had projected for electing a king of the Romans. Great-Britain, in the mean time, produced no event of importance, or any tranſaction that deſerves hiſtorical mention, except the ratification of two treaties of peace and commerce with the ſtates of Tripoli and Tunis on the coaſt of Barbary, concluded by the Britiſh conſuls in thoſe cities, under the influence and auſpices of an Engliſh ſquadron, commanded by commodore Keppel, ſon to the earl of Albemarle. The tide of luxury ſtill flowed with an impetuous current, bearing down all the mounds of temperance and decorum; while fraud and profligacy ſtruc out new channels, through which they eluded the reſtrictions of the law, and all the vigilance of civil policy. New arts of deception were invented, in order to enſnare and ruin the unwary; and ſome infamous practices, in the way of commerce, were countenanced by perſons of rank and importance in the common-wealth. A certain member of parliament was obliged to withdraw himſelf from his country, in conſequence of a diſcovery, by which it appeared that he had contrived and executed ſchemes for deſtroying his own ſhips at ſea, with a view to defraud the inſurers.

In the courſe of this year the affairs of the continent did not undergo any material alteration. In France the religious diſpute concerning the doctrine of Janſenius ſtill ſubſiſted between the clergy and the parliament; and ſeemed to acquire additional fuel from the violence of the archbiſhop of Paris, a haughty turbulent prelate, whoſe pride and bigotry were ſufficient to embroil one half of Chriſtendom. The northern powers enjoyed a perfect tranquillity; the ſtates-general of the United-Provinces were engroſſed by plans of national œconomy. Spain was intent upon extending her commerce, bringing her manufactures to perfection, and repreſſing the inſolence of the Barbary Corſairs. His Portugeſe majeſty endeavoured, by certain peremptory precautions, to chec the exportation of gold coin from his dominions; and inſiſted upon inſpecting the books of the Britiſh merchants ſettled at Liſbon; but they refuſed to comply with this demand, which was contrary to a treaty ſubſiſting between the two crowns; and he thought proper to acquieſce in their refuſal. He was much better employed in obtaining from the pope an abolition of the annual proceſſion called the Auto da fe, one of the moſt horrid triumphs of ſpiritual tyranny. The peace of Italy was ſecured by a defenſive treaty concluded at Madrid between the emperor, his catholic majeſty, the king of the two Sicilies, and the duke of Parma; to which treaty the king of Sardinia afterwards acceded.

With reſpect to the great ſcheme of electing the archduke Joſeph king of the Romans, freſh objections ſeemed to riſe from different quarters. The good underſtanding between the courts of Berlin and Hanover received an additional ſhoc, from a diſpute concerning the property of Eaſt-Frieſeland, which his Pruſſian majeſty had ſecured, as heir to the laſt poſſeſſor. His Britannick majeſty, as elector of Hanover, having pretenſions to the ſame inheritance, his miniſter delivered a memorial to the diet of the empire, aſſembled at Ratiſbon, demanding that the king of Pruſſia, as elector of Bradenburgh, ſhould be referred to the deciſion of the Aulick council, in regard to his claim to the eſtates of Eaſt-Frieſeland: but the king being already in poſſeſſion, refuſed to ſubmit his right to the determination of that or any other tribunal; and when the diet preſumed to deliberate on this affair, his envoy entered a ſtrong proteſt againſt their proceedings. At the ſame time, he preſented the other miniſters with a memorial, tending to refute the elector of Hanover's pretenſions to the principality in queſtion.

At this juncture his Pruſſian majeſty made no ſcruple of expreſſing his reſentment againſt the court of London, which he ſeemed to conſider as an officious cabal, that had no right to intermeddle in the affairs of Germany. His reſident at London complained to the Britiſh miniſtry, that divers ſhips, ſailing under the Pruſſian flag, had been ſtopped at ſea, and even ſeiſed, by Engliſh cruiſers; and that his ſubjects had been ill-treated and oppreſſed: he, therefore, demanded reparation in a peremptory tone; and, in the mean time, diſcontinued the payment of the Sileſia loan, which he had charged himſelf with, by an article in the treaty of Breſlau. This was a ſum of money amounting to 250,000l. which the emperor Charles VI. father of the reigning empreſs, had borrowed of the ſubjects of Great-Britain, on condition of paying an intereſt of ſix per cent. and mortgaging the ſilver mines of Sileſia for the repayment of the principal. Theſe devolved to the king of Pruſſia with this incumbrance, and he continued to pay the intereſt punctually till this juncture, when the payment was ſtopped; and he publiſhed a paper, intituled, 'An Expoſition of the Motives which influenced his Conduct on this Occaſion.' In his memorial to the miniſtry of Great-Britain he alledged, that 18 Pruſſian ſhips, and 33 neutral veſſels, in which the ſubjects of Pruſſia were concerned, had been unjuſtly ſeiſed by Engliſh privateers: his account of damages amounted to a very conſiderable ſum; and he demanded, in the moſt dogmatic terms, that the affair ſhould be finally diſcuſſed in the term of three months from the date of his remonſtrance. The expoſition and memorial were ſubjected to the examination of the ableſt civilians in England, who refuted every article of the charge with equal preciſion and perſpicuity. They proved, that captures by ſea fell properly under the cognizance of thoſe powers under whoſe juriſdiction the ſeiſures were made: and, therefore, his Pruſſian majeſty could not, conſiſtent with the law of nations, determine theſe diſputes in his own tribunals. They demonſtrated, by undoubted evidence, the falſity of many facts alledged in the memorial, as well as the fairneſs of the proceedings by which ſome few of the Pruſſian veſſels had been condemned; and made it appear, that no inſult or injury had been offered to the ſubjects of Pruſſia. Finally, they obſerved, that the Sileſia loan was a private tranſaction of ſuch a nature, that, even if a war had happened between the emperor Charles VI. and his Britannick majeſty, this muſt have been held ſacred and inviolable: that when the empreſs-queen ceded Sileſia to the king of Pruſſia, this monarch charged himſelf with the repayment of the loan, which, being a private debt, and transferable, was now diffuſed into different countries, and become the property of many others beſides the ſubjects of Great-Britain. They wound up their chain of reaſoning by obſerving, that, according to agreement, with the emperor, the whole of this loan ſhould have been repayed in the year 1745; whereas the complaints ſpecified in the Pruſſian memorial were founded on facts poſterior to that period. Whether his Pruſſian majeſty was convinced by theſe reaſons, and deſiſted from principle, or thought proper to give up his claim upon other political conſiderations; certain it is, he no longer inſiſted upon ſatiſfaction, but ordered the payments of the Sileſia loan to be continued without further interruption: a report, indeed, was circulated, that advantage had been taken of the demur by a certain prince, who employed his agents to buy up great part of the loan at a conſiderable diſcount.

How much ſoever the king of Pruſſia may be the ſubject of cenſure on this occaſion, it muſt be allowed that, with regard to his own ſubjects, he acted as a wiſe legiſlator, and the father of his country. He peopled the deſerts of Pomerania, by encouraging, with royal bounties, a great number of induſtrious emigrants to ſettle in that province; the face of which, in a very few years, underwent the moſt agreeable alteration. Above 60 new villages aroſe amidſt a barren waſte, and every part of the country exhibited marks of ſucceſsful cultivation. Thoſe ſolitary and deſolate plans, where no human footſteps had for many ages been ſeen, were now converted into fields of corn. The farms were regularly parcelled out: the houſes multiplied, and teemed with population: the happy peaſants, ſheltered in a peculiar manner under their king's protection, ſowed their grounds in peace, and reaped their harveſts in ſecurity. The ſame care and indulgence were extended to the unpeopled parts of other provinces within the Pruſſian dominions, and extraordinary encouragement was granted to all French proteſtants who ſhould come and ſettle under the government of this political ſage.

The courts of Vienna and Hanover ſtill employed their chief attention upon the ſcheme of electing a king of the

[f] Among the proceedings of this ſeſſion it may not be improper to mention a new act for the prevention of murders, which had been ſhockingly frequent of late, importing, that every criminal convicted of this horrid crime ſhould be executed in one day after his ſentence, and his body delivered to the ſurgeons for diſſection—an expedient which hath been found productive of every ſalutary conſequence.

Romans; and the elector of Mentz, influenced by the majority of the college, had convoked an electoral diet for that purpoſe; but ſtrong proteſts againſt this convocation were entered by the electors of Cologn and Palatine, inſomuch that it was thought expedient to conciliate this laſt, by taking ſome ſteps in his favour, with reſpect to the ſatisfaction he demanded from the empreſs-queen and his Britannick majeſty. His claim upon the court of Vienna amounted to three millions of florins, by way of indemnification for the loſſes he had ſuſtained during the war. He demanded of the king of England 20,000l. ſterling, for proviſion and forage furniſhed to the Britiſh troops while they acted on the Maine; and the like ſum for the like purpoſes from the ſtates-general of the United Provinces. This empreſs-queen could not help remonſtrating againſt the demand as exorbitant in itſelf, and the more unreaſonable, as the elector Palitine, at the death of her father, had openly declared againſt the pragmatic ſanction, which he had guaranteed in the moſt ſolemn manner: ſhe, therefore, obſerved, that the damage he had ſuſtained, in conſequence of that declaration, ought to be conſidered as the common fate of war, theſe reaſons, though concluſive and irrefragable in the uſual way of arguing, made no impreſſion upon the Palatine, who perfectly well underſtood his own importance, and was determined to ſeiſe this opportunity of turning it to the beſt advantage. The court of Vienna, and the maritime powers, finding him thus obſtinately attached to his own intereſt, reſolved to bring him over to their views at any rate, and commenced a negotiation with him, which produced a formal treaty. By this convention his demands in money were fixed at 1200,000 Duch florins, to be paid at three inſtalments, 500,000 by the empreſs-queen, and the remaining 700,000 by the king of Great-Britain and the ſtates-general, according to the proportion eſtabliſhed in former treaties. The privilege of Non appellendo, for the duchy of Deux-ponts was confirmed to his electoral highneſs, together with ſome other rights and pretenſions, in conſideration of his concurring with the other electors in the choice of a king of the Romans, to be elected according to the cuſtoms preſcribed by the laws and conſtitutions of the empire. He likewiſe engaged to join them in ſettling the articles of the capitulation with the king of the Romans, emperor in futuro. Yet, even after the concurrence of this prince was ſecured, the propoſed election proved abhortive, from the ſtrong objections that were ſtarted, and the ſtrenuous oppoſition which was made by his Pruſſian majeſty, who perhaps aſpired in ſecret at the imperial dignity, which the empreſs-queen took all this pains to perpetuate in her own family.

[1753] The king of Great-Britain, returning from the continent, opened the ſeſſion of parliament on the 11th day of January with a ſpeech, implying, That all his views and negotiations had been calculated and directed to preſerve and ſecure the duration of a general peace, ſo agreeable and neceſſary to the welfare of all Europe: that he had the ſatisfaction to be aſſured of a good diſpoſition in all the powers that were his allies, to adhere to the ſame ſalutary object. He exhorted them to continue their attention to the reduction of the national debt, the augmentation of the ſinking-fund, and the improvement of the public revenue. He recommended to their ſerious conſideration what further laws and regulations might be neceſſary for ſuppreſſing thoſe crimes and diſorders, of which the public had ſo juſtly complained: and concluded with an aſſurance, that his hearty concurrence and endeavours ſhould never be wanting in any meaſure that might promote their welfare and proſperity. The addreſſes in anſwer to this ſpeech were couched in the uſual form of implicit approbation: but that of the commons did not paſs without queſtion. The earl of E— took exceptions to one paragraph, in which they acknowledged his majeſty's wiſdom, as well as goodneſs in purſuing ſuch meaſures as muſt contribute to maintain and render permanent the general tranquillity of Europe; and declared their ſatisfaction at the aſſurances his majeſty had received from his allies, that they were all attached to the ſame ſalutary object. His lordſhip expatiated on the abſurdity of theſe compliments at ſuch a juncture, when the peace of Europe was ſo precarious, and the Engliſh nation had ſo much cauſe of complaint and diſſatisfaction. He was ſeconded by ſome other individuals who declaimed with great vivacity againſt continental connexions; and endeavoured to expoſe the weakneſs and folly of the whole ſyſtem of foreign meaſures which our miniſtry had lately purſued. It muſt be owned, indeed, that they might have choſen a better opportunity to compliment their ſovereign on the permanency of the peace than at this juncture, when they muſt have ſeen themſelves on the very brink of a new rupture with the moſt formidable power in Europe. But the truth is, theſe addreſſes to the throne had been long conſidered as compliments of courſe, implying no more than a reſpectful attachment to their ſovereign: accordingly, both houſes agreed to their reſpective addreſſes without diviſion. The two grand committees of ſupply and of ways and means, being eſtabliſhed, the buſineſs of the houſe was tranſacted without much altercation; and the people had great reaſon to be ſatisfied with their moderate proceedings. Ten thouſand ſeamen, with the uſual number of land-forces, were retained for the enſuing year. They provided for the maintenance of the new colony in Nova-Scotia, the civil eſtabliſhment of Georgia, the ſupport of the caſtles on the coaſt of Guinea, and the erection of a new fort at Anamaboa, where the French had attempted to make a ſettlement; and they enabled his majeſty to fulfil his engagements with the king of Poland and the elector of Bavaria.

The ſupplies, including grants for former deficiencies and ſervices, for which no proviſion had been made in the laſt year, did not exceed 2,132,770l. 17s. 2½d. in order to defray which expence they aſſigned the duty on malt, &c. the land-tax at 2s. in the pound, the ſurplus of certain funds in the exchequer, and the ſum of 420,000l. out of the ſinking-fund; ſo that the exceedings amounted to near 300,000l.[g] As for the national debt, it now ſtood at the enormous ſum of 74,368,451l. 15s. 1d. and the ſinking-fund produced 1,735,529l. 6s. 10¼d.

One of the firſt meaſures brought upon the carpet, in the courſe of this ſeſſion, was an act containing regulations for the better preſervation of the game, of which ſo great havoc had been made by poachers, and other perſons unqualified to enjoy that diverſion, and the total exterpation of it was apprehended.

The next ſtep taken by the commons was an affair of much greater conſequence to the community, being a bill for obliging ſhips the more effectually to perform quarentine, in order to prevent the plague from being imported from foreign countries into Great-Britain. For this purpoſe, it was ordained, that if this dreadful viſitation ſhould appear in any ſhip to the northward of Cape Finiſterre, the maſter or commander ſhould immediately proceed to the harbour of New Grimſby, in one of the iſlands of Scilly, and there communicate the diſcovery to ſome officer of the cuſtoms; who ſhould, with the firſt opportunity, tranſmit this intelligence to another cuſtom-houſe officer in the neareſt port of England, to be by him forwarded to one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate. In the mean time the ſhip ſhould remain at the ſaid iſland, and not an individual preſume to go aſhore, until his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known. It was alſo provided, that in caſe the maſter of a ſhip thus infected ſhould not be able to make the iſlands of Scilly, or be forced up either channel by violent winds, he ſhould not enter any frequented harbour; but remain in ſome open road, until he could receive orders from his majeſty, or the privy-council: that, during this interval, he ſhould avoid all intercourſe with the ſhore, or any perſon or veſſel whatſoever, on pain of being deemed guilty of felony, and ſuffering death without benefit of clergy.

In order the more effectually to repreſs the barbarous practice of plundering ſhips which have the misfortune to ſuffer ſhipwrec; a practice which prevailed upon many different parts of the Britiſh coaſt, to the diſgrace of the nation, and the ſcandal of human nature; a bill was prepared, containing clauſes to enforce the laws againſt ſuch ſavage delinquents, who prowl along the ſhore, like hungry wolves, in hopes of preying upon their fellow-creatures; and certain proviſions for the relief of the unhappy ſufferers.[h] When the mutiny-bill fell under deliberation, the earl of Egmont propoſed a new clauſe for empowering and requiring regimental courts-marſhal to examine witneſſes upon oath in all their trials. The propoſal occaſioned a debate, in which the miniſtry were pretty equally divided; but the clauſe

[g] Several duties on ſalt, as well as on red and white herrings delivered out for home conſumption, were rendered perpetual, though ſubject to be redeemed by parliament; and it was provided, that the debt contracted upon theſe duties being diſcharged, all the after produce of them ſhould become part of the ſinking-fund.

[h] By the new law, the clerk of the peace in the county where the crime ſhall be committed is obliged, upon receiving proper information, to proſecute the offenders at the expence of the county. It was likewiſe propoſed, that in caſe of no perſecution of this nature ſhould be commenced within a certain limited time after the information ſhould have been legally given, in that caſe the county might be ſued by the perſon who had ſuſtained the damage, add obliged to indemnify him for his loſs: but this clauſe was rejected by the majority; and the bill, having made its way through both houſes, received the royal aſſent.

was disapproved by the majority, and this annual bill was enacted into a law without any alteration.

The next bill was framed in consequence of divers petitions presented by the exporters of corn, who complained that the bounties were not paid, and prayed that the house would make proper provision for that purpose. A bill was accordingly brought in, importing, that interest after the rate of 3 per cent. should be allowed upon every debenture for the bounty on the exportation of corn, payable by the receiver-general or cashier of the customs, until the principal could be discharged out of such customs or duties as are appropriated for the payment of this bounty. This premium on the exportation of corn ought not to be granted, except when the lowness of the market-price in Great-Britain proves that there is a superabundance in the kingdom; otherwise the exporter will find his account in depriving our own labourers of their bread, in order to supply our rivals at an easier rate: for example, suppose wheat in England should sell for 20s. a quarter, the merchant might export it to France, and afford it to the people of that kingdom for 18s. because the bounty on exportation would, even at that rate, afford him a considerable advantage.

A great number of merchants having presented petitions from different parts of the kingdom, representing that the trade to Turkey was greatly decreased, ascribing this diminution to the exclusive charter enjoyed by a monopoly, and praying that the trade might be laid open to all his majesty's subjects, one of the members for Liverpool moved for leave to bring in a bill for this purpose. Such a measure had been twice before proposed without success; but now it was adobted without opposition. A bill was immediately introduced; and, notwithstanding all the interest and efforts of the Turkey company, who petitioned the house against it, and were heard by their counsel, it passed through both houses, and received the royal sanction. By this regulation any British subject may obtain the freedom of the Turkey company, by paying or rendering a fine of 20l. and all the members are secured from the tyranny of oppressive by-laws, contrived by any monopolizing cabal.[1]

But this session was chiefly distinguished by an act for naturalizing Jews, and a bill for the better preventing clandestine marriages. The first of these, which passed without much opposition in the house of lords, from whence it descended to the commons, was intitled, 'An act to commit persons professing the Jewish religion to be naturalized by parliament, and for other purposes therein mentioned.' It was supported by some petitions of merchants and manufacturers, who, upon examination appeared to be Jews, or their dependants; and countenanced by the ministry, who thought they foresaw, in the consequence of such a naturalization, a great possession to the monied interest, and a considerable increase of their own influence among the individuals of that community. They boldly affirmed, that such a law would greatly conduce to the advantage of the nation; that it would encourage persons of wealth to remove with their effects from foreign parts into Great-Britain, increase the commerce and the credit of the kingdom, and set a laudable example of industry, temperance, and frugality. Such, however, were not the sentiments of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London in common-council assembled, who, in a petition to parliament, expressed their apprehension that the bill, if passed into a law, would tend greatly to the dishonour of the Christian religion, endanger the excellent constitution, and be highly prejudicial to the interest and trade of the kingdom in general, and of the city of London in particular. Another petition to the same purpose was next day presented to the house, subscribed by merchents and traders of the city of London; who, among other allegations, observed, that the consequence of such a naturalization would greatly affect their trade and commerce with foreign nations, particularly with Spain and Portugal. Counsel was heard, evidence examined, and the bill produced violent debates, in which there seemed to be more passion than patriotism, more declamation than argument. The adversaries of the bill affirmed that such a naturalization would deluge the kingdom with brokers, usurers, and beggars; that the rich Jews, under the shadow of this indulgence, would purchase lands, and even advowsons; so as not only to acquire an interest in the legislature, but also to influence the constitution of the church of Christ, to which they were the inveterate and professed enemies: that the lower class of that nation, when thus admitted to the right of denizens, would interfere with the industrious natives who earn their livelihood by their labour; and by dint of the most parsimonious frugality, to which the English are strangers, work at an under-price; so as not only to share, but even in a manner to exclude them from all employment: that such an adoption of vagrant Jews into the community, from all parts of the world, would rob the real subjects of their birthright, disgrace the character of the nation, expose themselves to the most dishonourable participation and intrusion, endanger the constitution both in church and state, and be an indelible reproach upon the established religion of the country. Some of these orators seemed transported even to a degree of enthusiasm. They prognosticated that the Jews would multiply so much in number, engross such wealth, and acquire so great power and influence in Great-Britain, that their persons would be revered, their customs imitated, and Judaism become the fashionable religion of the English. Finally, they affirmed that such an act was directly flying in the face of the prophesy, which declares, that the Jews shall be a scattered people, without country or fixed habitation, until they should be converted from their infidelity, and gathered together in the land of their fore-fathers. These arguments and apprehensions, which were in reality frivolous and chimerical, being industriously circulated among the vulgar, naturally prejudicial against the Jewish people, excited such a ferment throughout the nation, as ought to have deterred the ministry from the persecution of such an unpopular measure; which, however, they had courage enough to maintain against all opposition. The bill passed the ordeal of both houses, and his majesty vouchsafed the royal sanction to this law in favour of the Hebrew nation. The truth is, it might have increased the wealth, and extended the commerce of Great-Britain, had it been agreeable to the people; and as the naturalized Jews would still have been excluded from all civil and military offices, as well as from other privileges enjoyed by their Christian brethren, in all probality they would have gradually forsaken their own unprofitable and obstinate infidelity, opened their eyes to the shining truths of the gospel, and joined their fellow-subjects in embracing the doctrines of Christianity. But no ministry ought to risk an experiment, how plausible soever it may be, if they find it, as this was, an object of the people's unconquerable aversion. What rendered this unpopular measure the more impolitic, was the unseasonable juncture at which it was carried into execution; that is, at the eve of a general election for a new parliament, when a minister ought carefully to avoid every step which may give umbrage to the body of the people. The earl of Eg———t, who argued against the bill with equal power and vivacity, in describing the effect it might have upon that occasion, 'I am amazed (said he) that this consideration makes no impression.—When that day, which is not far off, shall arrive, I shall not fear to set my foot upon any ground of election in the kingdom, in opposition to any one man among you, or any new Christian, who has voted or appeared in favour of this naturalization.'

Another bill transmitted from the upper-house, met with a reception equally unfavourable among the commons, though it was sustained on the shoulders of the majority, and thus forced its way to the throne, where it obtained the royal approbation. The practice of solemnizing clandestine marriages, so prejudicial to the peace of families, and so often productive of misery to the parties themselves thus united, was an evil that prevailed to such a degree as claimed the attention of the legislature. The sons and daughters of great and opulent families, before they had acquired knowledge and experience, or attained to the years of discretion, were every day seduced in their affections, and inveigled into matches big with infamy and ruin; and these were greatly facilitated by the opportunities that occurred of being united instantaneously by the ceremony of marriage, in the first transport of passion, before the destined victim had time to cool or deliberate on the subject. For this pernicious purpose, there was a band of profligate miscreants, the refuse of the clergy, dead to every sentiment of virtue, abandoned to all sense of decency and decorum, for the most part prisoners for debt or delinquency, and indeed the very outcasts of human society, who hovered about the verge of the

[1] Several other bills were passed—one for regulating the number of public-houses, and the more easy conviction of persons selling ale and strong liquors without licence; an act which empowered the justices of the peace to tyrannize over their fellow subjects—a second, enabling the magistrates of Edinburgh to improve, enlarge, and adorn the avenues and streets of that city, according to a concerted plan, to be executed by a voluntary subscription—a third, allowing the exportation of wool and woolen yarn from Ireland into any port in Great-Britain and a fourth, prescribing the breadth of the wheels belonging to heavy carriages, that the high roads of the kingdom might be the better preserved.

Fleet-priſon to intercept cuſtomers, plying like porters for employment, and performed the ceremony of marriage without licence or queſtion, in cellars, garrets, or ale-houſes, to the ſcandal of religion, and the diſgrace of that order which they profeſſed. The eaſe with which this eccleſiaſtical ſanction was obtained, and the vicious diſpoſition of thoſe wretches, open to the practices of fraud and corruption, were productive of polygamy, indigence, conjugal infidelity, proſtitution, and every curſe that could imbitter the married ſtate. A remarkable caſe of this nature having fallen under the cognizance of the peers, in an appeal from an inferior tribunal, that houſe ordered the judges to prepare a new bill for preventing ſuch abuſes; and one was accordingly framed, under the auſpices of lord Hardwicke, at that time lord high chancellor of England. In order to anticipate the bad effects of clandeſtine marriages, this new ſtatute enacted, that the banns ſhould be regularly publiſhed, three ſucceſſive Sundays, in the church of the pariſh where the parties dwell: that no licence ſhould be granted to marry in any place, where one of the parties has not dwelt at leaſt a month, except a ſpecial licence by the archbiſhop: that if any marriage ſhould de ſolemniſed in any other place than a church or a chapel, without a ſpecial licence, or in a public-chapel, without having publiſhed the banns, or obtained a licence of ſome perſon properly qualified, the marriage ſhould be void, and the perſon who ſolemniſed it tranſported for ſeven years: that marriages, by licence, of parties under age, without conſent of parent or guardian, ſhould be null and void, unleſs the party under age be a widow, and the parent refuſing conſent a widow married again: that when the conſent of a mother or guardian is refuſed from caprice, or ſuch parent or guardian be non compos mentis, or beyond ſea, the minor ſhould have recourſe for relief to the court of chancery: that no ſuit ſhould be commenced to compel a celebration of marriage, upon pretence of any contract: that all marriages ſhould be ſolemnized before two witneſſes, and an entry be made in a book kept for that purpoſe, whether it was by banns or licence, whether either of the parties was under age, or the marriage celebrated with the conſent of parent or guardian; and this entry to be ſigned by the miniſter, the parties, and the witneſſes: that a falſe licence or certificate, or deſtroying regiſter-books, ſhould be deemed felony, either in principal or acceſſary, and puniſhed with death. The bill, when firſt conſidered in the lower-houſe, gave riſe to a variety of debates; in which the members appeared to be divided rather according to their real ſentiments, than by the rules of any political diſtinction: for ſome principal ſervants of the government freely differed in opinion from the miniſter, who countenanced the bill; while, on the other hand, he was, on this occaſion, ſupported by certain chiefs of the oppoſition, and the diſputes were maintained with extraordinary eagerneſs and warmth. The principal objections imported, that ſuch reſtrictions on marriage would damp the ſpirit of love and propagation; promote mercenary matches, to the ruin of domeſtic happineſs, as well as to the prejudice of poſterity and population; impede the circulation of property, by preſerving the wealth of the kingdom among a kind of ariſtocracy of opulent families, who would always intermarry within their own pale; ſubject the poor to many inconveniencies, and extraordinary expence, from the nature of the forms to be obſerved; and throw an additional power into the hands of the chancellor. They affirmed, that no human power had a right to diſſolve a vow ſolemnly made in the ſight of heaven: and that, in proportion as the bill prevented clandeſtine marriages, it would encourage fornication and debauchery, inſomuch as the parties, reſtrained from indulging their mutual paſſions in an honourable manner, would be tempted to gratify them by ſtealth, at the hazard of their reputation. In a word, they foreſaw a great number of evils in the train of this bill, which have not yet been realized. On the other ſide, its advocates endeavoured to refute theſe arguments, and ſome of them ſpoke with great ſtrength and preciſion. The bill underwent a great number of alterations and amendments: which were not effected without violent conteſt and altercation. At length, however, it was floated through both houſes on the tide of a great majority, and ſteered into the ſafe harbour of royal approbation. Certain it is, the abuſe of clandeſtine marriage might have been removed upon much eaſier terms than thoſe impoſed upon the ſubject by this bill, which, after all, hath been found ineffectual, as it may be eaſily eluded by a ſhort voyage to the continent, or a moderate journey to North-Britain, where the indiſſoluble knot may be tied without ſcruple or interruption.

Over and above theſe new ſtatutes there were ſome other ſubjects which occaſionally employed the attention of the commons; ſuch as the ſtate of the Britiſh ſugar-colonies, which was conſidered, in conſequence of petitions preſented by the ſugar-refiners and grocers of London, Weſtminſter, and Briſtol, complaining of the exorbitant price demanded and given for ſugars imported from Jamaica; deſiring that the proprietors of land in Jamaica might be obliged to cultivate greater quantities of ground for raiſing ſugar canes, or that they (the petitioners) might have leave to import Muſcovado ſugars from other countries, when the price of thoſe imported from Jamaica ſhould excede a certain rate. This remonſtrance was taken into conſideration by a committee of the whole houſe; and a great number of evidences and papers being examined, they reſolved, that the people of Jamaica with white inhabitants, and cultivating the lands thereof, would be the moſt proper meaſure for ſecuring that iſland, and increaſing the trade and navigation between it and Great-Britain, and other parts of his majeſty's dominions: that the endeavours hitherto uſed by the legiſlature of Jamaica to increaſe the number of white inhabitants, and enforce the cultivation of lands, in the manner that might beſt conduce to the ſecurity and defence of that iſland, had not been effectual for theſe purpoſes. The houſe ordered a bill to be founded on theſe reſolutions; but this was poſtponed, until the miniſtry ſhould receive more full information touching the true ſtate of that iſland. The planters of Jamaica laboured under many grievances and hardſhips, from diverſe heavy impoſitions and reſtrictions; and a detail of theſe was tranſmitted in a repreſentation to his majeſty, which was referred to the conſideration of the commiſſioners of trade and plantations. The cauſe of the planters were defended vigorouſly, and managed in the houſe of commons by alderman Beckford, a gentleman of vaſt poſſeſſions in the iſland of Jamaica, who perfectly well underſtood, and ſtrenuouſly ſupported, the intereſt of that his native country.

Abortive alſo proved the attempt to eſtabliſh a law for keeping an annual regiſter of marriages, births, deaths, the individuals who received alms, and the total number of people in Great-Britain. A bill for this purpoſe was preſented by mr. Potter, a gentleman of pregnant parts and ſpirited elocution, who, enumerating the advantages of ſuch a law, obſerved, that it would aſcertain the number of the people, and the collective ſtrength of the nation; conſequently point out thoſe places were there is a defect or exceſs of population, and certainly determine whether a general naturalization would be advantageous or prejudicial to the community; that it would decide what number of men might, on any ſudden emergency, be levied for the defence of the kingdom; and whether the nation is gainer or loſer by ſending its natives to ſettle, and our troops to defend diſtant colonies; that it would be the means of eſtabliſhing a local adminiſtration of civil government, or a police upon certain fixed principles, the want of which hath been long a reproach to the nation, a ſecurity to vice, and an encouragement to idleneſs; that in many caſes where all other evidence is wanting, it would enable ſuitors to recover their right in courts of juſtice, facilitate an equal and equitable aſſeſſment in raiſing the preſent taxes, and laying future impoſitions; ſpecify the lineal deſcents, relations, and alliance of families; lighten the intolerable burthens incurred by the public, from innumerable and abſurd regulations relating to the poor; provide for them by a more equal exertion of humanity, and effectually ſcreen them from all riſque of periſhing by hunger, cold, cruelty, and oppreſſion. Whether ſuch a law would have anſwered the ſanguine expectations of its patron, we ſhall not pretend to determine; though, in our opinion, it muſt have been attended with very ſalutary conſequences, particularly in reſtraining the hand of robbery and violence, in detecting fraud, bridling the ferocity of a licentious people, and eſtabliſhing a happy ſyſtem of order and ſubordination. At firſt the bill met with little oppoſition, except from mr. Thornton, member for the city of York, who inveighed againſt it with great fervour, as a meaſure that ſavoured of French policy, to which the Engliſh nation ever had the utmoſt averſion. He affirmed, that the method in which it was propoſed this regiſter ſhould be kept would furniſh the enemies of Great-Britain with continual opportunities of knowing the ſtrength or weakneſs of the nation; that it would empower an ill-deſigning miniſter to execute any ſcheme ſubverſive of public liberty, inveſt pariſh and petty officers of the peace with exorbitant powers, and coſt the nation above 50,000l. a year to carry the ſcheme into execution. Theſe arguments, which, we apprehend, are extremely frivolous and inconcluſive, had great weight with a conſiderable number, who

joined in the oppoſition, while the miniſtry ſtood neutral. Nevertheleſs, after having undergone ſome amendments, it was conveyed to the lords, by whom it was, at the ſecond reading, thrown out, as a ſcheme of a very dangerous tendency. The legiſlature of Great-Britain have, on ſome occaſions, been more ſtartled at the diſtant ſhadow of a bare poſſibility, than at the real approach of the moſt dangerous innovation.

From the uſual deliberations on civil and commercial concerns, the attention of the parliament, which had ſeldom or never turned upon literary avocations, was called off by an extraordinary ſubject of this nature. Sir Hans Sloane, the celebrated phyſician and naturaliſt, well known through all the civilized countries of Europe for his ample collection of rarities, culled from the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, as well as of antiquities and curioſities of art, had directed, in his laſt will, that this valuable muſeum, together with his numerous library, ſhould be offered to the parliament for the uſe of the public, in conſideration of their paying a certain ſum, in compenſation, to his heirs. His terms were embraced by the commons, who agreed to pay 20,000l. for the whole, ſuppoſed to be worth four times that ſum; and a bill was prepared for purchaſing this muſeum, together with the Harleian collection of manuſcripts, ſo denominated from its founder, Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, lord high treaſurer of England, and now offered to the public by his daughter, the ducheſs of Portland. It was propoſed, that theſe purchaces ſhould be joined to the famous Cottonian library, and a ſuitable repoſitory provided for them and the king's library, which had long lain neglected, and expoſed to the injuries of the weather in the old dormitory at Weſtminſter. Accordingly, truſtees and governors, conſiſting of the moſt eminent perſons of the kingdom, were appointed, and regulations eſtabliſhed for the management of this noble muſeum, which was depoſited in Montagu-Houſe, one of the moſt magnificent edifices in England, where it is ſubjected without reſerve to the view of the public, under certain neceſſary reſtrictions, and exhibits a glorious monument of national taſte and liberality [k]. In the beginning of June the ſeſſion of Parliament was cloſed by his majeſty, who mentioned nothing particular in his ſpeech, but that the ſtate of foreign affairs had ſuffered no alteration ſince their meeting.

The genius of the Engliſh people is perhaps incompatible with a ſtate of perfect tranquillity: if it is not ruffled by foreign provocations, or agitated by unpopular meaſures of demeſtic adminiſtration, it will undergo temporary fermentations from the turbulent ingredients inherent in its own conſtitution. Tumults are excited, and factions kindled into rage and inveteracy, by incidents of the moſt frivolous nature. At this juncture the metropolis of England was divided and diſcompoſed in a ſurpriſing manner, by a diſpute in itſelf of ſo little conſequence to the community, that it could not deſerve a place in a general hiſtory, if it did not ſerve to convey a characteriſtic idea of the Engliſh nation. In the beginning of the year an obſcure damſel, of low degree, whoſe name was Elizabeth Canning, promulgated a report, which in a little time attracted the attention of the public. She affirmed, that on the firſt day of the new year, at night, ſhe was ſeiſed under Bedlam-wall by two ruffians, who having ſtripped her of her upper apparel, ſecured her mouth with a gag, and threatened to murder her ſhould ſhe make the leaſt noiſe; that they conveyed her on foot about ten miles, to a place called Enfield-Waſh, and brought her to the houſe of one Mrs. Wells, where ſhe was pillaged of her ſtays; and, becauſe ſhe refuſed to turn proſtitute, confined in a cold, damp, ſeparate, and unfurniſhed apartment; where ſhe remained a whole month, without any other ſuſtenance than a few ſtale cruſts of bread, and about a gallon of water; till at length ſhe forced her way through a window, and ran home to her mother's houſe, almoſt naked, in the night of the 29th of January. This ſtory, improbable and unſupported, operated ſo ſtrongly on the paſſions of the people in the neighbourhood of Aldermanbury, where Canning's mother lived, and particularly among fanatics of all denominations, that they raiſed voluntary contributions, with ſurpriſing eagerneſs, in order to bring the ſuppoſed delinquents to juſtice. Warrants were granted for apprehending Wells, who kept the houſe at Enfield-Waſh, and her accomplices, the ſervant-maid, whoſe name was Virtue Hall, and one Squires, an old gipſey-woman, which laſt was charged by Canning, of having robbed her of her ſtays. Wells, though acquitted of the felony, was puniſhed as a bawd. Hall turned evidence for Canning, but afterwards recanted. Squires, the gipſey, was convicted of the robbery, though ſhe produced undoubted evidence to prove that ſhe was at Abbotſbury in Dorſetſhire that very night in which the felony was ſaid to be committed, and Canning and her friends fell into divers contradictions during the courſe of the trial. By this time the prepoſſeſſion of the common people in her favour had riſen to ſuch a pitch of enthuſiaſm, that the moſt palpable truths which appeared on the other ſide had no other effect than that of exaſperating them to the moſt dangerous degree of rage and revenge. Some of the witneſſes for Squires, though perſons of unblemiſhed character, were ſo intimidated, that they durſt not enter the court; and thoſe who had reſolution enough to give evidence in her behalf, ran the riſque of aſſaſſination from the vulgar that ſurrounded the place. On this occaſion, ſir Criſp Gaſcoyne, lord-mayor of London, behaved with that laudable courage and humanity which ought ever to diſtinguiſh the chief magiſtrate of ſuch a metropolis. Conſidering the improbability of the charge, the heat, partiality, and blind enthuſiaſm with which it was proſecuted, and being convinced of the old woman's innocence by a great number of affidavits, voluntarily ſent up from the country by perſons of unqueſtionable credit, he, in conjunction with ſome other worthy citizens, reſolved to oppoſe the torrent of vulgar prejudice. Application was made to the throne for mercy: the caſe was referred to the attorney and ſollicitor-general, who having examined the evidences on both ſides, made their report in favour of Squires to the king and council; and this poor old creature was indulged with his majeſty's pardon. This affair was now ſwelled up into ſuch a faction as divided the greater part of the kingdom, including the rich as well as the poor, the high as well as the humble. Pamphlets and paſquinades were publiſhed on both ſides of the diſpute, which became the general topic of converſation in all aſſemblies, and people of all ranks eſpouſed one or other party with as much warmth and animoſity as had ever inflamed the whigs and tories, even at the moſt rancorous period of their oppoſition. Subſcriptions were opened, and large ſums levied, on one ſide, to proſecute for perjury the perſons on whoſe evidence the pardon had been granted. On the other hand, thoſe who had intereſted themſelves for the gipſey reſolved to ſupport her witneſſes, and, if poſſible, detect the impoſture of Canning. Bills of perjury were preferred on both ſides. The evidences for Squires were tried and acquitted: at firſt Canning abſconded; but afterwards ſurrendered to take her trial, and being after a long hearing found guilty, was tranſported to the Britiſh colonies. The zeal of her friends, however, ſeemed to be inflamed by her conviction; and thoſe who carried on the proſecution againſt her were inſulted, even to the danger of their lives. They ſupplied her with neceſſaries of all ſorts, paid for her tranſportation in a private ſhip, where ſhe enjoyed all the comforts and conveniences that could be afforded in that ſituation, and furniſhed her with ſuch recommendations as ſecured to her a very agreeable reception in New-England.

Next to this very remarkable tranſaction, the incident that principally diſtinguiſhed this year in England, was the execution of dr. Archibald Cameron, a native of North-Britain, and brother to Cameron of Lochiel, chief of that numerous and warlike tribe, who had taken the field with the prince-pretender. After the battle of Culloden, where he was dangerouſly wounded, he found means to eſcape to the continent. His brother, the doctor, had accompanied him in all his expeditions, though not in a military capacity, and was included with him in the act of attainder paſſed againſt thoſe who had been concerned in the rebellion. Notwithſtanding the imminent danger attending ſuch an attempt, the doctor returned privately to Scotland, in order (as it was reported) to recover a ſum of money belonging to the pretender, which had been embezzled by his adherents in that country. Whetever may have been his inducement to reviſit his native country under ſuch a predicament, certain it is, he was diſcovered, apprehended,

[k] The library of ſir Hans Sloane conſiſted of above 50,000 volumes, including about 350 books of drawings, and 3516 manuſcripts, beſides a multitude of prints. The muſeum comprehended an infinite number of medals, coins, urns, utenſils, ſeals, cameos, intaglios, precious ſtones, veſſels of agate and jaſper, chryſtals, ſpars, foſſils, metals, minerals, ores, earths, ſands, ſalts, bitumens, ſulphurs, amber, ambergriſe, talcs, miræ, teſtacea, corals, ſponges, echini, echenites, aſteriæ, trochi, cruſtatia, ſtellæ marinæ, fiſhes, birds, eggs, and neſts, vipers, ſerpents, quadrupeds, inſects, human calculi, anatomical preparations, ſeeds, gums, roots, dried plants, pictures, drawings and mathematical inſtruments. All theſe articles, with a ſhort account of each, are ſpecified in 38 volumes in folio, and eight in quarto.

conducted to London, confined in the Tower, examined by the privy-council, and produced in the court of King's-Bench, where his identity being proved by ſeveral witneſſes, he received ſentence of death, and was executed at Tyburn. The terror and reſentment of the people, occaſioned by the rebellion, having by this time ſubſided, their humane paſſions did not fail to operate in favour of this unfortunate gentleman: their pity was mingled with eſteem, ariſing from his perſonal character, which was altogether unblemiſhed, and his deportment on this occaſion, which they could not help admiring, as the ſtandard of manly fortitude and decorum. The populace, though not very ſubject to tender emotions, were moved to compaſſion, and even to tears, by his behaviour at the place of execution; and many ſincere well-wiſhers to the preſent eſtabliſhment thought that the ſacrifice of this victim, at ſuch a juncture, could not rebound either to his honour or ſecurity.

The turbulent ſpirit, which is never totally extinguiſhed in this iſland, manifeſted itſelf in ſundry tumults that broke out in different parts of South-Britain. The price of proviſion, and bread in particular, being raiſed to an exorbitant rate, in conſequence of an abſurd exportation of corn, for the ſake of the bounty, a formidable body of colliers, and other labouring people, raiſed an inſurrection at Briſtol, began to plunder the corn-veſſels in the harbour, and commit ſuch outrages in the city, that the magiſtrates were obliged to have recourſe to the military power. A troop of dragoons were ſent to their aſſiſtance, and the inſurgents were quelled, though not without ſome bloodſhed. Commotions of the ſame kind were excited in Yorkſhire, Manchester, and ſeveral other places in the northern counties. At Leeds, a detachment of the king's troops were obliged in their own defence to fire upon the rioters, eight or nine of whom were killed on the ſpot: and, indeed, ſo little care had been taken to reſtrain the licentious inſolence of the vulgar by proper laws and regulations, duly executed under the eye of civil magiſtracy, that a military power was found abſolutely neceſſary to maintain the peace of the kingdom.

The tranquillity of the continent was not endangered by any new conteſts or diſturbance: yet the breach between the clergy and the parliament of Paris was every day more and more widened, and the people were equally divided between ſuperſtition and a regard for civil liberty. The parliament having cauſed divers eccleſiaſtics to be apprehended, for having refuſed to adminiſter the ſacrament to perſons in extremity, who refuſed to ſubſcribe to the bull Unigenitus, all of them declared they acted according to the direction of the archbiſhop of Paris. Application being made to this haughty prelate, he treated the deputies of the parliament with the moſt ſupercilious contempt, and even ſeemed to brave the power and authority of that body. They, on the other hand, proceeded to take cognizance of the recuſant clergy, until their ſovereign ordered them to deſiſt. Then they preſented remonſtrances to his majeſty, reminding him of their privileges, and the duty of their ſtation, which obliged them to do juſtice on all delinquents. In the mean time, they continued to perform their functions, and even commenced a proſecution againſt the biſhop of Orleans, whom they ſummoned to attend their tribunal. Next day they received from Verſailles a lettre de cachet, accompanied by letters-patent, commanding them to ſuſpend all proſecutions relating to the refuſal of the ſacraments; and ordering the letters-patent to be regiſtered. Inſtead of obeying theſe commands, they preſented new remonſtrances, for anſwers to which they were referred to the king's former declarations. In conſequence of this intimation, they had ſpirit enough to reſolve, 'That, whereas certain evil-minded perſons had prevented truth from reaching the throne, the chambers remained aſſembled, and all other buſineſs ſhould be ſuſpended.' The affair was now become very ſerious. His majeſty, by freſh letters-patent, renewed his orders, and commanded them to proceed with their ordinary buſineſs, on pain of incurring his diſpleaſure. They forthwith came to another reſolution, importing, that they could not obey this junction without a breach of their duty and their oath. Next day lettres de cachet were iſſued, baniſhing to different parts of the kingdom all the members, except thoſe of the great chamber, which the court did not find more tractable than their brethren. They forthwith reſolved to abide by the two reſolutions mentioned above; and, as an inſtance of their unſhaken fortitude, ordered an eccleſiaſtic to be taken into cuſtody for refuſing the ſacraments. This ſpirited meaſure involved them in the fate of the reſt; for they were alſo exiled from Paris, the citizens of which did not fail to extol their conduct with the loudeſt encomiums, and at the ſame time to expreſs their reſentment againſt the clergy, who could not ſtir abroad without being expoſed to violence and inſult. The example of the parliament of Paris was followed by that of Rouen, which had courage enough to iſſue orders for apprehending the biſhop of Evreux, becauſe he had refuſed to appear when ſummoned to their tribunal. Their decrees on this occaſion being annulled by the king's council of ſtate, they preſented a bold remonſtrance, which, however, had no other effect than that of exaſperating the miniſtry. A grand deputation being ordered to attend the king, they were commanded to deſiſt from intermeddling in diſputes relating to the refuſal of the ſacraments, and to regiſter this injunction. At their return they had recourſe to a new remonſtrance; and one of their principal counſellors, who had ſpoken freely in the debates on this ſubject, was arreſted by a party of dragoons, who carried him priſoner to the caſtle of Dourlens. In a word, the body of the people declared for the parliament, in oppoſition to eccleſiaſtical tyranny; and, had they not been over-awed by a formidable ſtanding army, would certainly have taken up arms in defence of their liberties; while the monarch weakly ſuffered himſelf to be governed by prieſtly deluſions; and ſecure his military appointments, ſeemed to ſet the reſt of his ſubjects at defiance. Apprehenſive, however, that theſe diſputes would put an entire ſtop to the adminiſtration of juſtice, he, by letters-patent, eſtabliſhed a royal chamber for the proſecution of ſuits civil and criminal, which was opened with a ſolemn maſs performed in the queen's chapel at the Louvre, where all the members aſſiſted. On this occaſion another difficulty occured. The letters-patent conſtituting this new court ought to have been regiſted by the parliament, which was now no more. To remedy this defect, application was made to the inferior court of the Chatelet; which refuſing to regiſter them, one of its members was committed to the Baſtile, and another abſconded. Intimidated by this exertion of deſpotic power, they allowed the king's officers to enter the letters in their regiſter; but afterwars adobted more vigorous reſolutions. The lieutenant-civil appearing in their court, all the counſellors roſe up and retired, leaving him alone, and on the table an arret, importing, That whereas the confinement of one of their members, the proſecution of another, who durſt not appear, and the preſent calamities of the nation, gave them juſt apprehenſion for their own perſons, they had, after mature deliberation, thought proper to retire. Thus a dangerous ferment was excited by the king's eſpouſing the cauſe of ſpiritual inſolence and oppreſſion againſt the general voice of his people, and the plaineſt dictates of reaſon and common ſenſe.

The property of Eaſt Frieſeland continued ſtill to be the ſource of contention between the electors of Brandenburgh and Hanover. The intereſts of his Britannick majeſty being powerfully ſupported by the houſe of Auſtria, the miniſter of that power at the diet propoſed that the affair ſhould be taken into immediate conſideration. He was ſeconded by the miniſter of Brunſwick; but the envoy from Brandenburgh, having proteſted in form againſt this procedure, withdrew from the aſſembly, and the Brunſwick miniſter made a counter proteſtation, after which he alſo retired. Then a motion being made, that this diſpute ſhould be refered to the deciſion of the Aulick council at Vienna, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of 14 voices. His Pruſſian majeſty's final declaration with regard to this affair was afterwards preſented to the diet, and anſwered in the ſequel by a memorial from his Britannick majeſty as elector of Hanover. Some other petty diſputes likewiſe happened between the regency of Hanover and the city of Munſter; and the former claiming ſome bailiwics in the territories of Bremen, ſequeſtered certain revenues belonging to this city, in Stade and Ferden, till theſe claims ſhould be ſatisfied.

The court of Vienna having dropped for the preſent the ſcheme for electing a king of the Romans, concluded a very extraordinary treaty with the duke of Modena, ſtipulating, that his ſerene highneſs ſhould be appointed perpetual governor of the duchy of Milan, with a ſalary of 90,000 florins, on condition that he ſhould maintain a body of 4000 men, to be at the diſpoſal of the empreſs-queen; that her imperial majeſty ſhould have a right to place garriſons in the citadels of Mirandola and Reggio, as well as in the caſtle of Maſſa-Carrara: that the archduke Peter Leopold, third ſon of their imperial majeſties, ſhould eſpouſe the daughter of the hereditary prince of Modena, by the heireſs of Maſſa-Carrara; and, in caſe of her dying without heirs male, the eſtates of that houſe and the duchy of Mirandola

ſhould devolve to the archduke; but in caſe of her having male iſſue, that ſhe ſhould enjoy the principality of Fermia, and other poſſeſſions in Hungary, claimed by the duke of Modena, for her fortune: finally, that on the extinction of the male branch of the houſe of Eſte, all the dominions of the duke of Modena ſhould devolve to the houſe of Auſtria.

While the powers on the continent of Europe were thus employed in ſtrengthening their reſpective intereſts, and concerting meaſures for preventing any interruption of the general tranquillity, matters were faſt ripening to a freſh rupture between the ſubjects of Great-Britain and France, in different parts of North-America. We have already obſerved that commiſſaries had been appointed, and conferences opened at Paris, to determine the diſputes between the two crowns, relating to the boundaries of Nova-Scotia; and we took notice in general of the little arts of evaſion practiſed by the French commiſſaries, to darken and perplex the diſpute, and elude the pretenſions of his Britannick majeſty. They perſiſted in employing theſe arts of chicanery and cavil with ſuch perſeverance, that the negotiation proved abortive, the conferences broke up, and every thing ſeemed to portend approaching hoſtilities. But, before we proceed to a detail of the incidents which were the immediate forerunners of the war, we will endeavour to convey a juſt idea of the diſpute concerning Nova-Scotia; which, we apprehend, is but imperfectly underſtood, though of the utmoſt importance to the intereſt of Great-Britain.

Nova-Scotia, called by the French Acadia, lies between the 44th and 50th degrees of north latitude, having New-England and the Atlantick ocean to the ſouth and ſouth-weſt, and the river and gulf of St. Laurence to the north and north-eaſt. The winter, which continues near ſeven months in this country, is intenſely cold; and, without the intervention of any thing that can be called ſpring, it is immediately ſucceeded by a ſummer, the heat of which is almoſt inſupportable, but of no long continuance. The ſoil in general is thin and barren, though ſome parts of it are ſaid to be equal to the beſt land in England. The whole country is covered with a perpetual fog, even after the ſummer has commenced. It was firſt poſſeſſed by the French, before they made any eſtabliſhment in Canada; who, by dint of induſtry and indefatigable perſeverance, in ſtruggling with the many difficulties they neceſſarily laboured under in the infancy of this ſettlement, ſubſiſted tolerably well, and increaſed conſiderably, with very little aſſiſtance from Europe; whilſt we even now ſhould loſe the immence expence we have already been at to ſettle a colony there, and ſhould ſee all our endeavours to that end defeated, if the ſupport of the royal hand was withdrawn but for a moment. This country, by the poſſeſſion of which an enemy would be enabled greatly to annoy all our other colonies, and, if in the hands of the French, would be of ſingular ſervice both to their fiſhery and their ſugar iſlands, has frequently changed hands from the French to the Engliſh, and from the Engliſh bac again to the French, till our right to it was finally ſettled by the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht, by which all the country included within the ancient limits of what was called Nova-Scotia, or Acadia, was ceded to the Engliſh. This article was confirmed by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; but, for want of aſcertaining diſtinctly what were the bounds intended to be fixed by the two nations with reſpect to this province, diſputes aroſe, and commiſſaries, as we have obſerved, were appointed by both ſides, to adjuſt the litigation.

The commiſſaries of the king of Great-Britain conformed themſelves to the rule laid down by the treaty itſelf, and aſſigned thoſe as the ancient limits of this country which had always paſſed as ſuch, from the very earlieſt time of any certainty, down to the concluſion of the treaty; which the two crowns had frequently declared to be ſuch, and which the French had often admitted and allowed. Theſe limits are, the ſouthern bank of the river St. Laurence to the north, and Pentagoet to the weſt: the country ſituated between theſe boundaries is that which the French received by the treaty of St. Germain's, in the year 1632, under the general name of Acadia. Of this country, thus limited, they continued in poſſeſſion from that period to the year 1654, when a deſcent was made upon it, under the command of colonel Sedgwick. That theſe were then the undiſputed limits of Acadia his Britannick majeſty's commiſſaries plainly proved, by a letter of Louis XIII. to the Sieurs Charniſay and La Tour, regulating their juriſdictions in Acadia; by the ſubſequent commiſſions of the French king to the ſame perſons, as governors of Acadia, in the ſequel; and by that which was afterwards granted to the Sieur Denys, in the year 1654; all of which extend the bounds of this country from the river St. Laurence to Pentagoet and New-England. That theſe were the notions of the French with reſpect to the ancient limits of this province was further confirmed by the demand made by their embaſſador, in the courſe of that ſame year, for the reſtitution of the forts Pentagoet, St. John's and Port-Royal, as forts ſituated in Acadia. In the year 1662, upon the revival of the claim of France to the country of Acadia, which had been left undecided by the treaty of Weſtminſter, the French embaſſador, then at the court of London, aſſigned Pentagoet as the weſtern, and the river St. Laurence as the northern boundary of that country; and alledged the reſtitution of Acadia in the year 1632, and the poſſeſſion taken by France in conſequence thereof, as well as the continuation of that poſſeſſion, with the ſame limits, to the year 1654, as proofs of the equity and validity of the claim he then made; in which claim, and in the manner of ſupporting it, he was particularly approved of by the court of France. The ſame court afterwards thought it ſo clear, upon former determinations, and her own former poſſeſſions, that the true ancient boundaries of Acadia were Pentagoet to the weſt, and the river St. Laurence to the north, that ſhe deſired no ſpecification of limits in the treaty of Breda, but was contented with the reſtitution of Acadia, generally named: and, upon a diſpute which aroſe in the execution of this treaty, France re-aſſerted, and Great-Britain, after ſome diſcuſſion agreed to the above-mentioned limits of Acadia; and France obtained poſſeſſion of that country, ſo bounded, under the treaty of Breda. The ſenſe of France upon this ſubject, in the years 1685, and 1687, was alſo clearly manifeſted, in the memorials delivered at that time by the French embaſſador at the court of London, complaining of ſome encroachments made by the Engliſh upon the coaſt of Acadia: he deſcribed the country as extending from iſle Perçe, which lies at the entrance of the river St. Laurence, to St. George's iſland: and again, in a ſubſequent complaint, made by monſ. Barillon and monſ. de Bonrepaus to the court of Great-Britain, againſt the judge of Pemaquid, for having ſeiſed the effects of a French merchant at Pentagoet, which, ſaid they, was ſituated in Acadia, as reſtored to France by the treaty of Breda. To explain the ſenſe of France, touching the bounds of Acadia in the year 1700, the Britiſh commiſſaries produced a propoſal of the French embaſſador, then reſiding in Great-Britain, to reſtrain the limits of that country to the river St. George. They alſo inſtanced the ſurrender of Port-Royal in the year 1710, in which Acadia is deſcribed with the ſame limits with which France had received it in the years 1632, and 1667. And further to aſcertain the ſenſe of both crowns, even at the treaty of Utrecht itſelf, they produced the queen of Great-Britain's inſtructions to her embaſſadors in the year 1711, in which they were directed to inſiſt, 'That his moſt chriſtian majeſty ſhould quit all claim or title, by virtue of any former treaty, or otherwiſe, to the country called Nova-Scotia, and expreſsly to Port-Royal, otherwiſe Annapolis-Royal.' To theſe they added a manifeſt demonſtration, founded on indiſputable facts, proving, that the recital of the ſeveral ſorts of right which France had ever pretended to this country, and the ſpecification of both terms, Acadia, or Nova-Scotia, were intended by Great-Britain to obviate all doubts which had ever been made concerning the limits of Acadia, and to comprehend with more certainty all that country which France had ever received as ſuch: finally, to ſpecify what France conſidered as Acadia, during the treaty they referred to the offers of that crown in the year 1712, in which ſhe propoſed to reſtrain the boundary of Acadia to the river St. George, as a departure from its real boundary, in caſe Great-Britain would reſtore to her the poſſeſſion of that country. From all theſe facts it plainly appears, that Great-Britain demanded nothing but what the fair conſtruction of the words of the treaty of Utrecht neceſſarily implies; and that it is impoſſible for any thing to have more evident marks of candour and fairneſs in it, than the demand of the Engliſh on this occaſion. From the variety of evidence brought in ſupport of this claim, it evidently reſults, that the Engliſh commiſſaries aſſigned no limits as the ancient limits of Acadia, but thoſe which France herſelf determined to be ſuch in the year 1632; and which ſhe poſſeſſed, in conſequence of that determination, till the year 1654; that in 1662 France claimed, and received in 1669, the country which Great-Britain now claims as Acadia, reſtored to France by the treaty of Breda under that general denomination: that France never conſidered Acadia as having any other limits than thoſe which were aſſigned to it from the year 1632, to the year 1710; and

that, by the treaty of Utrecht, ſhe engaged to transfer that very ſame country as Acadia, which France has always aſſerted and poſſeſſed, and Great-Britain now claims, as ſuch. Should the crown of France, therefore, be ever willing to decide what are the ancient limits of Acadia, by her own declarations ſo frequently made in like diſcuſſions upon the ſame point, by her poſſeſſions of this country for almoſt a century, and by her deſcription of Acadia, during the negotiation of that very treaty upon which this doubt is raiſed, ſhe cannot but admit the claim of Great-Britain to be conformable to the treaty of Utrecht, and to the deſcription of the country transferred to Great-Britain by the 12th article of that treaty. There is a conſiſtency in the claim of the Engliſh, and a completeneſs in the evidence brought in ſupport of it, which is ſeldom ſeen in diſcuſſions of this ſort; for it rarely happens, in diſputes of ſuch a nature between two crowns, that either of them can ſafely offer to have its pretenſions decided by the known and repeated declarations or the poſſeſſions of the other. To anſwer the force of this detail of concluſive hiſtorical facts, and to give a new turn to the real queſtion in diſpute, the French commiſſaries, in their memorial, laid it down as a diſtinction made by the treaty of Utrecht, that the ancient limits of Acadia, referred to by that treaty, are different from any with which that country may have paſſed under the treaties of St. Germains and Breda; and then endeavoured to ſhow, upon the teſtimonies of maps and hiſtorians, that Acadia and its limits were anciently confined to the ſouth-eaſtern part of the peninſula. In ſupport of this ſyſtem, the French commiſſaries had recourſe to ancient maps and hiſtorians, who, as they aſſerted, had ever confined Acadia to the limits they aſſigned. They alledged, that thoſe commiſſions of the French government over Acadia, which the Engliſh cited as evidences of the limits they claimed, were given as commiſſions over Acadia and the country around it, and not over Acadia only: that the whole of the country claimed by the Engliſh as Acadia could not poſſibly be ſuppoſed ever to be conſidered as ſuch, becauſe many parts of that territory always did, and ſtill do, preſerve particular and diſtinct names. They affirmed New-France to be a province in itſelf; and argued, that many parts of what we claim as Acadia can never have been in Acadia, becauſe hiſtorians and the French commiſſions of government expreſsly place them in New-France. They aſſerted, that no evidence can be drawn of the opinion of any crown, with reſpect to the limits of any country, from its declaration during the negotiation of a treaty; and, in the end, relying upon maps and hiſtorians for the ancient limits of Acadia, they pretended that the expreſs reſtitution of St. Germain's, and the poſſeſſion taken by France in conſequence of the treaty of Breda, after a long diſcuſſion of the limits, and the declaration of France during the negotiation of the treaty of Utrecht, were foreign to the point in queſtion. In refutation of theſe maxims, the Engliſh commiſſaries proved, from an examination of the maps and hiſtorians cited by the French in ſupport of their ſyſtem, that if this queſtion was to be decided upon the authorities which they themſelves allowed to belong, and to be applicable, to this diſcuſſion, the limits which they aſſigned were utterly inconſiſtent with the beſt maps of all countries, which are authorities in point for almoſt every part of the claim of Great-Britain. They ſhowed, that the French hiſtorians Champlain and Denys, and particularly this laſt, with his commiſſion in the year 1655, aſſigned the ſame northern and weſtern limits to Acadia which they did; and that Eſcarbot, another of their hiſtorians, as far as any evidence can be drawn from his writings, agrees entirely with the former two. They obſerved, that all theſe evidences fall in with and confirm the better authorities of treaties, and the ſeveral tranſactions between the two crowns for near a century paſt; and that the French commiſſaries, by deviating from treaties, and the late proceedings of the two crowns, to ancient hiſtorians and maps, only made a tranſition from an authentic to an inſufficient ſort of evidence; and led the Engliſh commiſſaries into an enquiry, which proved, that both the proper and the improper, the regular and the foreign evidence, upon which this matter had been reſted, equally confuted the limits alledged by the French commiſſaries as the ancient limits of Acadia.

While the Britiſh miniſtry depended upon the ſucceſs of the conferences between the commiſſaries of the two crowns at Paris, the French were actually employed in executing their plans of encroachment upon the Britiſh colonies in North-America. Their ſcheme was to engroſs the whole fur-trade of that continent; and they had already made great progreſs in extending a chain of forts, connecting their ſettlements on the river Miſſiſſippi with their poſſeſſions in Canada, along the great lakes of Erie and Ontario, which laſt iſſues into the river St. Laurence. By theſe means they hoped to exclude the Engliſh from all communication and traffic with the Indian nations, even thoſe that lay contiguous to the Britiſh ſettlements, and confine them within a line of their drawing, beyond which they ſhould neither extend their trade nor plantations. Their commercial ſpirit did not keep pace with the gigantic ſtrides of their ambition: they could not ſupply all thoſe Indians with the neceſſaries they wanted, ſo that many of the natives had recourſe to the Engliſh ſettlements; and this commerce produced a connection, in conſequence of which the Britiſh adventurers ventured to travel with merchandize as far as the banks of the river Ohio, that runs into the Miſſiſſippi, a great way on the other ſide of the Apalachian mountains, beyond which none of our coloniſts had ever attempted to penetrate. The tract of country lying along the Ohio is ſo fertile, pleaſant, and inviting, and the Indians, called Twightees, who inhabit thoſe delightful plains, were ſo well diſpoſed towards a cloſe alliance with the Engliſh, that as far bac as the year 1716, mr. Spotſwood, governor of Virginia, propoſed a plan for erecting a company to ſettle ſuch lands upon this river as ſhould be ceded to them by treaty with the natives; but the deſign was at that time fruſtrated, partly by the indolence and timidity of the Britiſh miniſtry, who were afraid of giving umbrage to the French, and partly by the jealouſies and diviſions ſubſiſting between the different colonies of Great-Britain. The very ſame circumſtances encouraged the French to proceed in their project of invaſion. At length, they penetrated from the banks of the river St. Laurence, acroſs lake Champlain, and upon the territory of New-York built with impunity, and, indeed, without oppoſition, the fort of Crown-Point, the moſt inſolent and dangerous encroachment that they had hitherto carried into execution.

Governor Spotſwood's ſcheme for an Ohio company was revived immediately after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, when certain merchants of London, who traded to Maryland and Virginia, petitioned the government on this ſubject, and were indulged not only with a grant of a great tract of ground to the ſouthward of Penſylvannia, which they promiſed to ſettle; but alſo with an excluſive privilege of trading with the Indians on the banks of the river Ohio. This deſign no ſooner tranſpired, than the French governor of Canada took the alarm, and wrote letters to the governors of New-York and Pennſylvania, giving them to underſtand, that as the Engliſh inland traders had encroached on the French territories and privileges, by trading with the Indians under the protection of his ſovereign, he would ſeiſe them wherever they could be found, if they did not immediately deſiſt from that illicit practice. No regard being paid to this intimation, he next year cauſed three Britiſh traders to be arreſted. Their effects were confiſcated, and they themſelves conveyed to Quebec, from whence they were ſent priſoners to Rochelle in France, and there detained in confinement. In this ſituation they preſented a remonſtrance to the earl of Albermarle, at that time Engliſh ambaſſador in Paris, and he claiming them as Britiſh ſubjects, they were ſet at liberty. Although, in anſwer to his lordſhip's memorial, the court of Verſailles promiſed to tranſmit orders to the French governors in America to uſe all their endeavours for preventing any diſputes, that might have a tendency to alter the good correſpondence eſtabliſhed between the two nations; in all probability the directions given were ſeemingly the very reverſe of theſe profeſſions, for the French commanders, partiſans, and agents in America, took every ſtep their buſy genius could ſuggeſt, to ſtrengthen their own power, and weaken the influence of the Engliſh, by embroiling them with the Indian nations. This taſk they found the more eaſy, as the natives had taken offence againſt the Engliſh, when they underſtood that their lands were given away without their knowledge, and that there was a deſign to build forts in their country, without their conſent and concurrence. Indeed the perſon whom the new company employed to ſurvey the banks of Ohio concealed his deſign ſo carefully, and behaved in other reſpects in ſuch a dark myſterious manner, as could not fail to arouſe the jealouſy of a people naturally inquiſitive, and very much addicted to ſuſpicion. How the company propoſed to ſettle this acquiſition in deſpite of the native poſſeſſors it is not eaſy to conceive, and it is ſtill more unaccountable that they ſhould have neglected the natives, whoſe conſent and aſſiſtance they might have procured at a very ſmall expence. Inſtead of acting ſuch a fair, open, and honourable part,

they ſent a mr. Giſt to make a clandeſtine ſurvey of the country, as far as the falls of the river Ohio; and, as we have obſerved above, his conduct alarmed both the French and Indians. The erection of this company was equally diſagreeable to the ſeparate traders of Virginia and Pennſylvania, who ſaw themſelves on the eve of being deprived of a valuable branch of traffic, by the exceſſive charter of a monopoly; and therefore they employed their emiſſaries to foment the jealouſy of the Indians.

The French having in a manner commenced hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh, and actually built forts on the territories of the Britiſh allies at Niagara, and on the lake Erie, mr. Hamilton, governor of Pennſylvania, communicated this intelligence to the aſſembly of the province, and repreſented the neceſſity of erecting truc-houſes, or places of ſtrength and ſecurity, on the river Ohio, to which the traders might retire in caſe of inſult or moleſtation. The propoſal was approved, and money granted for the purpoſe; but the aſſembly could not agree about the manner in which they ſhould be erected; and in the mean time the French fortified themſelves at leiſure, and continued to harraſs the traders belonging to the Britiſh ſettlements. Repeated complaints of theſe encroachments and depredations being repreſented to mr. Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, he, towards the latter end of this very year, ſent major Waſhington with a letter to the commanding officer of a fort which the French had built on the Riviere-au-Beuf, which falls into the Ohio, not far from the lake Erie. In this letter mr. Denwiddie expreſſed his ſurpriſe that the French ſhould build forts and make ſettlements on the river Ohio, in the weſtern part of the colony of Virginia, belonging to the crown of Great-Britain. He complained of theſe encroachments, as well as of the injuries done to the ſubjects of Great-Britain, in open violation of the law of nations, and of the treaties actually ſubſiſting between the two crowns. He deſired to know by whoſe authority and inſtructions his Britannick majeſty's territories had been invaded; and required him to depart in peace without further proſecuting a plan which muſt interrupt the harmony and good underſtanding which his majeſty was deſirous to continue and cultivate with the moſt chriſtian king. To this ſpirited intimation the officer replied, That it was not his province to ſpecify the evidence, and demonſtrate the right of the king his maſter to the lands ſitnated on the river Ohio; but he would tranſmit the letter to the marquis du Queſne, and act according to the anſwer he ſhould receive from that nobleman. In the mean time, he ſaid, he did not think himſelf obliged to obey the ſummons of the Engliſh governor; that he commanded the fort by virtue of an order from his general, to which he was determined to conform with all the preciſion and reſolution of a good officer. Mr Dinwiddie expected no other reply, and therefore had projected a fort to be erected near the forks of the river. The province undertook to defray the expence, and the ſtores for that purpoſe were already provided; but by ſome fatal overſight, the concurrence of the Indians was neither obtained nor ſollicited, and therefore they looked upon this meaſure with an evil eye, as a manifeſt invaſion of their property.

While the French thus induſtriouſly extended their encroachments to the ſouthward, they were not idle in the gulf of St. Laurence, but ſeized every opportunity of diſtreſſing the Engliſh ſettlement of Nova-Scotia. We have already obſerved, that the town of Halifax was no ſooner built, than they ſpirited up the Indians of that neighbourhood to commit hoſtilities againſt the inhabitants, ſome of whom they murdered, and others they carried priſoners to Louiſbourg, where they ſold them for arms and ammunition, the French pretending that they maintained this traffic from motives of pure compaſſion, in order to prevent the maſſacre of the Engliſh captives, whom, however, they did not ſet at liberty without exacting an exorbitant ranſom. As theſe ſculking parties of Indians were generally directed and headed by French commanders, repeated complaints were made to the governor of Louiſbourg, who ſtill anſwered, that his juriſdiction did not extend over the Indians, and that their French conductors were choſen from the inhabitants of Annapolis, who thought proper to remain in that country after it was ceded to the Engliſh, and were in fact, the ſubjects of Great-Britain. Even while the conferences were carried on for aſcertaining the limits of Nova-Scotia the governor of Canada detached M. la Corne, with ſome regular troops, and a body of militia, to fortify a poſt on the bay of Chignecto, on pretence that this and a great part of the peninſula belonged to his government. The poſſeſſion of this poſt not only ſecured to the Indians of the continent a free entrance into the peninſula, and a ſafe retreat in caſe of purſuit; but alſo encouraged the French inhabitants of Annapolis to riſe in open rebellion againſt the Engliſh government.

In the ſpring of the year 1750, general Cornwallis, governor of Halifax, detached major Laurence with a few men to reduce them to obedience. At his approach they burned their town to aſhes, forſook their poſſeſſions, threw themſelves under the protection of M. la Corne, who thus re-enforced, found himſelf at the head of 1500, well provided with arms and ammunition. Major Laurence being unable to cope with him in the field, demanded an interview, at which he deſired to know for what cauſe the French inhabitants of Nova-Scotia had ſhaken off their allegiance to the crown of Great-Britain, and violated the neutrality which they had hitherto affected to profeſs. The French officer, without pretending to account for their behaviour, gave him to underſtand in general terms, that he had orders to defend his poſt, and theſe orders he was determined to obey. The Engliſh major finding himſelf too weak to attac their united force, and having no orders to commit hoſtilities againſt any but the Indians and their open abettors, returned to Halifax, without having been able to fulfil the purpoſe of his expedition. Immediately after his retreat, the French neutrals (ſo they were called) returned to the habitations which they had abandoned; and, in conjunction with the Indians, renewed their depredations upon the inhabitants of Halifax and its dependent ſettlements. The Engliſh governor, juſtly incenſed at theſe outrages, and ſeeing they would neither ſubmit to the Engliſh government themſelves, nor allow others to enjoy it with tranquillity, reſolved to expel them effectually from the country they ſo ill deſerved to poſſeſs. Major Laurence was again detached with a thouſand men, tranſported by ſea, to Chignecto, where he found the French and Indians entrenched, in order to diſpute his landing. Notwithſtanding this oppoſition, he made a deſcent with a few companies, received and returned a ſmart fire, and ruſhing into their entrenchments, obliged them to fly with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving a conſiderable number killed on the ſpot. The fugitives ſaved themſelves by croſſing a river, on the farther bank of which La Corne ſtood at the head of his troops, drawn up in order to receive them as friends and dependents. He had by this time erected a fort, which he denominated Beau Sejour; and now the Engliſh built another on the oppoſite ſide of the river, which was called after its founder St. Laurence. This being provided with a good garriſon, ſerved as a chec upon the French, and in ſome meaſure reſtrained the incurſions of their barbarians. Not that it effectually anſwered this purpoſe; for the Indians and neutrals ſtill ſeized every opportunity of attacking the Engliſh in the interior parts of the peninſula. In the courſe of the ſucceeding year they ſurpriſed the little town of Dartmouth, on the other ſide of Halifax-bay, where they killed and ſcalped a great number of people, and carried off ſome priſoners. For theſe expeditions the French always ſupplied them with boats, canoes, arms, and ammunition; and indeed they were conducted with ſuch care and ſecrecy, that it was almoſt impoſſible to prevent their ſucceſs. One ſure remedy againſt the ſudden and ſtolen incurſions of thoſe ſavages might have been found in the uſe of ſtaunch hounds, which would have run upon the foot, detected the ſculking parties of the Indians, and fruſtrated all their ambuſcades: but this expedient, ſo eaſy and practicable, was never tried, though frequently recommended in public to the attention of the government, and the conſideration of the coloniſts. The Indians continued to plunder and maſſacre the Britiſh ſubjects with impunity, and were countenanced by the French government in that country, who now ſtrengthened their lodgment on the nec of the peninſula with an additional fort, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Baye-verte; and built a third at the mouth of St. John's river, on the north ſide of the bay of Fundy.

All theſe previous ſteps to a rupture with England were taken with great deliberation, while the commiſſaries of both nations were diſputing about the limits of the very country which they thus arrogantly uſurped; and they proceeded to perfect their chain of forts to the ſouthward, without paying the leaſt regard to the expoſtulations of the Engliſh governors, or to a memorial preſented at Verſailles by the earl of Albermarle, the Britiſh miniſter. He demanded that expreſs orders ſhould be ſent to M. De la Jonquiere, the commander for the French in America, to deſiſt from violence againſt the Britiſh ſubjects in that country; that the fort of Niagara ſhould be immediately raſed; that the ſubjects of Great-Britain, who had been made priſoners, ſhould be ſet at liberty, and indemnified for the loſſes they

had ſuſtained: and that the perſons who had committed thoſe exceſſes ſhould be puniſhed in an exemplary manner. True it is, ſix Engliſhmen, whom they had unjuſtly taken, were immediately diſmiſſed; and the embaſſador amuſed with general promiſes of ſending ſuch inſtructions to the French governor in America, as ſhould anticipate any cauſe of complaint for the future; but far from having any intention to perform theſe promiſes, the court of Verſailles, without all doubt, exhorted La Jonquiere to proceed in bringing its ambitious ſchemes to perfection.

Every incident in America ſeemed to prognoſticate war, when the ſeſſion of parliament was opened on the 15th day of November: yet his majeſty, on this occaſion, told them, That the events of the year had not made it neceſſary for him to offer any thing in particular to their conſideration, relating to foreign affairs. He even declared, that the continuance of the public tranquillity, and the general ſtate of Europe, remained upon the ſame footing as when they laſt parted; and aſſured them of his ſteadineſs in purſuing the moſt effectual meaſures to preſerve to his people the bleſſings of peace. He expreſſed uncommon concern that the horrid crimes of robbery and murder were of late rather increaſed than diminiſhed, and earneſtly recommended this important object to their ſerious attention. Affectionate addreſſes were preſented by both houſes in anſwer to his harrangue; and what was very remarkable, they were propoſed and paſſed without queſtion or debate.

The commons continued the ſame number of ſeamen and land-forces for the enſuing year which had been granted in the laſt ſeſſion, and made ſuitable proviſion for the exigencies of the ſtate. The whole ſupply amounted to 2,797,916l. 10s. 2d. to be raiſed by a land-tax of 2s. in the pound, a malt-tax, a continuation of certain duties on wine, vinegar, cyder, and beer imported, a ſum taken from the ſinking-fund, and the overplus of certain grants, funds, and duties. The proviſions made conſiderably exceeded the grants; but this exceſs was chargeable with the intereſt of what ſhould be borrowed upon the credit of the land or malt-tax, there being a clauſe of credit in both, as alſo with the deficiency (if any ſhould happen) in the ſums they were computed to produce. The houſe agreed to all theſe reſolutions almoſt unanimouſly: indeed, no oppoſition was made to any of them, but that for continuing the ſame number of land-forces, which was carried by a great majority.

The act permitting Jews to be naturalized which had, during the laſt ſeſſion, triumphed over ſuch an obſtinate oppoſition, was by this time become the object of national horror and execration. Every part of the kingdom reſounded with the reproach of the miniſtry who had enforced ſuch an odious meaſure; and the two brothers, who engroſſed the greater part of the adminiſtration, trembled at the proſpect of what this clamour might produce at the general election, this being the laſt ſeſſion of the preſent parliament. So eager were the miniſters to annul this unpopular meaſure, that, immediately after the peers had agreed to the nature and form of an addreſs to his majeſty, the duke of Newcaſtle, with that precipitation ſo peculiar to his character, poured forth an abrupt harangue, in that houſe, importing, that the diſaffected had made an handle of the act paſſed laſt ſeſſion in favour of the Jews, to raiſe diſcontents among many of his majeſty's good ſubjects; and as the act was in itſelf of little importance, he was of opinion it ought to be repealed: for this purpoſe he preſented a bill ready framed, which was read and committed, though not without ſome debate. The naturalization-bill, now devoted as a ſacrifice to the reſentment of the people, contained a clauſe diſabling all naturalized Jews from purchaſing, inheriting, or receiving any advowſon or preſentation, or right to any eccleſiaſtical benefice or promotion, ſchool, hoſpital, or donative; and by the firſt draft of the bill, which his grace now preſented, it was intended that this clauſe ſhould not be repealed. It was the opinion, however, of the majority, that ſuch a clauſe ſtanding unrepealed might imply, that the Jews, by being thus expreſsly excluded from the poſſeſſion of any eccleſiaſtical right of preſentation, would be conſidered as having the power and privilege of purchaſing and inheriting any lay-property in the kingdom. On this conſideration an amendment was made in the bill, the clauſe in queſtion was left out, and the whole act of naturalization repealed without exception [k]. Though the lords, in general, concurred in the expediency of the repeal, it was oppoſed by ſome few, as too great a ſacrifice to the idle and unfounded clamours of the multitude; and upon this ſide of the debate a great power of elocution was diſplayed by earl Temple, who had lately ſucceeded to this title on the death of his mother, a nobleman of diſtinguiſhed abilities, and the moſt amiable diſpoſition, frank, liberal, humane, and zealouſly attached to the intereſt and honour of his country. In the lower-houſe the members of both parties ſeemed to vie with each other in demonſtrations of averſion to this unpopular act. On the very firſt day of the ſeſſion, immediately after the motion for an addreſs to his majeſty, ſir James Daſhwood, an eminent leader in the oppoſition, gave the commons to underſtand, that he had a motion of very great importance to make, which would require the attention of every member, as ſoon as the motion for the addreſs ſhould be diſcuſſed: he, therefore, deſired they would not quit the houſe until he ſhould have an opportunity to explain his propoſal. Accordingly, they had no ſooner agreed to the motion for an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty, than he ſtood up again; and having expatiated upon the juſt and general indignation which the act of the preceding ſeſſion, in favour of the Jews, had raiſed among the people, he moved to order that the houſe ſhould be called over on Tueſday the fourth day of December, for taking that act into conſideration: but being given to underſtand that it was not uſual to appoint a call of the houſe for any particular purpoſe, he agreed that the motion ſhould be general. It was ſeconded by lord Parker, his oppoſite in political intereſts; the houſe agreed to it without oppoſition, and the call was ordered accordingly. They were anticipated, however, by the lords, who framed and tranſmitted to them a bill on the ſame ſubject, to the purport of which the commons made no objection; for every member, having the fear of the general election before his eyes, carefully avoided every expreſſion which could give umbrage to his conſtituents: but violent oppoſition was made to the preamble, which ran in the following ſtrain:—'Whereas an act of parliament was made and paſſed in the 25th year of his majeſty's reign, intituled, An Act to permit perſons profeſſing the Jewiſh religion to be naturalized by parliament, and for other purpoſes therein mentioned; and whereas occaſion has been taken, from the ſaid act, to raiſe diſcontents and diſquiets in the minds of his majeſty's ſubjects, be it enacted, &c.' This introduction was conſidered as an unjuſt reflection upon the body of the people in general, and in particular upon thoſe who had oppoſed the bill in the courſe of the preceding ſeſſion. Sir Roger Newdigate therefore moved that the expreſſion ſhould be varied to this effect: 'Whereas great diſcontents and diſquietudes had from the ſaid act ariſen.' The conſequence of this motion was an obſtinate debate, in which it was ſupported by the earl of Egmont, and divers other able orators: but mr. Pelham and mr. Pitt were numbered among its opponents. The queſtion being put for the propoſed alteration, it was of courſe carried in the negative: the bill, after the third reading, paſſed nemine contradicente, and in due time obtained the royal aſſent.

Even this conceſſion of the miniſtry did not allay the reſentment of the people, and their apprehenſions of encroachment from the Jews. Another act ſtill ſubſiſted, by virtue of which any perſon profeſſing the Jewiſh religion might become a free denizen of Great-Britain, after having reſided ſeven years in any of his majeſty's colonies in America; and this was now conſidered as a law having the ſame dangerous tendency, of which the other was now in a fair way of being convicted. It was moved, therefore, in the lower-houſe, that part of this former act might be read: then the ſame member made a motion for an addreſs to his majeſty, deſiring that the houſe might have the peruſal of the liſts tranſmitted from the American colonies to the commiſſioners for trade and plantations, containing the names of all ſuch perſons profeſſing the Jewiſh religion as had entitled themſelves to the benefit of the ſaid act, ſince the year 1740. Theſe liſts were accordingly preſented, and left upon the table for the peruſal of the members: but as this act contained no limitation of time within which the benefit of it ſhould be claimed, and as this claim was attended with a good deal of trouble and ſome expence, very few perſons had availed themſelves of it in that period. Nevertheleſs, as a great number of Jews were already entitled to claim this indulgence, and as it remained an open channel through which Great-Britain might be deluged with thoſe people, all of whom the law would hold as natural-born ſubjects, and their progeny as freed from all the reſtrictions contain-

[k] The reverend bench of biſhops had, with a laudable ſpirit of chriſtian meekneſs and philanthropy, generally approved of the indulgence granted to their Hebrew brethren; and now they acquieſced in the propoſed repeal with the ſame paſſive diſcretion though one of the number contended for the ſaving clauſe which the duke of N— had reccommended.

ed in the act with reſpect to naturalized foreigners, lord Harley moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal ſo much of the ſaid act as related to perſons profeſſing the Jewiſh religion, who ſhould come to ſettle in any Britiſh colony after a certain time. The motion was ſeconded by ſir James Daſhwood, and ſupported by the earl of Egmont; but being found unequal to the intereſt and elocution of mr. Pelham and mr. Pitt, was rejected by the majority.

[1754] The next object that claimed the attention of the commons, was a bill for improving the regulations already made to prevent the ſpreading of a contagious diſtemper, which raged among the horned cattle in different parts of the kingdom. The laſt bill of this ſeſſion that had the good fortune to ſucceed, was brought in for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion of officers and ſoldiers in the ſervice of the Eaſt-India company, and for the puniſhment of offences committed in the Eaſt-Indies and the iſland of St. Helena. This being a meaſure of a very extraordinary nature, all the members were ordered to attend the houſe on the day fixed for the ſecond reading: at the ſame time all charters, commiſſions, and authorities, by which any powers relative to a military juriſdiction, or the exerciſe of martial law, had been granted or derived from the crown to the ſaid company, were ſubmitted to the peruſal of the members. The bill was by many conſidered as a dangerous extenſion of military power, to the prejudice of the civil rights enjoyed by Britiſh ſubjects, and as ſuch violently conteſted by the earl of Egmont, lord Strange, and mr. alderman Beckford. Their objections were anſwered by the ſollicitor-general and mr. Yorke. The bill, after ſome warm debates, being eſpouſed by the miniſtry, was enacted into a law, and diſpatched to the Eaſt-Indies by the firſt opportunity.

Some other motions were made, and petitions preſented on different ſubjects, which, as they miſcarried, it will be unneceſſary to particulariſe. It may not be amiſs, however, to record an exemplary act of juſtice done by the commons on a perſon belongnig to a public office, whom they detected in the practice of fraud and impoſition. Notwithſtanding the particular care taken in the laſt ſeſſion, to prevent the monopolizing of tickets in the ſtate-lottery, all thoſe precautions had been eluded in a ſcandalous manner by certain individuals, entruſted with the charge of delivering the tickets to the contributors, according to the intent of the act, which expreſsly declared that not more than twenty ſhould be ſold to any one perſon. Inſtead of conforming to theſe directions of the legiſlaure, they and their friends engroſſed great numbers, ſheltering themſelves under a falſe liſt of feigned names for the purpoſe; by which means they not only defeated the equitable intention of the commons, but in ſome meaſure injured the public credit; inaſmuch as their avarice had prompted them to ſubſcribe for a greater number than they had caſh to purchaſe; ſo that there was a deficiency in the firſt payment, which might have had a bad effect on the public affairs. Theſe practices were ſo flagrant and notorious as to attract the notice of the lower-houſe, when an enquiry was begun, and proſecuted with a ſpirit of real patriotiſm, in oppoſition to a ſcandalous cabal, who endeavoured with equal eagerneſs and perſeverance to ſcreen the delinquents. All their efforts, however, proved abhortive; and a committee appointed to examine particulars, agreed to ſeveral ſevere reſolutions againſt one Le—, who had amaſſed a large fortune by this and other kinds of peculation. They voted him guilty of breach of truſt, and a direct violation of the lottery-act; and an addreſs was preſented to his majeſty, deſiring he might be proſecuted by the attorney-general for theſe offences. He was accordingly ſued in the court of King's-Bench, and paid a fine of 1000l. for having committed frauds by which he had gained forty times that ſum; but he was treated with ſuch gentleneſs as remarkably denoted the clemency of that tribunal.

The ſeſſion ended in the beginning of April, when the king gave the parliament to underſtand that he ſhould ſay nothing at preſent on foreign affairs; but aſſured them of his fixed reſolution to exert his whole power in maintaining the general tranquillity, and adhering to ſuch meaſures for that purpoſe as he had hitherto purſued in conjunction with his allies. He in very affectionate terms thanked both houſes for the repeated proofs they had given of their zealous attachment and loyalty to his perſon and government. He enumerated the ſalutary meaſures they had taken for leſſening the national debt, and augmenting the public credit, extending navigation and commerce, reforming the morals of the people, and improving the regulations of civil œconomy. He concluded with declaring, that he ſecurely relied upon the loyalty and good affection of his people, and had no other aim than their permanent happineſs. In a little time after the cloſe of this ſeſſion they were diſſolved by proclamation, and new writs iſſued by the lord-chancellor for convoking a new parliament. The ſame ceremonies were practiſed with reſpect to the convocations of Canterbury and York, though they no longer retained their former importance; nor, indeed, were they ſuffered to ſit and deliberate upon the ſubjects which formerly fell under their cognizance and diſcuſſion.

In the beginning of March, the miniſtry of Great-Britain had been left without a head by the death of mr. Pelham, which was not only ſincerely lamented by his ſovereign, but alſo regreted by the nation in general, to whoſe affection he had powerfully recommended himſelf by the candour and humanity of his conduct and character, even while he purſued meaſures which they did not entirely approve. The loſs of ſuch a miniſter was the more deeply felt by the government at this juncture, being the eve of a general election for a new parliament, when every adminiſtration is ſuppoſed to exert itſelf with redoubled vigilance and circumſpection. He had already concerted the meaſures for ſecuring a majority, and his plan was faithfully executed by his friends and adherents, who ſtill engroſſed the adminiſtration. His brother the duke of Newcaſtle, was appointed firſt lord-commiſſioner of the treaſury, and ſucceeded as ſecretary of ſtate by ſir Thomas Robinſon, who had long reſided as embaſſador at the court of Vienna. The other department of this office was ſtill retained by the earl of Holderneſſe, and the function of chancellor of the exchequer was performed as uſual by the lord-chief-juſtice of the King's-Bench, until a proper perſon could be found to fill that important office: but in the courſe of the ſummer it was beſtowed upon mr. Legge, who acquitted himſelf with equal honour and capacity. Divers other alterations were made, of leſs importance to the public. Sir George Lyttelton was appointed cofferer, and the earl of Hillſborough comptroller of the houſehold. Mr George Grenville, brother to earl Temple, became treaſurer of the navy; and mr. Charles Townſhend, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel, took place as a commiſſioner at the board of admiralty, in the room of lord Barrington, made maſter of the wardrobe. Lord Hardwicke, the chancellor, was promoted to the dignity of an earl. The place of the lord-chief-juſtice of the King's-bench becoming vacant by the death of ſir William Lee, was filled with ſir Dudley Ryder, and he was ſucceeded by mr. Murray in the office of attorney-general.

The elections for the new parliament generally ſucceeded according to the wiſh of the miniſtry; for oppoſition was now dwindled down to the loweſt ſtate of imbecility. It had received a mortal wound by the death of the late prince of Wales, whoſe adherents were too wiſe to purſue an ignis fatuus, without any proſpect of ſucceſs or advantage. Some of them had prudently ſung their palinodia to the miniſtry, and been gratified with profitable employments; while others, ſetting too great a price upon their own importance kept aloof till the market was over, and were left to pine in ſecret over their diſappointed ambition. The maxims of toryiſm had been relinquiſhed by many, as the barren principles of a loſing game; the body of the people were conciliated to the eſtabliſhed government: and the harmony that now, for the firſt time, ſubſiſted among all the branches of the royal family had a wonderful effect in acquiring a degree of popularity which they had never before enjoyed. The writs being returned, the new parliament was opened on the laſt day of May by the duke of Cumberland, and ſome other peers, who acted by virtue of a commiſſion from his majeſty. The commons having choſen for their ſpeaker the right hon. Arthur Onſlow, who had honourably filled that high office in the four preceding parliaments, he was preſented and approved by the commiſſioners. Then the lord high-chancellor haranged both houſes, giving them to underſtand, that his majeſty had indulged them with this early opportunity of coming together, in order to complete without loſs of time certain parliamentary proceedings, which he judged would be for the ſatisfaction of his good ſubjects; but he did not think proper to lay before them any points of general buſineſs, reſerving every thing of that nature to the uſual time of their aſſembling in the winter. On the 5th day of June this ſhort ſeſſion was cloſed, and the parliament prorogued by the lords-commiſſioners.

In the beginning of this year violent diſputes aroſe between the government and the houſe of commons in Ireland, on the almoſt forgotten ſubjects of privilege and

prerogative. The commons conceived they had an undoubted right to apply the ſurplus of their revenue towards national purpoſes, without the conſent of their ſovereign; and, accordingly, in the year 1749, prepared a bill with this preamble; 'Whereas on the 25th day of March laſt a conſiderable balance remained in the hands of the vice-treaſurers or receivers-general of the kingdom, or their deputy or deputies, unapplied; and it will be for your majeſty's ſervice, and for the eaſe of your faithful ſubjects in this kingdom, that ſo much thereof as can be conveniently ſpared ſhould be paid, agreeably to your majeſty's moſt gracious intentions, in diſcharge of part of the national debt.' This approbation gave great offence to the advocates for prerogative in England, who affirmed that the commons had no right to apply any part of the unappropriated revenue, nor even to take any ſuch affair into conſideration, without the previous conſent of the crown, expreſſed in the moſt explicit terms. It was in conſequence of this doctrine, that the duke of Dorſet, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, told them in the next ſeſſion of parliament, held in the year 1751, he was commanded by the king to acquaint them that his majeſty, ever attentive to the eaſe and happineſs of his ſubjects, would graciouſly conſent, and recommended it to them, that ſuch a part of the money then remaining in his treaſury, as ſhould be thought conſiſtent with the public ſervice, be applied towards the further reduction of the national debt. This declaration alarmed the commons, zealous as they were for the preſervation of their privileges; and in their addreſs of thanks, which, like that of the parliament of Great-Britain, uſed always to echo bac the words of the ſpeech, they made no mention of his majeſty's conſent; but only acknowledged his gracious attention to their eaſe and happineſs, in recommending to them the application of the ſurplus. They, accordingly, reſolved to apply 120,000l. of that overplus towards a diſcharge of the national debt; and, in the preamble of the bill, framed for this purpoſe, made no mention of his majeſty's conſent, though before they had acknowledged his goodneſs in recommending this application. The miniſtry in England were highly offended at this purpoſed omiſſion, which they conſtured into a wilful encroachment on the prerogative; and the bill was ſent bac with an alteration in the preamble, ſignifying his majeſty's conſent as well as recommendation. The Iriſh houſe of commons being at that time deeply engaged in a minute enquiry into the conduct of a gentleman, a ſervant of the crown, and a member of their own houſe, accuſed of having miſapplied a large ſum of money, with which he had been entruſted, for rebuilding or repairing the barracs, were now unwilling to embroil themſelves farther with the government, until this affair ſhould be diſcuſſed. They, therefore paſſed the bill with the alteration, and proceeded with their enquiry. The perſon was convicted of having miſapplied the pbblic money, and ordered to make the barracs fit for the reception and accommodation of the troops at his own expence. They did not, however, neglect to aſſert what they thought their rights and privileges, when the next opportunity occurred. The duke of Dorſet, when he opened the ſeſſion of this year, repeated the expreſſion of his majeſty's gracious conſent, in mentioning the ſurplus of the public money. They again omitted that word in their addreſs; and reſolved, in their bill of application, not only to ſink this odious term, but likewiſe to abate in their complaiſance to the crown, by leaving out that expreſſion of grateful acknowledgement, which had met with ſuch a cold reception above. By this time the conteſt had kindled up two violent factions, and diffuſed a general ſpirit of reſentment through the whole Iriſh nation. The committee who prepared the bill, inſtead of inſerting the uſual compliments in the preamble, mentioned nothing but a recital of facts, and ſent it over in a very plain dreſs, quite deſtitute of all embroidery. The miniſtry, intent upon vindicating the prerogative from ſuch an unmannerly attac, filled up the omiſſions of the committee, and ſent it bac with this alteration: 'And your majeſty, ever attentive to the eaſe and happineſs of your faithful ſubjects, has been graciouſly pleaſed to ſignify that you would conſent, and to recommend it to us, that ſo much of the money remaining in your majeſty's treaſury as ſhould be neceſſary be applied to the diſcharge of the national debt, or ſuch part thereof as ſhould be thought expedient by parliament.' This, then, being the criſis, which was to determine a conſtitutional point of ſuch importance, namely, whether the people in parliament aſſembled have a right to deliberate upon, and vote the application of any part of the unappropriated revenue, without the previous conſent of the crown; thoſe who were the moſt zealouſly attached to the liberties of their country reſolved to exert themſelves in oppoſing what they conceived to be a violation of thoſe liberties; and the bill, with its alterations, was rejected by a majority of five voices. The ſucceſs of their endeavours was celebrated with the moſt extravagant rejoicings, as a triumph of patriotiſm over the arts of miniſterial corruption: and on the other hand, all the ſervants of the crown who had joined the popular cry on this occaſion were in a little time diſmiſſed from their employments. The rejection of the bill was a great diſappointment to the creditors of the public, and the circulation of caſh was almoſt ſtagnated. Theſe calamities were imputed to arbitrary deſigns in the government; and the people began to be inflamed with an enthuſiaſtic ſpirit of independency, which might have produced miſchievous effects, had not artful ſteps been taken to bring over the demagogues, and thus divert the ſtream of popular clamour from the miniſtry of thoſe very individuals who had been the idols of popular veneration. The ſpeaker of the houſe of commons was promoted to the dignity of an earl; and ſome other patriots were gratified with lucrative employments. His majeſty's letter arrived for paying off 75,500l. of the national debt. The circulation was thus animated, and the reſentment of the populace ſubſiding, the kingdom retrieved its former tranquillity.

The ambition and intrigues of the French court, by which the Britiſh intereſt was invaded and diſturbed on the continent of America, had alſo extended itſelf to the Eaſt-Indies, where they endeavoured to embroil the Engliſh company with divers nabobs, or princes, who governed different parts of the peninſula intra Gangem. That the reader may have a clear and diſtinct idea of theſe tranſactions, we ſhall exhibit a ſhort ſketch of the Engliſh forts and ſettlements in that remote country. The firſt of theſe we ſhall mention is Surat,[1] in the province ſo called, ſituated between the 21ſt and 22d degrees of north latitude: from hence the peninſula ſtretches into the Indian ocean, as far as the latitude of eight north, ending in a point at Cape Comorin, which is the ſouthern extremity. To the northward this peninſula joins to Indoſtan, and at its greateſt breadth extends ſeven hundred miles. Upon the weſt, eaſt, and ſouth, it is waſhed by the ſea. It comprehends the kingdoms of Malabar, Decan, Golconda, and Biſnagar, with the principalities of Gingi, Tanjaour, and Madura. The weſtern ſide is diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Malabar coaſt: the eaſtern takes the denomination of Coromandel; and, in different parts of this long ſweep, from Surat, round Cape Comorin to the bottom of the bay of Bengal, the Engliſh and other Europian powers have, with the conſent of the mogul, eſtabliſhed forts and trading ſettlements. All theſe kingdoms, properly ſpeaking, belong to the mogul: but his power was ſo weakened by the laſt invaſion of Kouli Khan, that he has not been able to aſſert his empire over this remote country; the tributary princes of which, and even the nabobs, who were originally governors appointed under their authority, have rendered themſelves independant, and exert an abſolute dominion over their reſpective territories, without acknowledging his ſuperiority either by tribute or homage. Theſe princes, when they quarrel among themſelves, naturally have recourſe to the aſſiſtance of ſuch European powers as are ſettled in or near their dominions; and in the ſame manner the Eaſt-Indian companies of the European powers which happen to be at war with each other never fail to intereſt the nabobs in the diſpute.

The next Engliſh ſettlement to Surat, on the coaſt of the peninſula, is Bombay, in the kingdom of Decan, a ſmall iſland, with a convenient harbour, about 45 leagues to the ſouth of Surat. The town is very populous: but the ſoil is barren, and the climate unhealthy; and the commerce was rendered very precarious by the neighbourhood of the famous Carſair Angria, until his port of Geriah was taken, and his fortifications demoliſhed. The Engliſh company likewiſe carry on ſome traffic at Dabul, about 40 leagues

[1] Several European nations had ſettlements at Surat, which was one of the moſt frequented cities of the Eaſt, from the great concourſe of Mahometan pilgrims, who make it their road from India, in their viſits to the tomb of their prophet at Mecca. In order to keep the ſeas clear of pirates between Surat and the gulf of Arabia and Perſia, the mogul had been at the annual expence of a large ſhip fitted out on purpoſe to carry the pilgrims to Judda, which is within a ſmall diſtance of Mecca. For the ſecurity of this ſhip, as well as to protect the trade of Surat, he granted to his admiral, the ſiddee chief of a colony of caffrees, or blacks, a revenue called the Tanka, to the value of three lacks of rupees, amounting to above thirty-ſeven thouſand pounds, ariſing partly from the adjacent lands, and partly from the revenues of Surat, which were paid him yearly by the governor of the caſtle, who is appointed by the mogul to keep the city under proper ſubjection, without, however, interfering with the government of it.

farther to the ſouth, in the province of Cuncan. In the ſame ſoutherly progreſſion, towards the point of the peninſula, we arrive at Carwar, in the latitude of fifteen degrees, where there is a ſmall fort and factory belonging to the company, ſtanding on the ſouth ſide of a bay, with a river capable of receiving ſhips of pretty large burthen. The climate here is remarkably ſalubrious; the country abounds with proviſions of all ſorts, and the beſt pepper of India grows in this neighbourhood. The next Engliſh ſettlement we find at Tillicherry, where the company has erected a fort, to defend their commerce of pepper and cardamons from the inſults of the Rajah, who governs this part of Malabar. Hither the Engliſh trade was removed from Calicut, a large town, that ſtands 15 leagues to the ſouthward of Tillicherry, and was as well frequented as any port on the coaſt of the Indian peninſula. The moſt ſoutherly ſettlement which the Engliſh poſſeſs on the Malabar coaſt is that of Anjengo, between the eight and ninth degrees of latitude. It is defended by a regular fort, ſituated on a broad river, which falls into the ſea, and would be very commodious for trade, were not the water on the bar too ſhallow to admit ſhips of conſiderable burthen. Then turning the cape, and paſſing through the ſtrait of Chilao, formed by the iſland of Ceylon, we arrive on the coaſt of Coromandel, which forms the eaſtern ſide of the iſthmus. Proſecuting our courſe in a northern direction, the firſt Engliſh factory we reach is that of Fort St. David's, formerly called Tegapatan, ſituated in the latitude of 11 degrees 40 minutes north, within the kingdom of Gingi. It was, about 26 years ago ſold by a Mahratta prince to the Eaſt-India company, and, next to Bombay, is the moſt conſiderable ſettlement we have yet mentioned. Its territory extends about eight miles along the coaſt, and half that ſpace up the country, which is delightfully watered by a variety of rivers; the ſoil is fertile, and the climate healthy. The fort is regular, well provided with cannon, ammunition, and a numerous garriſon, which is the more neceſſary, on account of the neighbourhood of the French ſettlement at Pondichery [m]. But the chief ſettlement belonging to the company on this coaſt is that of Madras, or Fort St. George, ſtanding farther to the northward, between the 13th and 14th degrees of latitude, and not a great way from the diamond mines of Golconda. It is ſeated on a flat, barren, ſcorching ſand, ſo near the ſea, that, in bad weather, the walls are endangered by the mighty ſurges rolled in from the ocean. As the ſoil is barren, the climate is ſo intenſely hot, that it would be altogether uninhabitable, were not the heat mitigated by the ſea-breezes. On the land ſide it is defended by a ſalt-water river, which, while it contributes to the ſecurity of the place, robs the inhabitants of one great comfort, by obſtructing the ſprings of freſh water. The fort is a regular ſquare, the town ſurrounded with walls well mounted with artillery, and the place, including the Black Town, is very populous. Madras, with ſeveral villages in the neighbourhood, was purchaſed of the king of Golconda, before the mogul became ſovereign of this country. The governor of this place is not only preſident of Fort St. George, but alſo of all the other ſettlements on the coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel, as far as the iſland of Sumatra. He lives in great pomp, having inferior judges, who paſs ſentence of death occaſionally on malefactors of any nation, except the ſubjects of Great-Britain. All the company's affairs are directed by him and his council, who are inveſted with the power of inflicting corporal puniſhment, ſhort of life and member, upon ſuch Europeans as are in the ſervice, and diſpoſe of all places of truſt and profit. By virtue of an act paſſed in the courſe of this very ſeſſion, the military officers belonging to the company were permitted to hold courts-martial, and puniſh their ſoldiers according to the degree of their delinquency. In a word, Madras is of the utmoſt importance to the company of its ſtrength, wealth, and the great returns it makes in callicoes and muſlins. Towards the latter end of the laſt century the Engliſh company had a flouriſhing factory at Maſulipatam, ſtanding on the north ſide of the river Nagundi, which ſeparates the provinces of Golconda and Biſnagar, in the latitude of 16 degrees and 30 minutes; but now there is no European ſettlement here, except a Dutch factory, maintained for carrying on the chintz commerce. At Viſigapatam, ſituated ſtill farther to the northward, the Engliſh poſſeſs a factory, regularly fortified, on the ſide of a river, which, however, a dangerous bar has rendered unfit for navigation. The adjacent country affords cotton cloths and the beſt ſtriped muſlins of India. It is chiefly for the uſe of this ſettlement that the company maintains a factory at Ganjam, the moſt eaſtern town in the province or kingdom of Golconda, ſituated in a country abounding with rice and ſugar canes. Still farther to the north coaſt, in the latitude of 22 degrees, the company maintains a factory at Balaſore, which was formerly very conſiderable; but hath been of very little conſequence ſince the navigation of the river Huguely was improved. At this place every European ſhip bound for Bengal and the Ganges takes in a pilot. The climate is not counted very ſalubrious; but the adjacent country is fruitful to admiration, and here are conſiderable manufactures of cotton and ſilk. Without ſkilful pilots, the Engliſh would find it very difficult to navigate the different channels through which the river Ganges diſcharges itſelf into the ſea at the bottom of the bay of Bengal. On the ſouthern branch is a town called Pipely, where there was formerly an Engliſh factory: but this was removed to Huguely, 160 miles farther up the river; a place which, together with the company's ſettlements at Calcutta, were the emporiums of their commerce for the whole kingdom of Bengal. Indeed Huguely is now abandoned by the Engliſh, and their whole trade centres at Calcutta or Fort William, which is a regular fortification, containing lodgings for the factors and writers, ſtore-houſes for the company's merchandize, and magazines for their ammunition. As for the governor's houſe, which likewiſe ſtands within the fort, it is one of the moſt regular ſtructures in all India. Beſides theſe ſettlements along the ſea-coaſt of the peninſula, and on the banks of the Ganges, the Engliſh Eaſt-India company poſſeſs certain inland factories and poſts for the convenience and defence of their commerce, either purchaſed of the nabobs and rajahs, or conquered in the courſe of the war. As the operations we propoſe to record were confined to the coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel, or the interior countries which form the peninſula intra Gangem, it will be unneceſſary to deſcribe the factory at Bencoolen, on the iſland of Sumatra, or any ſettlement which the Engliſh poſſeſs in other parts of the Eaſt-Indies.

In order to underſtand the military tranſactions of the Engliſh company in India, the reader will take notice, that immediately after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, monſieur Dupleix, who commanded for the French in that country, began by his intrigues to ſow the ſeeds of diſſenſion among the nabobs, that he might be the better able to fiſh in troubled waters. Nizam Almuluck, the mogul's viceroy of Decan, having the right of nominating a governor of the Carnatic, now more generally known by the name of the nabob of Arcot, appointed Anaverdy Khan to that office, in the year 1745. The viceroy dying was ſucceeded in his viceroyalty or ſubaſhip, by his ſecond ſon. Nazirzing, whom the mogul confirmed. He was oppoſed in his pretenſions by his own couſin Muzapherzing, who had recourſe to the aſſiſtance of M. Dupleix, and obtained from him a re-enforcement of Europeans and artillery, in conſideration of many preſents and promiſes, which he fulfilled in the ſequel. Thus re-enforced, and joined by one Chund Saib, an active Indian chief, he took the field againſt his kinſman Nazirzing, who was ſupported by a body of Engliſh troops under colonel Laurence. The French, dreading an engagement, retired in the night; and Muzapherzing, ſeeing himſelf abandoned by all his own troops, appealed to the clemency of his couſin, who ſpared his life, but detained him as a ſtate priſoner. In this ſituation, he formed a conſpiracy againſt his kinſman's life, with Nazirzing's prime miniſter, and the nabobs of Cadupah and Condaneor, then in his camp; and the conſpirators were encouraged in their ſcheme by Dupleix and Chunda Saib, who had retired to Pondicherry. Thus ſtimulated, they murdered Nazirzing in his camp, and proclaimed Muzapherzing viceroy of Decan. In the tents of the murdered viceroy they found an immenſe treaſure, of which great ſhare fell to M. Dupleix, whom Muzapherzing the uſurper at this time aſſociated in the government. By virtue of this aſſociation the Frenchman aſſumed the ſtate and formalities of an eaſtern prince; and he and his colleague Muzapherzing appointed Chunda Saib nabob of Arcot, Anaverdy Khan, the late nabob, had been in the year 1749, defeated and ſlain by Muzapherzing and Chunda Saib, with the aſſiſtance of the French auxiliaries; and his ſon Mahomed Ali Khan had put himſelf under the protection of the Engliſh at Madras, and was confirmed by Nazarzing, as his father's ſucceſſor in the nabobſhip, or government of Arcot. This government, therefore, was diſputed betwen Mahommed Ali Khan, appointed by the legal viceroy Nazirzing, ſupported by the Engliſh company, and Chunda Saib, nominated by the uſurper Muzapherzing,

[m] The trade conſiſts of long cloths of different colours, ſallampores, morees, dimities, ginghams, and ſuccations.

and protected by Dupleix, who commanded at Pondicherry. Muzapherzing did not long ſurvive his uſurpation. In the year 1751, the ſame nabobs who had promoted him to his kinſman's place, thinking themſelves ill rewarded for their ſervices, fell upon him ſuddenly, routed his troops, and put him to death; and the next day the chiefs of the army proclaimed Sallabatzing, brother to Nazirzing, viceroy of Decan: on the other hand, the mogul appointed Gauzedy Khan, who was the elder brother of Sallabatzing: and this prince confirmed Mahommed Ali Khan in the government of Arcot: but the affairs of the mogul's court were then in ſuch confuſion, that he could not ſpare an army to ſupport the nomination he had made. Chunda Saib, nabob of Arcot, having been depoſed by the great mogul, who placed Anaverdy Khan in his room, he reſolved to recover his government by force, and had recourſe to the French general at Pondicherry, who re-enforced him with 2000 ſepoys, or ſoldiers of the country, 60 caffrees, and 420 French troops, on condition that, if he proved ſucceſsful in his enterpriſe, he ſhould cede to the French the town of Velur, in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, with its dependencies, conſiſting of 45 villages. Thus re-enforced, he defeated his rival Anaverdy Khan, who loſt his life in the engagement, re-aſſumed the government of Arcot, and punctually performed the conditions which had been ſtipulated by his French allies.

Mahommed Ali Khan, at the death of his father, had fled to Tiruchirapalli,[n] and ſollicited the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, who favoured him with a re-enforcement of money, men, and ammunition, under the conduct of major Laurence, a brave and experienced officer. By dint of this ſupply, he gained ſome advantages over the enemy, who were obliged to retreat; but no deciſive blow was given. Mahommed afterwards repaired in perſon to Fort St. David's, to demand more powerful ſuccours, alledging that his fate was connected with the intereſt of the Engliſh company, which in time would be obliged to abandon the whole coaſt, ſhould they allow the enemy to proceed in their conqueſts. In conſequence of theſe repreſentations, he received another ſtrong re-enforcement, under the command of captain Cope; but nothing of importance was attempted, and the Engliſh auxiliaries retired. Then Mahommed was attacked by the enemy, who obtained a complete victory over him. Finding it impoſſible to maintain his footing by his own ſtrength, he entered into a cloſe alliance with the Engliſh, and ceded to them ſome commercial points, which had been long in diſpute. Then they detached captain Cope to put Tiruchirapalli in a poſture of defence; while captain de Gingins, a Swiſs officer, marched at the head of 400 Europeans to the nabob's aſſiſtance. The two armies being pretty equal in ſtrength, lay encamped in ſight of each other a whole month; during which nothing happened but a few ſkirmiſhes, which generally terminated to the advantage of the Engliſh auxiliaries. In order to make a diverſion, and divide the French forces, the company reſolved to ſend a detachment into the province of Arcot; and this was one of the firſt occaſions upon which the extraordinary talents of mr. Clive were diſplayed. He had entered into the ſervice of the Eaſt-India company as a writer, and was conſidered as a perſon very indifferently qualified for ſucceeding in any civil ſtation of life. He now offered his ſervice in a military capacity, and actually began his march to Arcot, at the head of 210 Europeans, with 500 ſepoys.[o]

Such was the reſolution, ſecreſy and diſpatch with which he conducted this enterpriſe, that the enemy knew nothing of his motions until he was in poſſeſſion of the capital, which he took without oppoſition. The inhabitants, expecting to be plundered, offered him a large ſum to ſpare their city; but they derived their ſecurity from the generoſity and diſcretion of the conqueror. He refuſed the proffered ranſom, and iſſued a proclamation, intimating, That thoſe who were willing to remain in their houſes ſhould be protected from inſult and injury, and the reſt have leave to retire with all their effects, except proviſions, for which he promiſed to pay the full value. By this ſage conduct he conciliated the affections of the people ſo entirely, that even thoſe who quitted the place ſupplied him with exact intelligence of the enemy's deſigns, when he was beſieged in the ſequel. The town was in a little time inveſted by Raja Saib, ſon of Chunda Saib, at the head of a numerous army, and the operations of the ſiege were conducted by European engineers. Though their approaches were retarded by the repeated and reſolute ſallies of mr. Clive, they at length effected two breaches, ſuppoſed to be practicable; and on the 14th day of October, in the year 1751, gave a general aſſault. Mr Clive, having received intimation of their deſign, had made ſuch preparations for their reception, that they were repulſed in every quarter with great loſs, and obliged to raiſe the ſiege with the utmoſt precipitation.

This gallant Engliſhman, not content with the reputation he had acquired from his noble defence, was no ſooner re-enforced by a detachment under captain Kirkpatrick from Trichinopoly, than he marched in purſuit of the enemy, whom he overtook in the plains of Arani. There, on the 3d day of December, he attacked them with irreſiſtible impetuoſity; and after an obſtinate diſpute, obtained a complete victory at a very ſmall expence. The forts of Timery, Caujeveram, and Aranie, ſurrendered to the terrour of his name, rather than to the force of his arms; and he returned to the Fort of St. David's in triumph. He had enjoyed a very few weeks of repoſe, when he was ſummoned to the field by freſh incurſions of the enemy. In the beginning of the year 1752, he marched with a ſmall detachment to Madras, where he was joined by a re-enforcement from Bengal, the whole number not exceeding 300 Europeans, and aſſembled a body of the natives, that he might have at leaſt the appearance of an army. With theſe he proceeded to Koveripauk, about 15 miles from Arcot, where he found the French and Indians, conſiſting of 1500 ſepoys, 1700 horſe, a body of natives, and 150 Europeans, with eight pieces of cannon. Though they were advantageouſly poſted and entrenched, and the day was already far advanced, mr. Clive advanced againſt them with his uſual intrepidity; but the victory remained for ſome time in ſuſpenſe. It was now dark, and the battle doubtful, when mr. Clive ſent round a detachment to fall on the rear of the French battery. This attac was executed with great reſolution, while the Engliſh in front entered the entrenchments with their bayonets fixed; and though very little tinctured with diſcipline, diſplayed the ſpirit and activity of hardy veterans. This double attac diſconcerted the enemy in ſuch a manner, that they ſoon deſiſted from all oppoſition. A conſiderable carnage enſued; yet the greater part of the enemy, both horſe and foot, ſaved themſelves by flight, under cover of the darkneſs. The French, to a man, threw down their arms, and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war; and all the cannon and baggage fell into the hands of the victor.

The province of Arcot being thus cleared of the enemy, mr. Clive, with his forces, returned to Fort St. David's, where he found major Laurence juſt arrived from England,[p] to take upon him the command of the troops in the company's ſervice. On the 18th day of March this officer, accompanied by mr. Clive, took the field, and was joined by captain de Gingins at Tiruchirapalli. From hence he detached mr. Clive, with 400 European ſoldiers, a few Mahratta horſe, and a body of ſepoys, to cut off the enemy's retreat to Pondicherry. In the courſe of this expedition he diſlodged a ſtrong body of the foe poſted at Samiaveram, and obliged Chunda Saib to through a body of troops into a ſtrong fortified temple, or pagoda, upon the river Koleroon, which was immediately inveſted. The commanding officer, in attempting to eſcape, was ſlain with ſome others, and the reſt ſurrendered at diſcretion. They were ſtill in poſſeſſion of another fortified temple, hich he alſo beſieged in form, and reduced by capitulation. Having ſubdued theſe forts, he marched directly to Volconda, whither he underſtood the French commander D'Anteuil had retired. He found that officer entrenched in a village, from whence he drove him with precipitation, and made himſelf maſter of the French cannon. The enemy attempted to ſave themſelves in a neighbouring fort; but the gates being ſhut againſt them by the governor, who was apprehenſive that they would be followed pell-mell by the Engliſh, mr. Clive attacked them with great fury, and made a conſiderable ſlaughter: but his humanity being ſhocked at this carnage, he ſent a flag of truce to the vanquiſhed, with terms of capitulation, which they readily embraced. Theſe articles imported, That D'Anteuil, and three other officers, ſhould remain priſoners on parole for one year: that the garriſon ſhould be exchanged, and the money and ſtores be delivered to the nabob whom the Engliſh ſupported.

[n] Tiruchirapalli, commonly called Trichinopoly, ſituated near the river Cauveri, above 200 miles to the ſouthward of Madras, is the capital of a ſmall kingdom belonging to the government of Arcot, and bounded on the eaſt by the kingdom of Tanjore.

[o] The ſepoys are the mercenaries of the country, who are hired as ſoldiers occaſionally by all parties.

[p] Major Laurence had ſailed for England in the year 1750.

During theſe tranſactions Chunda Saib lay encamped with an army of 30,000 men at Syrinham, an iſland in the neighbourhood of Tiruchirapalli, which he longed eagerly to poſſeſs. Hither major Laurence marched with his Indian allies,[q] and took his meaſures ſo well, that the enemy's proviſions were entirely intercepted. Chunda Saib, in attempting to fly, was taken priſoner by the nabob of Tanjore, an ally of the Engliſh company, who ordered his head to be ſtruc off, in order to prevent the diſputes which otherwiſe would have ariſen among the captors.[r] The main body of the army being attacked by major Laurence, and totally defeated, the iſland of Syrinham was ſurrendered, and about 1000 European French ſoldiers, under the command of mr. Law, nephew to the famous Law who ſchemed the Miſſiſſippi company, fell into the hands of the conquerors, including 30 officers with 40 pieces of cannon, and 10 mortars. M. Dupleix, though exceedingly mortified by this diſaſter, reſolved to maintain the cauſe which he had eſpouſed. He proclaimed Raja Saib, the ſon of Chund Saib, nabob of Arcot; and afterwards pretended that he himſelf had received from the mogul ſanids or commiſſions, appointing him governor of all the Carnatick, from the river Kriſtnah to the ſea: but theſe ſanids appeared in the ſequel to be forged. In order to complete the comedy, a ſuppoſed meſſenger from Delhi was received at Pondicherry as embaſſador from the mogul. Dupleix, mounted on an elephant, preceded by muſic and dancing women, in the oriental manner, received in public his commiſſion from the hands of the pretender embaſſador. He affected the eaſtern ſtate, kept his darbar or court, where he appeared ſitting croſs-legged on a ſopha, and received preſents as prince of the country from his own council, as well as from the natives. In the mean time, hoſtilities continued between the forces of the two companies, as auxiliaries to the contending nabobs. The Engliſh, under major Kinnier, made an unſucceſsful attempt upon Gingee, a ſtrong town ſituated to the weſt of Pondicherry. Major Laurence defeated a ſtrong body of French and natives, commanded by Dupleix's nephew, M. de Derjean, in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, and took him priſoner, together with 15 officers: after this ſucceſs, mr. Clive reduced the forts of Covelong and Chengalput, the laſt very ſtrong, ſituated about 40 miles to the ſouthward of Madras. On the other hand, M. Dupleix intercepted at ſea captain Schaub, with his whole Swiſs company, whom he detained priſoners at Pondicherry, although the two nations were not at war with each other. During theſe tranſactions Sallabatzing, with a body of French under M. de Buſſy, advanced towards Aurengabad, which was the ſeat of government; but he was oppoſed by a chief of the Mahrattas, at the head of a numerous army. In the mean time, Gawzedy Khan, the elder brother of Sallabatzing, whom the mogul had appointed viceroy of Decan, took poſſeſſion of his government at Aurengabad, where in 14 days after his arrival, he was poiſoned by his own ſiſter. The mogul immediately appointed his ſon Schah Abadin Khan to ſucceed his father; and this prince actually raiſed an army to come to take poſſeſſion: but the mogul's affairs requiring his preſence at Delhi, he was obliged to poſtpone his deſign, ſo that Sallabatzing was left without a competitor, and made a preſent to the French of all the Engliſh ſettlements to the northward. Thus concluded the year 1752. Next campaign was chiefly confined to the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, where major Laurence made ſeveral vigorous attacs upon the enemy's army, and obtained many advantages, which, however, did not prove deciſive, becauſe he was ſo much out-numbered that he could never follow his blow.

In the courſe of this year, the mogul was depoſed by his general Schah Abadin Khan, the viceroy of Decan, who raiſed to the throne Allum Geer, another prince of the blood. In the ſucceeding year, a negotiation was ſet on foot by mr. Saunders, governor of Madras, and M. Dupleix, and conferences were opened at Sadraſs, a Dutch ſettlement between Pondicherry and Fort St. George; but this proved abortive; and many other gallant efforts were made by major Laurence in the territory of Trichinopoly, which ſtill continued to be the ſcene of action. In the courſe of this year admiral Watſon arrived on the coaſt of Coromandel with a ſquadron of ſhips of war, having on board a regiment commanded by colonel Aldercroon: at the ſame time the ſhips from France brought over to Pondicherry the Sieur Godeheu, commiſſary-general and governor-general of all their ſettlements, at whoſe arrival Dupliex departed for Europe. The new governor immediately wrote a letter to mr. Saunders, profeſſing the moſt pacific inclinations, and propoſing a ſuſpenſion of arms between the two companies, until their diſputes could be amicably adjuſted. This propoſal was very agreeable to the governor and council at Madras, and a ceſſation of arms actually took place in the month of October, in the year 1754. Deputies being ſent to Pondicherry, a proviſional treaty and truce were concluded, on condition that neither of the two companies ſhould for the future interfere in any difference that might riſe between the princes of the country. The other articles related to the places and ſettlements that ſhould be retained or poſſeſſed by the reſpective companies, until freſh orders relating to this agreement ſhould arrive from the courts of London and Verſailles, tranſmitted by the two Eaſt-India company of France and England. Until ſuch orders ſhould arrive, it was ſtipulated that either nation ſhould be allowed to procure any new grant or ceſſion, or to build forts for the defence of new eſtabliſhments; and that they ſhould not proceed to any ceſſion, retroceſſion, or evacuation of what they then poſſeſſed; but every thing ſhould remain on the footing of ulti poſſidetis. How pacific ſoever the ſentiments of the French ſubjects might have been at this period in the Eaſt-Indies, certain it is, the deſigns of the French governors in America were altogether hoſtile, and their conduct haſtening towards a rupture, which kindled up a bloody war in every diviſion of the globe.

As this war may be termed a native of America, and the principal ſcenes of it were acted on that continent, we ſhall, for the information of the reader, ſketch out the ſituation of the then Britiſh colonies as they bordered on each other, and extended along the ſea-coaſt, from the gulf of St. Laurence as far ſouth as the country of Florida. We ſhall enumerate the Indian nations that lie ſcattered about their confines, and delienate the manner in which the French hemmed them in by a ſurpriſing line of fortifications. Should we comprehend Hudſon's-Bay, with the adjacent countries, and the banks of Newfoundland, in this geographical detail, we might affirm that Great-Britain at that time poſſeſſed a territory along the ſea-coaſt, extending 1700 miles in a direct line, from the 60th to the 31ſt degree of northern latitude: but as theſe two countries were not concerned in this diſpute, we ſhall advance from the northward to the ſouthern ſide of the gulf of St. Laurence; and beginning with Acadia or Novia-Scotia, deſcribe our ſettlements, as they lie in a ſoutherly direction, as far as the gulf of Florida. This great tract of country, ſtretching 15 degrees of latitude, is waſhed on the eaſt by the Atlantic ocean: the ſouthern boundary is Spaniſh Florida; but to the weſtward the limits are uncertain, ſome affirming that the juriſdiction of the colonies penetrates through the whole continent, as far as the ſouth-ſea; while others, with more moderation, think they are naturally bounded by the river Illionois that runs into the Miſſiſſippi, and in a manner connects that river with the chain of lakes known by the names of Michigan, Huron, Erie, and Ontario, the three firſt communicating with each other, and the laſt diſcharging itſelf into the river St. Laurence, which running by Montreal and Quebec iſſues into the bay of the ſame denomination, forming the northern boundary of Nova-Scotia. The French, who had no legal claim to any lands on the ſouth ſide of this river, nevertheleſs, with an inſolence of ambition peculiar to themſelves, not only extended their forts from the ſource of the St. Laurence, through an immenſe tract of that country, as far as the Miſſiſſippi, which diſembogues itſelf into the gulf of Florida; but alſo, by a ſeries of unparalleled encroachments, endeavouring to contract the Engliſh colonies within ſuch narrow limits as would have cut off almoſt one-half of their poſſeſſions. As we have already given a geographical deſcription of Nova-Scotia, and mentioned the particulars of the new ſettlement of Halifax, we ſhall now only obſerve, that it is ſurrounded on three ſides by the ſea, the gulf, and river of St. Laurence; that its original boundary to the weſt was the river Pentagoet; but it is now contracted within the river St. Croix, becauſe the crown of Great-Britain did, in the year 1663, grant to the duke of York, the territory of Sagadahack, ſtretching from St. Croix, to the river of this name; which was in the ſequel, by an expreſs charter from the crown, annexed to the pro-

[q] His army conſiſted of 1200 Europeans and Topaſſes in battalions, 2000 ſepoys; with the forces of the nabob, the kings of Tanjore, Muiſſack, and Mahrattas; amounted to 1500 horſe, and 10,000 infantry. Topaſſes are deſcendants from the Portugueſe. The Mahrattas are native Indians of a very numerous and powerful nation, which hath more than once given law to the mogul.

[r] Chunda Saib demanded leave of the Tanjore general to paſs through his camp to Tanjore, and this requeſt was granted; but, inſtead of being allowed to paſs, he was detained priſoner, and as the allies could not agree about the manner in which he ſhould be diſpoſed of, ſome of the Tanjore officers, of their own accord, ended the diſpute, by cutting off his head.

vince of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, one of the four governments of New-England. This country, ſituated next to Nova-Scotia, lies between the 41ſt and 45th degrees of north latitude, extending near 300 miles in length, and about 200 in breadth, if we bound it by thoſe tracts which the French poſſeſſed; no part of the ſettlements of this country, however, ſtretches above 60 miles from the ſea. The ſummer is here intenſely hot, and the winter proportionably ſevere: nevertheleſs, the climate is healthy, and the ſky generally ſerene. The ſoil is not favourable to any of the European kinds of grain; but produces great plenty of maiz, which the people bake into bread, and brew into beer, though their favourite drink is made of melaſſes hopped, and impregnated with the tops of the ſpruce-fir, which is a native of this country. The ground raiſes good flax and tolerable hemp. Here are great herds of blac cattle, ſome of them very large in ſize, a vaſt number of excellent hogs, a breed of ſmall horſes, graceful, ſwift, and hardy; and large flocs of ſheep, whoſe wool, though not ſo fine as that of England, is manufactured with great ſucceſs.

New-England is compoſed of the four provinces known by the names of New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſett's-Bay, Rhode-Iſland, and Connecticut. It is bounded on the ſouth by New-York, extending northerly on both ſides of the river Hudſon, about 200 miles into the country poſſeſſed by the Indians of the Five-Nations, whom the French diſtinguiſh by the name of the Irroquois; but in breadth this province does not exceed 50 miles, though it comprehends Long-Iſland, lying to the ſouthward of Connecticut. The capital, which derives from the province the name of New-York, is ſituated on an excellent harbour in the iſland of Manahatton, extending 14 miles in length, and 5 in breadth, at the mouth of the noble river Hudſon, which is navigable for above 200 miles. At the diſtance of 150 miles from New-York ſtands the town of Albany, upon the ſame river. In this place all the treaties and other tranſactions are negotiated between the Engliſh and Irroquois, a confederacy of five Indian nations, who, by their union, courage, and military ſkill, had reduced a great number of other Indian tribes, and ſubdued a territory more extenſive than the whole kingdom of France. They were about fourſcore years ago able to bring 10,000 warriors into the field; but now their number is ſo greatly diminiſhed by wars, epidemical diſeaſes, and the uſe of ſpirituous liquors, that they cannot raiſe above 1500 men, even though they have admitted into their confederacy the nation of the Tuſcaroras, whom the Engliſh drove from the confines of Carolina. The Mohok Indians inhabit the country advanced from Albany. The northern extremities of New-Hampſhire and New-York are divided by the lakes Champlain and Sacrament, between which the French had raiſed the fort of Crown-Point.

Contiguous to New-York, and lying along the coaſt, in a ſoutherly direction, is the ſmall province of New-Jerſey, bounded on the weſt by the river Delaware, which divides it from Pennſylvania, extending about 150 miles in length but in breadth not more than one-third of that extent. The climate, ſoil, and produce of theſe two provinces, as well as of Pennſylvania, are ſimilar. They yield great quantities of grain, ſheep, horſes, hogs, and horned cattle; all kind of poultry and game in great abundance; vegetables of every ſort in perfection, and excellent fruit, particularly peaches and melons. Their vaſt foreſt abound with oak, aſh, beech, cheſnut, cedar, walnut-tree, cypreſs, hickery, ſaſſafras, and pine; but the timber is not counted ſo fit for ſhipping as that of New-England and Nova-Scotia. Theſe provinces produce great quantities of flax and hemp. New-York affords mines of iron, and very rich copper ore is found in New-Jerſey.

Pennſylvania, lying to the ſouthward of New-York and New-Jerſey, is bounded on the other ſide by Maryland, ſtretching 250 miles in length, 200 in breadth, and having no communication with the ſea, except by the mouth of the river Delaware. This province was originally ſettled by quakers, under the auſpices of the celebrated William Penn, whoſe deſcendents are ſtill proprietors of the country. Philadelphia, the capital iſland, ſtands on a tongue of land, at the confluence of the two navigable rivers, the Deleware and the Schulkel, diſpoſed in the form of a regular oblong, and deſigned by the original plan to extend from the one to the other. The ſtreets, which are broad, ſpacious and uniform, croſs each other at right angles, leaving proper ſpaces for churches, markets, and other public edifices. The houſes are neatly built of bric, the quays ſpacious and magnificent, the warehouſes large and numerous, and the docs commodious and well contrived for ſhip-building. Pennſylvania is underſtood to extend as far northerly as the banks of the lake Erie, where the French erected a fort. They alſo raiſed another at ſome diſtance to the ſouthward of the Reviere-au-Beuf, and made other encroachments on this colony.

Adjoining to part of Pennſylvania, on the ſea coaſt, lies the province of Maryland, a tract of land ſituated along the bay of Cheſapeak, in length about 140 miles, and nearly of the ſame breadth, bounded on the north by Pennſylvania, on the eaſt by the Atlantic ocean, and by the river Potowmack on the ſouth. This country was firſt planted with Roman catholics by lord Baltimore, to whom Charles II. granted it by patent. In the ſequel, however, people of all religions were admitted into this ſettlement, and indulged with liberty of conſcience, and at preſent the reigning religion is that of the Engliſh church. The climate is very ſultry in ſummer, and not very ſalubrious. The ſoil is fruitful, and produces a great quantity of tobacco, which the people cultivate as their ſtaple commodity. The ſeat of government is eſtabliſhed at Annapolis, a ſmall town beautifully ſituated on the river Patuxent.

Tracing the ſea-coaſt ſtill ſoutherly, the next ſettlement is Virginia, watered on the north by the river Potowmack, which is the boundary between this and the colony laſt deſcribed, having the bay of Cheſapeak to the eaſt, bounded on the ſouth by Carolina, and extending weſtward without any preſcribed limits, though the plantations have reached no farther than the great Allegany mountains; ſo that the province, as now poſſeſſed, ſtretches in length about 240 miles, and in breadth not above 200, lying between 55th and 40th degrees of latitude. In ſailing to Virginia, navigators ſteer through a ſtrait formed by two points, called the Capes, into the bay of Cheſapeak, a large inlet that runs 300 miles into the country, from ſouth to north, covered from the Atlantick ocean, by the eaſtern ſide of Maryland, and a ſmall portion of Virginia on the ſame peninſula. This noble bay is about 18 miles broad for a conſiderable ſpace, and 7 at its narroweſt part, yielding generally 9 fathoms depth of water; on both ſides it receives many navigable rivers, thoſe on the Virginia ſide being known by the names of James-river, York-river, the Rappahannock, and Potowmack. This country, eſpecially towards the ſea, lies very low and ſwampy, and the ſoil is extremely fertile. The air and weather are variable, the heats of ſummar exceſſive, the froſts of winter ſudden, and intenſely cold; ſo that upon the whole, the climate is neither very agreeable nor healthy, the people being particularly ſubject to agues and pleuretic diſorders. The province abounds with vaſt foreſts of timber; the plains are covered with a ſurpriſing luxuriancy of vegetables, flowers, and flowering ſhrubs, diffuſing the moſt delicious fragrance. The ground yields plenty of corn, and every ſort of fruit in great abundance and perfection. Horned cattle and hogs have here multiplied to admiration ſince they were firſt imported from Europe. The animals, natives of this and the neighbouring countries, are deer, panthers or tygers, bears, wolves, foxes, ſquirrels, racoons, and creatures called opoſſums, with an infinite variety of beautiful birds, and a diverſity of ſerpents, among which the rattle-ſnake is the moſt remarkable.

Virginia is bounded to the ſouth by the two Carolinas, ſituated between the 46th and 31ſt degrees of latitude; the length amounting to upwards of 400 miles, and the breadth extending near 300, as far as the Indian nations called the Catawbas, the Creeks, and Cherokees. The country of Carolina is divided into two governments, of which the moſt northern is the moſt inconſiderable. The climate in both is the ſame, as well as the ſoil: the firſt is warm, though not unhealthy; the laſt extremely fertile, yielding every thing in plenty which is produced in Virginia, beſides abundance of excellent oranges, and ſome commodities which are not found to the northward. North-Carolina, though not ſo opulent, is more populous than the ſouthern part. The coloniſts of North-Carolina carry on a conſiderable traffic in tar, pitch, turpentine, ſtaves, ſhingles, lumber, corn, peas, pork, and beef, tobacco, deer-ſkins, indigo, wheat, rice, bees-wax, tallow, bacon, and hog's lard, cotton and ſquared timber, live cattle, with the ſkins of beaver, racoon, fox, minx, wild cat, and otter. South-Carolina is much better cultivated; the people are more civiliſed, and the commerce more important. The capital of this province, called Charles-Town, is finely ſituated at the confluence of two navigable rivers, having the advantage of a commodious harbour. Their trade, excluſive of the articles we have already mentioned as common to this government and that of North-Carolina, conſiſts of

two chief ſtaple commodities, rice and indigo, which they cultivate with great ſucceſs; and they have likewiſe made come progreſs in the culture of ſilk.

The moſt ſouthern of all our ſettlements on this coaſt is Georgia, extending about 60 miles from north to ſouth, along the ſea-ſhore; but widening in the inland parts to above 150, and ſtretching almoſt 300 from the ſea to the Apalachian mountains. This country differs very little from that of South-Carolina, with which it borders; yet the ſummer is here more hot, and the ſoil not ſo fertile. Savannah, the capital, ſtands commodiouſly for trade, about 10 miles from the ſea, on a river of the ſame name, navigable with large boats 200 miles farther up to the ſecond town, called Auguſta, a place that flouriſhes by the Indian trade of ſkins, which the inhabitants carry on with their neighbours the Creeks, the Chickeſaws, and the Cherokees, who are the moſt numerous and powerful tribes in America. Georgia is bounded on the ſouth by the river Attamaha, at no great diſtance from the Spaniſh fort of St. Auguſtin.

Having thus exhibited a ſuccinct view of the Britiſh colonies in North-America, for the information of the reader, we ſhall now reſume the thread of our hiſtory, and particulariſe the tranſactions by which the preſent year was diſtinguiſhed on this extenſive continent. The government of England having received nothing but evaſive anſwers from the court of France, touching the complaints that were made of the encroachments in America, diſpached orders to all the governors of that country to repel force by force, and drive the French from their ſettlements on the river Ohia. Accordingly, the provinces of Virginia and Pennſylvania took this important affair into their conſideration; but while they deliberated, the French vigorouſly proſecuted their deſigns on the other ſide of the mountains. They ſurprized Logs-town, which the Virginians had built upon the Ohio; made themſelves maſters of the Block-houſe and Truck-houſe, where they found ſkins and other commodities to the amount of 20,000l. and deſtroyed all the Britiſh traders, except two who found means to eſcape. At the ſame time, M. de Contrecœur, with 1000 men and 18 pieces of cannon, arrived in 300 canoes from Vanengo, a fort they had raiſed on the banks of the Ohio, and reduced by ſurprize a Britiſh fort which the Virginians had built on the forks of the Monangahela, that runs into the ſame river.

Theſe hoſtilities were followed by divers ſkirmaſhes between the people of the two nations, which were fought with various ſucceſs. At length the governors of the Engliſh ſettlements received orders from England to form a political confederacy, for their mutual defence: and the governor of New-York was directed to confer with the chiefs of the Six Nations, with a view to detach them from the French intereſt by dint of promiſes and preſents of value, ſent over for that purpoſe. A congreſs was accordingly appointed at Albany, to which place the governor of New-York repaired, accompanied by commiſſioners from all the other Britiſh ſettlements: but a very ſmall number of Indians arrived, and even theſe ſeemed to be indifferent to the advances and exhortations that were made by the Engliſh orator. The truth is, the French had artfully weaned them from their attachment to the ſubjects of Great-Britain. Nevertheleſs, they accepted the preſents, renewed their treaties with the king of England, and even demanded his aſſiſtance in driving the French from the poſts and poſſeſſions they had uſurped within the Indian territories. It was in conſequence of the meaſures here taken, that colonel Waſhington was detached from Virginia with 400 men, and occupied a poſt on the banks of the river Ohio, where he threw up ſome works, and erected a kind of occaſional fort, in hopes of being able to defend himſelf in that ſituation, until he ſhould be joined by a re-enforcement from New-York, which, however, did not arrive.

While he remained in this ſituation, De Viller, a French commander, at the head of 900 men, being on his march to diſlodge Waſhington, detached one Jamonville, an inferior officer, with a ſmall party, and a formal ſummons to colonel Waſhington, requiring him to quit the fort, which he pretended was built on ground belonging to the French, or their allies. So little regard was paid to this intimation, that the Engliſh fell upon this party, and, as the French affirm, without the leaſt provocation, either ſlew or took the whole detachment. De Viller, incenſed at theſe unprovoked hoſtilities, marched up to the attac, which Waſhington for ſome time ſuſtained under manifold diſadvantages. At length, however, he ſurrendered the fort upon capitulation, for the performance of which he left two officers as hoſtages in the hands of the French; and in his retreat was terribly harraſſed by the Indians, who plundered his baggage, and maſſacred his people. This event was no ſooner known in England, than the Britiſh embaſſador at Paris received directions to complain of it to the French miniſtry, as an open violation of the peace; but this repreſentation had no effect.

Both nations by this time foreſaw that a rupture would be inevitable, and each reſolved to make ſuitable preparations. France continued to ſend re-enforcements of men, and ſupplies of ammunition to Quebec, for the proſecution of her ambitious projects; and the miniſtry of Great-Britain tranſmitted ſalutary cautions to the governors of the provinces in North-America, exhorting them to join their endeavours for repelling the incurſions of the enemy. Such an union as ſeemed neceſſary for their common preſervation was not eaſily effected. The different colonies were divided by different views and intereſts, both religious and political: beſides, every ſettlement was diſtracted into factions, formed by the governor and the demagogues of the aſſembly: in other words, an oppoſition like that in parliament, and a continual ſtruggle between the liberties of the people and the prerogative of the proprietor, whether ſovereign or ſubject. Mr Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, having demanded a certain perquiſite or fee for every patent he ſhould paſs for land, the aſſembly voted his demand illegal, arbitrary, and oppreſſive. They declared that every man who paid it ſhould be deemed an enemy to his country, and ſent over an agent to London, to ſollicit the ſuppreſſion of this impoſition. The repreſentatives of the people in Pennſylvania waſted the time in vain deliberations and violent diſputes with their proprietors, while the enemy infeſted their frontiers. The colony of New-York was filled with diſcontent and animoſity. Sir Danvers Oſborne, who had been appointed governor of this province, died immediately after his arrival at New-York, and the inſtructions he had received were expoſed to public cenſure. The preamble inveighed ſeverely againſt the want of duty, allegiance, loyalty, and unanimity which had lately appeared ſo notorious in the aſſembly of that province, who had violated the royal commiſſion and inſtructions, by aſſuming to themſelves the power to diſpoſe of public money in the laws which they had occaſionally paſſed. This gentleman was, therefore, directed to inſiſt upon the reformation of all thoſe public abuſes, and upon the eſtabliſhment of a certain ſupply for the ſervice of the government, as well as upon the ſettlement of a ſalary for himſelf. Moreover, his majeſty, in theſe inſtructions, ſignified his will and pleaſure, That all money raiſed for the ſupply and ſupport of government, or upon any emergency for immediate ſervice, ſhould be diſpoſed of and applied properly to the uſe for which it might be granted, by warrant from the governor, by and with the advice and conſent of the council of the province, and no otherwiſe: that nevertheleſs, the aſſembly ſhould be permitted, from time to time, to view and examine the accounts of money diſpoſed of, by virtue of laws which they had enacted: that if any member of the council, or officer holding place of truſt or profit within the government, ſhould, in any manner whatever give his aſſent to, or in any wiſe advice or concur with the aſſembly in paſſing any act or vote, whereby the royal prerogative might be leſſened or impaired, or any money be raiſed or diſpoſed of for the public ſervice, contrary to or inconſiſtenr with the method preſcribed by theſe inſtructions, the governor ſhould forthwith remove or ſuſpend ſuch counſellor or officer ſo offending, and give an immediate account of his proceedings to the commiſſioners of trade and plantations. Theſe were peremptory injunctions, which plainly proved that the miniſtry was determined to ſupport the prerogative with a high hand; but it muſt be owned, at the ſame time, that abundance of provocation had been given, by the inſolent oppoſition of ſome turbulent individuals, who had exerted all their influence in diſturbing and diſtreſſing the views and deſigns of the government. While the Britiſh colonies in America were, by theſe diviſions, in a great meaſure diſabled from making vigorous efforts againſt the common enemy, the adminiſtration at home began to exert itſelf for their defenſe. Officers were appointed for two regiments, conſiſting of two battalions each, to be raiſed in America, and commanded by ſir William Pepperel and governor Shirley, who had enjoyed the ſame command in the laſt war; and a body of troops was deſtined for the ſame ſervice.

The moſt remarkable incident that marked this year on the continent of Europe was the converſion of the hereditary prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, who had eſpouſed the princeſs Mary of England. He now declared himſelf a Roman catholic, and was ſuppoſed to have been cajoled to this pro-

ſeſſion by the promiſes of certain powers, who flattered his ambition, in order to weaken the proteſtant intereſt in Germany. His father, though deeply affected by his ſon's apoſtacy, did not fail to take immediate meaſures for preventing the evil conſequences which might otherwiſe have flowed from his defection. He forthwith aſſembled the ſtates of the landgraviate, in order to take ſuch meaſures as might appear neceſſary to maintain the religion, laws, and conſtitution of the country; and the prince was laid under certain reſtrictions, which he did not find it an eaſy taſk to ſet aſide. It was enacted, that when the regency ſhould devolve to him by ſucceſſion he ſhould not have it in his power to alter the eſtabliſhed laws, or grant any church to perſons of the Roman communion, for the public exerciſe of their religion; and that he ſhould be excluded from all ſhare in the education of his ſons, the eldeſt of whom ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of the country of Hanau upon his father's acceſſion to the regency of the landgraviate. Theſe reſolutions were guaranteed by the kings of Pruſſia and Denmark, by the maritime powers, and the evangelic body of the empire.

The exile of the parliament of Paris, far from having intimidated the other tribunals from performing what they apprehended to be their duty, ſerved only to inflame the diſcontents of the people, and to animate all the courts of juſtice to a full exertion of their authority. The chatelet continued to proſecute thoſe prieſts who refuſed the ſacrament to perſons whoſe conſciences would not allow them to ſubſcribe to the bull Unigenitus, even after three of their members were ſent to the Baſtile. The ſame proſecutions were carried on, and bold remonſtrances publiſhed by the parliaments of Aix and Rouen. In a word, the whole kingdom was filled with ſuch confuſion as threatened a total ſuppreſſion of juſtice, in a general ſpirit of diſaffection, and univerſal anarchy. The prelates, mean while, ſeemed to triumph in the combuſtion they had raiſed. They entered into aſſociations to ſupport each other: they intrigued at court, and harraſſed the king with inſolent declarations, till he grew tired of their proceedings, and opened his eyes to the fatal conſequences of their pride and obſtinacy. He even took an opportunity of exhorting the archbiſhop of Paris to act more ſuitably to the character of a clergyman. He recalled the parliament from exile, and they returned in triumph, amidſt the acclamations of the people, who celebrated their arrival at Paris with the moſt extravagant demonſtrations of joy; and the archbiſhop, notwithſtanding the king's expreſs declaration to the contrary, ſtill perſiſting in countenancing the recuſant prieſts, was baniſhed to Conſians-ſous-Charenton.

In Spain the intereſt of Great-Britain was ſo warmly eſpouſed, and ſo powerfully ſupported by mr. Wall, who had been reſident in England, that the French party, though countenanced by the queen-mother, and ſuſtained with all the influence of the marquis de la Enſenada, the prime-miniſter, was totally defeated. The king being convinced that it would be for the intereſt of his ſubjects to live on good terms with England, and well appriſed of Enſenada's intrigues, ordered that miniſter to be arreſted and confined, and beſtowed upon mr. Wall the beſt part of his employments. Nevertheleſs, the Spaniards in the Weſt-Indies continued to oppreſs the ſubjects of Great-Britain employed in cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras; and repreſentations on this head being made to the court of Madrid, the diſpute was amicably adjuſted between mr. Wall and ſir Benjamin Keene, the Britiſh embaſſador. While the intereſt of Britain thus triumphed in Spain, it ſeemed to loſe ground at the court of Liſbon. His Portugueſe majeſty had formed vaſt projects of an active commerce, and even eſtabliſhed an Eaſt-India company: in the mean time he could not help manifeſting his chagrin at the great quantities of gold which were yearly exported from his dominions, as the balance due from his ſubjects on Engliſh commodities. In his endeavours to chec this traffic, which he deemed ſo detrimental to his ſubjects, he inflicted hardſhips on the Britiſh merchants ſettled at Liſbon: ſome were impriſoned on frivolous pretences; others deprived of their property, and obliged to quit the kingdom. He inſiſted upon laying an impoſition of two per cent. on all the Portugueſe gold that ſhould be exported; but the profits of the trade would not bear ſuch an exaction. Mean while, there being a ſcarcity of corn in Portugal, the kingdom was ſupplied from England; and the people having nothing but gold to purchaſe this neceſſary ſupply, the king ſaw the neceſſity of conniving at the exportation of his coin, and the trade reverted into its former channel.

On the fourteenth day of November the king of Great-Britain opened the ſeſſion of parliament with an harangue, which intimated nothing of an approaching rupture. He ſaid, That the general ſtate of affairs in Europe had undergone very little alteration ſince their laſt meeting; that he had lately received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances from his good brother the king of Spain of friendſhip and confidence, which he would cultivate with harmony and good faith. He declared his principal view ſhould be to ſtrengthen the foundation, and ſecure the duration of a general peace; to improve the preſent advantages of it for promoting the trade of his good ſubjects, and protecting thoſe poſſeſſions which conſtituted one great ſourſe of their wealth and commerce. Finally, he exhorted them to complete their plan for appropriating the forfeited eſtates in the Highlands to the ſervice of the public. He probably avoided mentioning the encroachments of France, that he might ſupply no handle for debates on the addreſs, which was carried in both houſes almoſt without oppoſition. The government ſeemed determined to humble the inſolence of the French councils; and this diſpoſition was ſo agreeable to the people in general, that they grudged no expence, and heartily concurred with the demands of the miniſtry.

The commons granted for the ſervice of the enſuing year 4,73,729l. one million of that ſum expreſsly given for enabling his majeſty to augment his forces by land and ſea. 32,000l. were allotted as a ſubſidy to the king of Poland, and 20,000l. to the elector of Bavaria. Theſe gratifications met with little or no oppoſition in the committee of ſupply; becauſe it was taken for granted, that, in caſe of a rupture, France would endeavour to avail herſelf of her ſuperiority by land, by invading his Britannick majeſty's German dominions; and therefore it might be neceſſary to ſecure the aſſiſtance of ſuch allies on the continent. That they prognoſticated aright, with reſpect to the deſigns of that ambitious power, will ſoon appear in the courſe of this hiſtory; which will alſo demonſtrate how little dependence is to be placed upon the profeſſed attachment of ſubſidiary princes. The ſupplies were raiſed by the ſtanding branches of the revenue, the land tax and the malt tax, and a lottery for 1,0000; 100,000l. of it to be deducted for the ſervice of the public, and the remaining 900,000l. to be charged on the produce of the ſinking-fund, at the rate of three per cent. per annum, to commence from the fifth day of January in the year 1756. The civil tranſactions of this ſeſſion were confined to a few objects. Divers new regulations were made for encouraging and improving the whale and white-herring fiſhery, as well as for finiſhing and putting in a proper ſtate of defence a new fort, lately built at Anamaboe on the coaſt of Africa.

Mr Pitt, the paymaſter-general of the forces, brought in a bill, which will ever remain a ſtanding monument of his humanity. The poor diſabled veterans, who enjoyed the penſion of Chelſea hoſpital, were ſo iniquituouſly oppreſſed by a ſet of miſcreants, who ſupplied them with money per advance, at the moſt exhorbitant rates of uſury, that many of them with their families, were in danger of ſtarving; and the intention of government in granting ſuch a comfortable ſubſiſtence was in a great meaſure defeated. Mr Pitt, perceiving that this evil originally flowed from the delay of the firſt payment, which the penſioner could not touch till the expiration of a whole year after he had been put upon the liſt, removed this neceſſity of borrowing, by providing in the bill, that half a year's penſion ſhould be advanced half a year before it is due; and the practice of uſury was effectually prevented by a clauſe, enacting, That all contracts ſhould be void by which any penſion might be mortgaged. This humane regulation was unanimouſly approved, and having paſſed through both houſes with uncommon expedition, received the royal aſſent.

Notwithſtanding the unanimity manifeſted by the commons in every thing relating to the meaſures for acting vigorouſly againſt the common enemy of the nation, they were remarkably diſturbed and divided by a conteſted election of members for Oxfordſhire. In the courſe of this diſpute, the ſtrength and influence of what they called the old and new intereſt, or, to ſpeak more intelligibly, of the tories and whigs in that county, were fully diſplayed. The candidates ſuſtained on the ſhoulders of the old intereſt, were lord viſcount Wenman and ſir James Daſhwood; their competitors, whom the new intereſt ſupported, and of conſequence the miniſtry countenanced, were lord Parker and ſir Edward Turner. Never was any contention of the kind maintained with more ſpirit and animoſity or carried on at a greater expence. One would have imagined that each ſide

conſidered it as a diſpute which muſt have determined, whether the nation ſhould enjoy its ancient liberty, or tamely ſubmit to the fetters of corruption. Noblemen and gentlemen, clergymen and ladies, employed all their talents and induſtry in canvaſſing for either ſide, throughout every townſhip and village in the county. Scandal emptied her whole quiver of inſinuation, calumny, and lampoon; corruption was not remiſs in promiſes and preſents; houſes of entertainment were opened; and nothing was for ſome time to be ſeen but ſcenes of tumult, riot, and intoxication. The revenue of many an independent prince on the continent would not have been ſufficient to afford ſuch ſums of money as were expended in the courſe of this diſpute. At length they proceeded to election, and the ſheriff made a double return of all the four candidates, ſo that not one of them could ſit, and the county remained without a repreſentative until this ambiguous affair could be decided in the houſe of commons. About the middle of November petitions being preſented by the four candidates, as well as the gentlemen, clergy, and other freeholders of the county, complaining of an undue election, and double return, the matter of theſe petitions was heard at the bar of the houſe on the 3d day of December. The counſel for lord Wenman and ſir James Daſhwood alledged, that they had the majority of votes upon the poll, and this circumſtance was admitted by the counſel on the other ſide: then they proceeded to prove by evidence, that after cloſing the poll, the ſheriff declared the majority of votes to be in favour of theſe two candidates, and adjourned the court from the 23d of April to the 8th of May; ſo that the ſcrutiny demanded and granted on the behalf of lord Parker and ſir Edward Turner could not be diſcuſſed before the laſt day of the month, when the writ was returnable; that the ſcrutiny did not begin till the 9th day of May, when the time was protracted by diſputes about the manner in which it ſhould be carried on; that lord Parker and ſir Edward Turner were allowed to object, through the whole poll, to the votes on the other ſide, on pretence that their competors ſhould be permitted to anſwer theſe objections, and in their turn, objected through the whole poll to the votes for lord Parker and ſir Edward Turner, who ſhould in the laſt place, have leave to anſwer: that lord Wenman and ſir James Daſhwood had diſapproved of this method, becauſe they apprehended it might induce their competitors to make ſuch a number of frivolous objections, that they ſhould not have time to anſwer one-half of them, much leſs to make objections of their own before the writ ſhould be returned; that they foreſaw ſuch a number of frivolous objections were made, as engroſſed the attention of the court till the 27th day of May; ſo that they could not begin to anſwer any of theſe objections till the 28th; and on the 30th the ſheriff, having cloſed the ſcrutiny, made the double return. The proof being exbibited, the counſel inſiſted, that, as they had eſtabliſhed a majority on the poll, and demonſtrated that this majority neither was nor could be overthrown by ſuch an unfiniſhed ſcrutiny, it was incumbent on the other ſide to proceed upon the merits of the election, by endeavouring to overthrow that majority of which their clients were in poſſeſſion. A queſtion in the houſe being carried to the ſame purpoſe, lord Wenman and ſir James Daſhwood objected to 530 votes on the other ſide, whom they propoſed to diſqualify. Their counſel examined ſeveral witneſſes, to prove the partiality of the ſheriff in favour of lord Parker and ſir Edward Turner, and to detect theſe candidates in the practice of bribery; for which purpoſe they produced a letter in their own hand-writing. They afterwards proceeded to diſqualify particular votes, and ſummed up their evidence on the 21ſt day of January.

[1755] Then the counſel for the other ſide began to refute the charge of partialty and corruption; and to anſwer the objections that had been made to particular voters. They produced evidence to prove, that cuſtomary freeholds, or cuſtomary holdings, had voted at elections in the counties of Glamorgan, Monmouth, Glouceſter, Wells, and Hereford; and that the cuſtomary tenants of the manor of Woodſtock, in Oxfordſhire, had been reputed capable of voting, and even voted at elections for that county. In a word, they continued to examine evidences, argue and refute, prove and diſapprove, until the 23d day of April, when, after ſome warm debates and diviſions in the houſe, lord Parker and ſir Edward Turner were declared duly elected; and the clerk of the crown was ordered to amend the return, by eraſing the names of lord Wenman and ſir James Daſhwood. Many who preſumed to think for themſelves, without recollecting the power and influence of the adminiſtration, were aſtoniſhed at the iſſue of this diſpute; which however, might have eaſily been foreſeen; inaſmuch as, during the courſe of the proceedings, moſt, if not all, of the many queſtions debated in the houſe were determined by a great majority in favour of the new intereſt. A great number of copy-holders had been admitted to vote at this election, and the ſheriff incurred no cenſure for allowing them to take the oath appointed by law to be taken by freeholders; nevertheleſs, the commons carefully avoided determining the queſtion, Whether copy-holders poſſeſſed of the yearly value of 40s. clear of all deductions, have not a right to vote for knights to repreſent the ſhire within which their copy-hold eſtates are ſituated; This point being left doubtful by the legiſlature, puts it often in the power of the ſheriff to return which of the candidates he pleaſes to ſupport; for, if the majority of the voting copy-holders adheres to the intereſt of his favourites, he will admit their votes both on the poll and the ſcrutiny; whereas, ſhould they be otherwiſe diſpoſed, he will reject them as unqualified. What effect this practice may have upon the independency of parliament every perſon muſt perceive, who reflects, that in almoſt all the counties of England the high-ſheriffs are annually appointed by the miniſter for the time being.

The attention of the legiſlature was chiefly turned upon the conduct of France, which preſerved no medium, but ſeemed intent upon ſtriking ſome important blow, that might ſerve as a declaration of war. At Breſt and other ports in that kingdom, the French were employed in equipping a powerful armament, and made no ſcruple to own it was intended for North-America. Towards the latter end of March ſir Thomas Robinſon, ſecretary of ſtate, brought a meſſage from the king to the parliament, intimating, That his majeſty having at the beginning of the ſeſſion declared his principal object was to preſerve the public tranquillity, and at the ſame time to protect thoſe poſſeſſions which conſtitute one great ſource of the commerce and wealth of his kingdoms, he now found it neceſſary to acquaint the houſe of commons, that the preſent ſituation of affairs made it requiſite to augment his forces by ſea and land, and to take ſuch other meaſures as might beſt tend to preſerve the general peace of Europe, and to ſecure the juſt rights and poſſeſſions of his crown in America, as well as to repel any attemps whatſoever that might be made to ſupport or countenance any deſigns which ſhould be formed againſt his majeſty and his kingdoms; and his majeſty doubted not but his faithful commons, on whoſe affection and zeal he entirely relied, would enable him to make ſuch augmentations, and to take ſuch meaſures for ſupporting the honour of his crown, and the true intereſt of his people, and for the ſecurity of his dominions in the preſent critical conjuncture, as the exigency of affairs might require; in doing which his majeſty would have as much regard to the eaſe of his good ſubjects as ſhould be conſiſtent with their ſafety and welfare. In anſwer to this meſſage a very warm and affectionate addreſs was preſented to his majeſty; and it was on this occaſion, that the million was granted for augmenting his forces by ſea and land.[r] The court of Verſailles, notwithſtanding the aſſiduity and diſpatch which they were exerting in equipping armaments, and embarking troops, for the ſupport of their ambitious ſchemes in America, ſtill continued to amuſe the Britiſh miniſtry with general declarations, that no hoſtility was intended, nor the leaſt infringement of the treaty.

The earl of Albemarle, the Engliſh embaſſador at Paris having lately died in that city, theſe aſſurances were communicated to the court of London by the marquis de Mirepoix, who reſided in England with the ſame character, which he had ſupported ſince his firſt arrival with equal honour and politeneſs. On this occaſion he himſelf was ſo far impoſed upon by the inſtructions he had received, that he believed the profeſſions of his court were ſincere, and ſeriouſly endeavoured to prevent a rupture between the two nations. At length, however, their preparations were ſo notorious that he began to ſuſpect the conſequence; and the Engliſh miniſtry produced ſuch proofs of their inſincerity and double dealing, that he ſeemed to be ſtruc with aſtoniſhment and chagrin. He repaired to France, and upbraided the miniſtry of Verſailles for having made him the

[r] The miniſtry having reſolved to ſend a body of forces to America, to act in conjunction with the provincial troops raiſed on that continent, it became neceſſary that the mutiny act ſhould be rendered more clear and extenſive. When this bill, therefore, fell under conſideration, it was improved with a new clauſe, providing, 'That all officers and ſoldiers of any troops being muſtered and in pay, which are or ſhall be raiſed in any of the Britiſh provinces in America, by authority of the reſpective governors or governments thereof, ſhall at all times, and in all places, when they happen to join or act in conjunction with his majeſty's Britiſh forces, be liable to martial law and diſcipline, in like manner, to all intents and purpoſes, as the Britiſh forces are and ſhall be ſubject to the ſame trial, penalties and puniſhment.'

tool of their diſſimulation. They referred him to the king, who ordered him to return to London, with freſh aſſurances of his pacific intentions: but his practice agreed ſo ill with his profeſſions, that the embaſſador had ſcarce obtained an audience to communicate them, when undoubted intelligence arrived, that a powerful armament was ready to ſail from Breſt and Rochefort. The government of Great-Britain, aroused by this information, immediately took the moſt expeditious methods for equipping a ſquadron; and towards the latter end of April, admiral Boſcawen ſailed with 11 ſhips of the line and one frigate, having on board a conſiderable number of land-forces, to attend the motions of the enemy: but more certain and particular intelligence arriving ſoon after, touching the ſtrength of the French fleet, which conſiſted of 25 ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and tranſports, with a great quantity of war like ſtores, and 4000 regular troops, commanded by the baron Dieſkau, admiral Holbourne was detached with ſix ſhips of the line, and one frigate, to re-enforce mr. Boſcawen; and a great number of capital ſhips were put in commiſſion. In the beginning of May the French fleet, commanded by mr. Macnamara, an officer of Iriſh extraction, ſailed from Breſt, directing his courſe to North-America; but after having proceeded beyond the chops of the Engliſh channel, he returned with nine of the capital ſhips, while the reſt of the armament continued their courſe, under the direction of M. Bois de la Mothe.

On the 25th day of April the king went to the houſe of lords, where, after giving the royal aſſent to the bills then depending; for granting a certain ſum out of the ſinking-fund, for the relief of inſolvent debtors, for the better regulation of the marine forces on ſhore, for the better raiſing of marines and ſeamen, and to ſeveral other public and private bills: his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion of parliament by a ſpeech, in which he acquainted the two houſes, That the zeal they had ſhown for ſupporting the honour, rights and poſſeſſions of his crown had afforded him the greateſt ſatisfaction: that his deſire to preſerve the public tranquillity had been ſincere and uniform: that he had religiouſly adhered to the ſtipulations of the treaty of Aix-le Chapelle, and made it his care not to injure or offend any power whatſoever; but that he never could entertain a thought of purchaſing the name of peace at the expenſe of ſuffering encroachments upon, or of yielding up what juſtly belonged to Great-Britain, either by ancient poſſeſſion or ſolemn treaties: that the vigour and firmneſs of his parliament, on this important occaſion, had enabled him to be prepared for ſuch contigences as might happen: that, if reaſonable and honourable terms of accommodation could be agreed upon, he would be ſatisfied, and, at all events, rely on the juſtice of his cauſe, the effectual ſupport of his people, and the protection of Divine Providence. The parliament was then prorogued to the 27th of May.

Whilſt all Europe was in ſuſpenſe about the fate of the Engliſh and French ſquadrons, preparations for a vigorous ſea war were going forward in England with an unparalleled ſpirit and ſucceſs. Still the French court flattered itſelf that Great-Britain, out of tenderneſs to his majeſty's German dominions, would abſtain from hoſtilities. Mirepoix continued to have frequent conferences with the Britiſh miniſtry, who made no ſecret that their admirals, particularly Boſcawen, had orders to atrac the French ſhips wherever they ſhould meet them. On the other hand, Monſ. de Mirepoix declared, that his maſter would conſider the firſt gun fired at ſea in a hoſtile manner as a declaration of war. This menace, far from intimidating the Engliſh, animated them to redouble their preparations for war. The preſs for ſeamen was carried on with extraordinary vigour in all parts of this kingdom, as well as in Ireland; and great premiums were given not only by the government, but alſo, over and above his majeſty's bounty, by almoſt all the conſiderable cities and towns in England, to ſuch as ſhould enliſt voluntarily for ſailors or ſoldiers. Other branches of the public ſervice went on with equal alacrity: and ſuch was the eagerneſs of the people to lend their money to the government, that inſtead of one million, which was to be raiſed by way of lottery, 3,800,80l. were ſubſcribed immediately.

The ſituation of affairs requiring his majeſty to go to Germany this ſummer, great apprehenſions aroſe in the minds of many, leſt the French ſhould either intercept him in his journey, or prevent his return. Earl Paulet had made a motion in the houſe of lords, humbly to repreſent to his majeſty, 'that it was an article in the original act of ſettlement by which the ſucceſſion of theſe kingdoms devolved to his electoral houſe, that the king ſhould not go to his foreign dominions without the conſent of parliament; and that this was a principal article in the compact between the crown and the people: that though this article was repealed in the late reign, yet, till of late, it had always been the cuſtom for his majeſty to acquaint the parliament with his intended departure to his German dominions, both in regard to the true ſenſe and ſpirit of the act that placed him on the throne, as well as for the paternal kindneſs of his royal heart, and the condeſcenſion he had been ſo good to ſhew to his parliament on all occaſions; but that his majeſty's declaration of his deſign to viſit his electoral eſtates had always come on the laſt day of a ſeſſion, when it was too late for the great conſtitutional council of the crown to offer ſuch advice as might otherwiſe have been expedient and neceſſary: that his majeſty's leaving his kingdoms in a conjuncture ſo pregnant with diſtreſs, ſo denunciative of danger, would not only give the greateſt advantage to ſuch as might be diſpoſed to ſtir up diſaffection and diſcontent, and to the conſtitutional and national enemies of England; but would alſo fill his loyal ſubjects with the moſt affecting concern, and moſt gloomy fears, as well for their own ſafety, as for that of their ſovereign, whoſe invaluable life, at all times of the utmoſt conſequence to his people, was then infinitely ſo, by reaſon of his great experience, the affection of every one to his royal perſon, and the minority of the heir apparent.' Such was the purport of this motion; but it was not ſeconded by any of the other lords.

The general uneaſineſs, on account of his majeſty's departure, was greatly increaſed by an apprehenſion that there would, during his abſence, be no good agreement amongſt the regency, which conſiſted of the following perſons: his royal highneſs William duke of Cumberland; Thomas lord archbiſhop of Canterbury; Philip earl of Hardwicke, lord high-chancellor; John earl of Granville, preſident of the council; Charles duke of Marlborough, lord privy-ſeal; John duke of Rutland, ſteward of the houſehold; Charles duke of Grafton, lord-chamberlain; Archibald duke of Argyle; the duke of Newcaſtle, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury; the duke of Dorſet, maſter of the horſe; the earl of Holderneſſe, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate; the earl of Rochford, groom of the ſtole; the marquis of Hartington, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; lord Anſon, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty; ſir Thomas Robinſon, ſecretary of ſtate; and Henry Fox, eſq. ſecretary at war. His majeſty ſet out from St. James's on the 28th of April early in the morning, embarked at Harwich in the afternoon, landed the next day at Helvoetſluys, and arrived at Hanover on the 2d of May.

Admiral Boſcawen, with 11 ſhips of the line and a frigate, having taken on board two regiments at Plymouth, ſailed from thence on the 27th of April for the banks of Newfoundland, and, in a few days after his arrival there, the French fleet from Breſt came to the ſame ſtation, under the command of M. Bois de la Mothe. But the thic fogs which prevail upon theſe coaſts, eſpecially at that time of the year, kept the two armaments from ſeeing each other; and part of the French ſquadron eſcaped up the river St. Laurence, whilſt another part of them went round, and got into the ſame river through the ſtraits of Belleiſle, by a way which was never known to be attempted before by ſhips of the line. However, whilſt the Engliſh fleet lay off Cape Race, which is the ſouthernmoſt point of Newfoundland, and was thought to be the moſt proper ſituation for intercepting the enemy, two French ſhips, the Alcide, of 64 guns, and 480 men, and the Lys, pierced for 64 guns, but mounting only 22, having eight companies of land-forces on board, being ſeparated from the reſt of the fleet in the fog, fell in with the Dunkirk, captain Howe, and the Defiance, captain Andrews, two 60 gun ſhips of the Engliſh ſquadron; and after a ſmart engagement, which laſted ſome hours, and in which captain (afterwards lord) Howe behaved with the greateſt ſkill and intrepidity, were both taken, with ſeveral conſiderable officers and engineers, and about 8000l. in money. Though the capture of theſe ſhips, from which the commencement of the war may in fact be dated, fell greatly ſhort of what was hoped for from this expedition; yet, when the news of it reached England, it was of infinite ſervice to the public credit of every kind, and animated the whole nation, who now ſaw plainly that the government was determined to keep no further meaſures with the French, but juſtly to repel force by force, and put a ſtop to their ſending more men and arms to invade the property of the Engliſh in America, as they had hitherto done with impunity. The French, who, for ſome time, did not even attempt to make repriſals on our ſhipping, would gladly have choſen to avoid a war at that time,

and to have continued extending their encroachments on our ſettlements, till they had executed their grand plan of ſecuring a communication from the Miſſiſſippi to Canada, by a line of forts, many of which they had already erected.

Upon the arrival of the news of this action at Paris, the French embaſſador, M. de Mirepoix, was recalled from London, and M. de Buſly from Hanover, where he had juſt arrived, to attend the king of England in a public character. They complained loudly of Boſcawen's attacking the ſhips, as a breach of national faith: but it was juſtly retorted on the part of England, that their encroachments in America had rendered repriſals both juſtifiable and neceſſary. The reſolution of making them was the effect of mature deliberation in the Engliſh council. The vaſt increaſe of the French marine of late years, which in all probability would ſoon be employed againſt Great-Britain, occaſioned an order for making repriſals general in Europe as well as in America; and that all French ſhips, whether outward or homeward bound, ſhould be ſtopped, and brought into Britiſh ports. To give the greater weight to theſe orders, it was reſolved to ſend out thoſe admirals who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt towards the end of the laſt war. Accordingly, on the 21ſt of July, ſir Edward Hawke ſailed on a cruiſe to the weſtward, with 18 ſhips of the line, a frigate, and a ſloop; but not meeting with the French fleet, theſe ſhips returned to England about the latter end of September and the beginning of October; on the 14th of which laſt month another fleet, conſiſting of 22 ſhips of the line, two frigates and two ſloops, ſailed again on a cruiſe to the weſtward under admiral Byng, in hopes of intercepting the French ſquadron under Duguay, and likewiſe that commanded by La Mothe, in caſe of its return from America. But this fleet likewiſe returned to Spithead on the 22d of November, without having been able to effect any thing, though it was allowed by all, that the captain had acted judiciouſly in the choice of his ſtations.

While theſe meaſures were purſued, for the general ſecurity of the Britiſh coaſts and trade in Europe, ſeveral new ſhips of war were begun, and finiſhed with the utmoſt expedition, in his majeſty's docs: 12 frigates and ſloops contracted for in private yards, were compleated by the month of Auguſt; and 24 ſhips and 12 colliers were then taken into the ſervice of the government, to be fitted out as veſſels of war, to carry 20 guns and 120 men each.—In the mean time the French trade was ſo annoyed by the Engliſh cruiſers, that before the end of this year 300 of their merchant ſhips, many of which, from St. Domingo and Martinico, were extremely rich, and 8000 of their ſailors, were brought into Engliſh ports. By theſe captures the Britiſh miniſtry anſwered many purpoſes: they deprived the French of a great body of ſeamen, and withheld from them a very large property, the want of which greatly diſtreſſed their people, and ruined many of their traders. Their outward-bound merchant ſhips were inſured at the rate of 30 per cent. whilſt the Engliſh paid no more than the common inſurance. This intolerable burthen was felt by all degrees of people amongſt them: their miniſtry was publicly reviled, even by their parliaments; and the French name, from being the terrour, began to be the contempt of Europe. Their uneaſineſs was alſo not a little heightened by new broils between their king and the parliament of Paris, occaſioned by the obſtinacy of the clergy of that kingdom, who ſeemed determined to ſupport the church, in all events, againſt the ſecular tribunals, and, as much as poſſible, to enforce the obſervance of the bull Unigenitus, which had long been the occaſion of ſo many diſputes among them. However, the parliament continuing firm, and the French king approving of its conduct, the eccleſiaſtics thought proper to ſubmit for the preſent; and in their general aſſembly this year granted him a free gift of 16,0000 of livres, which he demanded of them—a greater ſum than they had ever given before, even in time of war.

In the beginning of this year the aſſembly of Maſſachuſett's-Bay in New-England paſſed an act, prohibiting all correſpondence with the French at Louiſbourg; and early in the ſpring they raiſed a body of troops, which was tranſported to Nova-Scotia, to aſſiſt lieutenant-governor Laurence in driving the French from the encroachments they had made upon that province. Accordingly, towards the end of May, the governor ſent a large detachment of troops, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Monckton, upon this ſervice; and three frigates and a ſloop were diſpatched up the bay of Fundy, under the command of captain Rous, to give their aſſiſtance by ſea. The troops, upon their arrival at the river Maſſaguaſh, found the paſſage ſtopped by a large number of regular forces, rebel neutrals, or Acadians, and Indians, 450 of whom occupied a bloc-houſe, with cannon mounted on their ſide of the river; and the reſt were poſted within a ſtrong breaſt-work of timber, thrown up by way of outwork to the bloc-houſe. The Engliſh provincials attacked this place with ſuch ſpirit, that the enemy were obliged to fly, and leave them in poſſeſſion of the breaſt-work: then the garriſon in the bloc-houſe deſerted it, and left the paſſage of the river free. From thence colonel Monckton advanced to the French fort of Beau-ſejour, which he inveſted, as far at leaſt as the ſmall number of his troops would permit, on the 12th of June; and after four days bombardment obliged it to ſurrender, though the French had 26 pieces of cannon mounted, and plenty of ammunition, and the Engliſh had not yet placed a ſingle cannon upon their batteries. The garriſon was ſent to Louiſbourg, on condition of not bearing arms in America for the ſpace of ſix months; and the Acadians, who had joined the French, were pardoned, in conſideration of their having been forced into that ſervice. Colonel Monckton, after putting a garriſon into this place, and changing its name to that of Cumberland, the next day attacked and reduced the other French fort upon the river Gaſpereau, which runs into Bay Verte; where he likewiſe found a large quantity of proviſions and ſtores of all kinds, that being the chief magazine for ſupplying the French Indians and Acadians with arms, ammunition, and other neceſſaries. He then diſarmed theſe laſt, to the number of 15,000: and in the mean time, captain Rous with his ſhips ſailed to the mouth of the river St. John, to attac the new fort the French had erected there; but they ſaved him that trouble, by abandoning it upon his appearance, after having burſt their cannon, blown up their magazine, and deſtroyed, as far as they had time, all the works they had lately raiſed. The Engliſh had but 20 men killed, and about the ſame number wounded, in the whole of this expedition, the ſucceſs of which ſecured the tranquillity of Nova-Scotia.

While the New-Englanders were thus employed in reducing the French in Nova-Scotia, preparations were made in Virginia for attacking them upon the river Ohio. A fort was built, which was likewiſe called Fort-Cumberland, and a camp formed at Wills's-Creek. On the 14th of January of this year, major-general Braddock, with colonel Dunbar's and colonel Halcut's regiments of foot, ſailed from Cork, in Ireland, for Virginia, where they all landed ſafe before the end of February. This general might conſequently have entered upon action early in the ſpring, had he not been unfortunately delayed by the Virginian contractors for the army, who, when he was ready to march, had neither provided a ſufficient quantity of proviſions for his troops, nor a competent number of carriages for his army. This accident was foreſeen by almoſt every perſon who knew any thing of our plantations upon the continent of America: for the people of Virginia, who think of no produce but their tobacco, and do not raiſe corn enough even for their own ſubſiſtance, being, by the nature of their country, well provided with the conveniency of water conveyance, have but few wheel-carriages, or beaſts of burthen; whereas Pennſylvania, which abounds in corn, and moſt other ſorts of proviſions, has but little water-carriage, eſpecially in its weſtern ſettlements, where its inhabitants have great numbers of carts, waggons, and horſes. Mr Braddock ſhould, therefore, certainly, in point of prudence, have landed in Pennſylvania: the contract for ſupplying his troops ſhould have been made with ſome of the chief planters there, who could eaſily have performed their engagements; and if his camp had been formed near Frank's-Town, or ſomewhere upon the ſouth-weſt borders of that province, he would not have had 80 miles to march from thence to Fort Du Queſne, inſtead of an 130 miles that he had to advance from Wills's-Creek, where he did encamp, through roads neither better nor more practicable than the other would have been. This error, in the very beginning of the expedition, whether owing to an injudicious preference fondly given to the Virginians in the lucrative job of ſupplying theſe troops, or to any other cauſe, delayed the march of the army for ſome weeks, during which it was in the utmoſt diſtreſs for neceſſaries of all kinds; and would probably have defeated the expedition entirely for that ſummer, had not the contractors found means to procure ſome aſſiſtance from the bac ſettlements of Pennſylvania. But even when theſe ſupplies did arrive, they conſiſted of only 15 waggons, and 100 draft horſes, inſtead of 150 waggons and 300 horſes, which the Virginian contractors had engaged to furniſh, and the proviſions were ſo bad that they could not be uſed. However, ſome gentlemen in Pennſylvania, being applied to in this exigency, amply made up for theſe deficiencies,

and the troops were by this means ſupplied with every thing they wanted. Another, and ſtill more fatal error was committed in the choice of the commander for this expedition. Major-general Braddock, who was appointed to it, was undoubtedly a man of courage, and expert in all the punctilios of a review, having been brought up in the Engliſh guards; but he was naturally very haughty, poſitive, and difficult of acceſs; qualities ill ſuited to the temper of the people whom he was to command. His extreme ſeverity in matters of diſcipline had rendered him unpopular among the ſoldiers; and the ſtrict military education in which he had been trained from his youth, and which he prided himſelf on ſcrupulouſly following, made him hold the American militia in great contempt, becauſe they could not go through their exerciſe with the ſame dexterity and regularity as a regiment of guards in Hyde-Park, little knowing, or indeed being able to form any idea of the difference between the European manner of fighting, and an American expedition through woods, deſerts, and moraſſes. Before he left England, he received, in the handwriting of colonel Napier, a ſet of inſtructions from the duke of Cumberland. By theſe, the attempt upon Niagara was, in a great meaſure referred to him; and the reduction of Crown-Point was to be left chiefly to the provincial forces. But above all, his royal highneſs, both verbally and in this writing, frequently cautioned him carefully to beware of an ambuſh or ſurpriſe. Inſtead of regarding this ſalutary caution, his conceit of his own abilities made him diſdain to aſk the opinion of any under his command; and the Indians, who would have been his ſafeſt guards againſt this danger in particular, were ſo diſguſted by the haughtineſs of his behaviour, that moſt of them forſook his banners. Under theſe diſadvantages he began his march from Fort-Cumberland on the 10th of June, at the head of about 2200 men, for the Meadows, where colonel Waſhington was defeated the year before. Upon his arrival there, he was informed that the French at Fort du Queſne, which had lately been built on the ſame river, near its confluence with the Monangahela, expected a re-enforcement of 500 regular troops: therefore that he might march with the greater diſpatch, he left colonel Dunbar, with 800 men, to bring up the proviſions, ſtores, and heavy baggage, as faſt as the nature of the ſervice would permit; and with the other 1200, together with 10 pieces of cannon, and the neceſſary ammunition and proviſions, he marched on with ſo much expedition, that he ſeldom took any time to reconnoitre the woods or thickets he was to paſs through; as if the nearer he approached the enemy, the farther he was removed from danger.

On the 8th of July, he encamped within 10 miles of Fort du Queſne. Though colonel Dunbar was near 40 miles behind him, and his officers, particularly ſir Peter Halket, earneſtly entreated him to proceed with caution, and to employ the friendly Indians who were with him, by way of advanced guard, in caſe of ambuſcades; yet he reſumed his march the next day, without ſo much as endeavouring to obtain any intelligence of the ſituation or diſpoſition of the enemy, or even ſending out any ſcouts to viſit the woods and thickets on both ſides of him, as well as in front. With this careleſsneſs he was advancing, when, about noon, he was ſaluted with a general fire upon his front, and all along his left flank, from an enemy ſo artfully concealed behind the trees and buſhes, that not a man of them could be ſeen. The vanguard immediately fell back upon the main body, and in an inſtant the panic and confuſion became general; ſo that moſt of the troops fled with great precipitation, notwithſtanding all their officers, ſome of whom behaved very gallantly, could do to ſtop their career. As to Baddock himſelf, inſtead of ſcouring the thickets and buſhes from whence the fire came, with grape-ſhot from the ten pieces of cannon he had with him, or ordering flanking parties of his Indians to advance againſt the enemy, he obſtinately remained upon the ſpot where he was, and gave orders for the few brave officers and men who ſtaid with him, to form regularly, and advance. Mean while his men fell thic about him, and almoſt all his officers were ſingled out, one after another, and killed or wounded; for the Indians, who always take aim when they fire, and aim chiefly at the officers, diſtinguiſhed them by their dreſs. At laſt, the general, whoſe obſtinacy ſeemed to increaſe with the danger, after having had ſome horſes ſhot under him, received a muſket-ſhot through the right arm and lungs, of which he died in a few hours, having been carried off the field by the bravery of lieutenant-colonel Gage, and another of his officers. When he dropped, the confuſion of the few that remained turned it into a downright and very diſorderly flight acroſs a river which they had juſt paſſed, though no enemy appeared, or attempted to attac them. All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of the army were left to enemy, and among the reſt, the general's cabinet, with all his letters and inſtructions, which the French court afterwards made great uſe of in their printed memorials or manifeſtoes. The loſs of the Engliſh in this unhappy affair amounted to 700 men. Their officers in particular, ſuffered much more than in the ordinary proportion of battles in Europe. Sir Peter Halket fell by the very firſt fire, at the head of his regiment; and the general's ſecretary, ſon to governor Shirley, was killed ſoon after. Neither the number of men which the enemy had in this engagement, nor the loſs which they ſuſtained, could be ſo much as gueſſed at: but the French afterwards gave out, that their number did not, in the whole, exceed 400 men, moſtly Indians; and that the loſs was quite inconſiderable, as it probably was, becauſe they lay concealed in ſuch a manner that the Engliſh knew not whether to point their muſkets. The panic of theſe laſt continued ſo long, that they never ſtopped till they met the rear diviſion; and even then they infected their troops with their terrours; ſo that the army retreated without ſtopping, till they reached Fort-Cumberland, though the enemy did not ſo much as attempt to purſue, nor even appeared in ſight, either in the battle or after the defeat. On the whole, this was perhaps the moſt extraordinary victory that ever was obtained, and the fartheſt flight that ever was made.

Had the ſhattered remains of this army continued at fort Cumberland, and fortified themſelves there, as they might eaſily have done during the reſt of the ſummer, they would have been ſuch a chec upon the French and their ſcalping Indians, as would have prevented many of thoſe ravages that were committed in the enſuing winter upon the weſtern borders of Virginia and Pennſylvania; but inſtead of taking that prudent ſtep, their commander left only the ſic and wounded at that fort, under the protection of two companies of the provincial militia, poſted there by way of garriſon, and began his march on the 2d of Auguſt, with about 1600 men, from Philadelphia; where thoſe troops could be of no immediate ſervice. From thence they were ordered away to Albany, in New-York, by general Shirley, on whom the chief command of the troops in America had devolved by the death of major-general Braddock. Virginia, Maryland, and Pennſylvania, were by theſe means left entirely to take care of themſelves, which they might have done effectually, had they been united in their councils; but the uſual diſputes, between their governors and aſſemblies, defeated every ſalutary plan that was propoſed. Pennſylvania, the moſt powerful of the three, was rendered quite impotent, either for its own defence, or that of its neighbours, by theſe unhappy conteſts; though at laſt, the aſſembly of that province, ſenſible of the danger to which they were expoſed, and ſeeing the abſolute neceſſity of providing a ſtanding military force, and of erecting ſome forts to defend their weſtern frontier, paſſed a bill for raiſing 50,000l. But this ſum, ſmall as it was, even to a degree of redicule, conſidering the richneſs of the province, and the extent of its frontier, could not be obtained; the governor poſitively refuſing to give his aſſent to the act of the aſſembly, becauſe they had taxed the proprietaries eſtates equally with thoſe of the inhabitants, which, he ſaid, he was ordered by his inſtructions not to conſent to, nor indeed any new tax upon the proprietaries; and the aſſembly conſiſting chiefly of members whoſe eſtates lay in the eaſtern or interior parts of the province, as poſitively refuſing to alter their bill. One would be apt to think, that in caſe of ſuch urgent neceſſity, the governor might have ventured to give his aſſent to the bill under a proteſt, that it ſhould not prejudice the rights of the proprietaries upon any future occaſion: but as he did not, the bill was dropped, and the province left defenceleſs; by which means it afterwards ſuffered ſeverely, to the deſtruction of many of the poor inhabitants upon the weſtern frontier, and to the impreſſing the Indians with a contemptible opinion of the Engliſh, and the higheſt eſteem of the French.

Our colonies to the north of Pennſylvania were more active, and more ſucceſsful in their preparations for war. New-York, following the example of New-England, paſſed an act to prohibit the ſending of proviſions to any French port or ſettlement on the continent of North-America, or any of the adjacent iſlands; and alſo for raiſing 45,000l. on eſtates real and perſonal, for the better defence of their colony, which lay more expoſed than any other to a French invaſion from Crown-Point. However, this ſum, great as it might ſeem to them, was far from being ſufficient; nor,

indeed, could they have provided properly for their ſecurity, without the aſſiſtance of our other colonies to the eaſt of them; but with their help, and the additional ſuccour of the ſmall body of regular troops expected under colonel Dunbar, they boldly reſolved upon offenſive meaſures, which, when practicable, are always the ſafeſt; and two expeditions, one againſt the French fort at Crown-Point, and the other againſt their fort at Niagara, between the lakes Ontario and Erie, were ſet on foot at the ſame time. The former of theſe expeditions was appointed to be executed under the command of general Johnſon, a native of Ireland, who had long reſided upon the Mohock river, in the weſtern parts of New-York, where he had acquired a conſiderable eſtate, and was univerſally beloved, not only by the inhabitants, but alſo by the neighbouring Indians, whoſe language he had learnt, and whoſe affections he had gained by his humanity towards them. The expedition againſt Niagara was commanded by general Shirley himſelf.

The rendezvous of the troops for both theſe expeditions was appointed to be at Albany, where moſt of them arrived before the end of June: but the artillery, batteaux, proviſions and other neceſſaries for the attempt upon Crown-Point, could not be prepared till the 8th of Auguſt, when general Johnſon ſet out with them from Albany for the carrying-place from Hudſon's river to Lake-George. There the troops had already arrived, under the command of major-general Lyman, and conſiſted of between five and ſix thouſand men, beſides Indians, raiſed by the governments of Boſton and Connecticut, New-Hamſhire, Rhode-Iſland, and New-York. Every thing was then prepared as faſt as poſſible for a march; and towards the end of the month, general Johnſon advanced about 14 miles forward with his troops, and encamped in a very ſtrong ſituation, covered on each ſide by a thic wooded ſwamp, by Lake-George in his rear, and by a breaſt-work of trees, cut down for that purpoſe, in his front. Here he reſolved to wait the arrival of his batteaux, and after to proceed to Ticonderoga, at the other end of the lake, from whence it was about 15 miles to the fort at the ſouth end of Lake Corlaer, or Champlain, called Fort-Frederick by the French, and by us Crown-Point. Whilſt he was thus encamped, ſome of his Indian ſcouts, of which he took care to ſend out numbers along both ſides, and to the farther end of Lake-George, brought him intelligence that a conſiderable number of the enemy were then on their march from Ticonderoga, by the way of the ſouth bay, towards the fortified encampment, ſince called Fort-Edward, which general Lyman had built at the Carrying-place: and in which 4 or 500 of the New-Hampſhire and New-York men had been left as a garriſon. Upon this information general Johnſon ſent two expreſſes, one after the other, to colonel Blanchard, their commander, with orders to call in all his out parties, and to keep his whole force within the entrenchments. About 12 o'clock at night, thoſe who had been ſent upon the ſecond expreſs returned with an account of their having ſeen the enemy within four miles of the camp at the Carrying-place, which they ſcarcely doubted their having by that time attacked. Important as the defence of this place was for the ſafety of the whole army, and imminent as the danget ſeemed to be, it does not appear that the general then called any council of war, or reſolved upon any thing for its relief: but early the next morning he called a council, wherein it was unadviſedly reſolved to detach 1000 men, with a number of Indians, to intercept, or, as the general's expreſſion was in his letter, to catch the enemy in their retreat, either as victors, or as defeated in their deſign. This expedient was reſolved on, though no one knew the number of the enemy, nor could obtain any information in that reſpect from the Indian ſcouts, becauſe the Indians have no words or ſigns for expreſſing any large number, which, when it exeeds their reckoning, they ſignify by pointing to the ſtars in the firmament, or to the hair of their head; and this they often do to denote a number leſs then 1000, as well as to ſignify 10,000, or any greater number.

Between eight or nine o'clock in the morning 1000 men, with 200 Indians, were detached under the command of colonel Williams: but they had not been gone two hours, when thoſe in the camp began to hear a cloſe firing, at about 3 or 4 miles diſtance, as they judged: as it approached nearer and nearer, they rightly ſuppoſed that their detachment was overpowered, and retiring towards the camp; which was ſoon confirmed by ſome fugitives, and preſently after by whole companies, who fled bac in great confuſion. In a very ſhort time after, the enemy appeared marching in regular order up to the centre of the camp, where the conſternation was ſo great, that if they had attacked the breaſt-work directly, they might probably have thrown all into confuſion, and obtained an eaſy victory; but fortunately for the Engliſh, they had halted for ſome time about 150 yards diſtance, and from thence began their attac with platoon firing, too far off to do much hurt, eſpecially againſt troops who were defended by a ſtrong breaſt-work. On the contrary, this ineffectual fire ſerved only to raiſe the ſpirits of theſe laſt, who having prepared their artillery during the time that the French halted, began to play it ſo briſkly upon the enemy, that the Canadians and Indians in their ſervice fled immediately into the woods on each ſide of the camp, and they ſquatted under buſhes, or ſkulked behind trees, from whence they continued firing with very little execution, moſt of their ſhot being intercepted by the breaks and thickets, for they never had the courage to advance to the verge of the wood. Baron Dieſkau, who commanded the French, being thus left alone, with his regular troops, at the front of the camp, finding he could not make a cloſe attac upon the centre with his ſmall number of men, moved firſt to the left, and then to the right, at both which places he endeavoured to force a paſſage, but was repulſed, being unſupported by the irregulars. Inſtead of retreating, as he ought in prudence to have done, he ſtill continued his platoon and buſh-firing till 4 o'clock in the afternoon, during which time his regular troops ſuffered greatly by the fire from the camp, and were at laſt thrown into confuſion; which was no ſooner perceived by general Johnſon's men, then they, without waiting for orders, leaped over their breaſt-work, attacked the enemy on all ſides, and, after killing and taking a conſiderable number of them, entirely diſperſed the reſt. The French, whoſe numbers at the beginning of this engagement, amounted to about 2000 men, including 200 grenadiers, 800 Canadians, and the reſt Indians of different nations, had between 7 and 800 men killed, and 30 taken priſoners: among the latter was baron Dieſkau himſelf, whom they found at a little diſtance from the field of battle, dangerouſly wounded, and leaning on the ſtump of a tree for his ſupport. The Engliſh loſt about 200 men, and thoſe chiefly of the detachment under colonel Williams; for they had very few either killed or wounded in the attac upon their camp, and not any of diſtinction, except colonel Titcomb killed, and the general himſelf and major Nichols wounded. Among the ſlain of the detachment, which would probably have been entirely cut off had not lieutenant-colonel Cole been ſent out from the camp with 300 men, with which he ſtopped the enemy's purſuit, and covered the retreat of his friends, were colonel Williams, major Aſhley, ſix captains, and ſeveral ſubalterns, beſides private men; and the Indians reckoned that they had loſt 40 men, beſides the brave old Hendrick, the Mohock Sachem, or chief captain.

When baron Dieſkau ſet out from Ticonderogo, his deſign was only to ſurpriſe and cut off the entrenched camp, now called Fort-Edward, at the Carrying-place, where there were but 4 or 500 men. If he had executed this ſcheme, our army would have been thrown into great difficulties, for it could neither have proceeded farther, nor have ſubſiſted where it was, and he might have found an opportunity to attac it with great advantage in its retrent. But when he was within four or five miles of that fort, his people were informed that there were ſeveral cannon there, and none at the camp; upon which they all deſired to be led on to this laſt, which he the more readily conſented to, as he himſelf had been told by an Engliſh priſoner, who had left this camp but a few days before, that it was quite defenceleſs, being without any lines, and deſtitute of cannon; which, in effect, was true at that time, for the cannon did not arrive, nor was the breaſt-work erected, till about two days before the engagement. To this miſinformation, therefore, muſt be imputed this ſtep, which would otherwiſe be inconſiſtent with the general character and abilities of baron Dieſkau. A leſs juſtifiable error ſeems to have been committed by general Johnſon, in not detaching a party to purſue the enemy when they were defeated and fled. Perhaps he was prevented from ſo doing by the ill fate of the detachment he had ſent out in the morning under colonel Williams. However that may be, his neglect, in this reſpect, had like to have been fatal the next day to a detachment ſent from Fort-Edward, conſiſting of 120 men of the New-Hampſhire regiment, under captain M'Ginnes, as a re-enforcement to the army at the camp. This party fell in with between 3 and 400 men of Deiſkau's troops, near the ſpot where colonel Williams had been defeated the day before; but M'Ginnes having timely notice by his ſcouts of the approach of an enemy, made ſuch a diſpoſition, that he

not only repulſed the aſſailants, but defeated and entirely diſperſed them, with the loſs only of two men killed, eleven wounded, and five miſſing. He himſelf unfortunately died of the wounds he received in this engagement, a few days after he arrived at the camp with his party.

It was now judged too late in the year to proceed to the attac of Crown-Point, as it would have been neceſſary, in that caſe, to build a ſtrong fort in the place where the camp then was, in order to ſecure a communication with Albany, from whence only the troops could expect to be re-enforced or ſupplied with freſh ſtores of ammunition or proviſions. They, therefore, ſet out upon their return ſoon after this engagement, having firſt erected a little ſtockaded fort at the hither end of Lake-George, in which they left a ſmall garriſon, as a future prey for the enemy; as a misfortune which might eaſily have been foreſeen, becauſe this whole army, being country militia, was to be diſbanded, and return to their reſpective homes, as they actually did ſoon after their retreat to Albany. This was all the glory, this all the advantage, that the Engliſh nation acquired by ſuch an expenſive expedition. But ſo little had the Engliſh been accuſtomed of late to hear of victory, that they rejoiced at this advantage, as if it had been an action of the greateſt conſequence. The general was highly applauded for his conduct, and liberally rewarded; for he was created a baronet by his majeſty, and preſented with 5000l. by the parliament.

The preparations for general Shirley's expedition againſt Niagara were not only deficient, but ſhamefully ſlow; though it was well known that even the poſſibility of his ſucceſs muſt, in a great meaſure, depend upon his ſetting out early in the year, as will appear to any perſon that conſiders the ſituation of our fort at Oſwego, this being the only way by which he could proceed to Niagara. Oſwego lies on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the lake Ontario, near 300 miles almoſt due-weſt from Albany in New-York. The way to it from thence, though long and tedious, is the more convenient, as the far greateſt part of it admits of water-carriage, by what the inhabitants call batteaux, which are a kind of light flat-bottomed boats, wideſt in the middle, and pointed at each end, of about 1500 weight burden, and managed by two men, called batteau-men, with paddles and ſetting poles, the rivers being in many places too narrow to admit of oars. From Albany to the village of Shenectady, about 16 miles, is a good waggon-road. From thence to the little Falls in the Mohock river, being 65 miles, the paſſage is by water-carriage up that river, and conſequently againſt the ſtream, which in many places is ſomewhat rapid, and in others ſo ſhallow, that, when the river is low, the water-men are obliged to get out, and draw their batteaux over the riſts. At the little Falls is a poſtage, or land-carriage, for about a mile, over a ground ſo marſhy, that it will not bear any wheel-carriage: but a colony of Germans ſettled there, attend with ſledges, on which they draw the loaded batteaux to the next place of embarkation upon the ſame river. From thence they proceed by water up that river, for 50 miles, to the Carrying-place, near the head of it, where there is another poſtage, the length of which depends upon the dryneſs or wetneſs of the ſeaſon, but is generally above ſix or eight miles over in the ſummer months. Here the batteaux are again carried upon ſledges, till they come to a narrow river called Wood's Creek, down which they are wafted on a gentle ſtream, for about 40 miles, into the lake Oneyada, which ſtretches from eaſt to weſt about 30 miles, and is paſſed with great eaſe and ſafety in calm weather. At the weſtern end of this lake is the river Onondaga, which, after a courſe of between 20 or 30 miles, unites with the river Cayuga, or Seneca, and their united ſtreams run into the lake Ontario, at the place where Oſwego fort is ſituated. But this river is ſo rapid as to be ſometimes dangerous, beſides it being full of rifts and rocs; and about 12 miles on this ſide of Oſwego there is a fall of 11 feet perpendicular, where there is conſequently a poſtage, which however, does not exceed 40 yards. From thence the paſſage is eaſy quite to Oſwego. The lake Ontario, on which this fort ſtands, is near 280 leagues in circumference: its figure is oval, and its depth runs from 20 to 25 fathoms. On the north ſide of it are ſeveral little gulfs. There is a communication between this lake and that of the Hurons by the river Tanaſuate, from whence it is a land-carriage of ſix or eight leagues to the river Toronto, which falls into it. The French have two forts of conſequence on this lake; Frontenac, which commands the river St. Laurence, where the lake communicates with it; and Niagara, which commands the communication between the lake Ontario and the lake Erie. But of theſe forts, and this laſt lake, which is one of the fineſt in the world, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

Though we had long been in poſſeſſion of fort Oſwego, and though it lay greatly expoſed to the French, particularly to thoſe of Canada, upon any rupture between the two nations, we had never taken care to render it tolerably defenſible, or even to build a ſingle veſſel fit for navigating the lake: nor was this ſtrange neglect ever taken effectual notice of, till the beginning of this year, when, at a meeting which general Braddock had in April with the governors and chief gentlemen of ſeveral of our colonies at Alexandria, in Virginia, it was reſolved to ſtrengthen both the fort and garriſon at Oſwego, and to build ſome large veſſels at that place, accordingly, a number of ſhip-wrights and workmen were ſent thither in May and June. At the ſame time captain Bradſtreet marched thither with two companies of 100 men each, to re-enforce the 100 that were there before under captain King, to which number the garriſon had been increaſed ſince our conteſts with France began to grow ſerious. For a long time before, not above 25 men were left to defend this poſt, which from its great importance, and the ſituation of affairs at this juncture, moſt certainly required a much ſtronger garriſon than was put into it even at this juncture: but œconomy was the chief thing conſulted in the beginning of this war, and to that, in a great meaſure, was owing its long duration.

From the above deſcription of the paſſage from Albany to Oſwego, it is plain how neceſſary it was that the troops intended for this expedition ſhould have ſet out early in the ſpring. But, inſtead of that, the very firſt of them, colonel Schuyler's New-Jerſey regiment, did not begin their march till after the beginning of July; and juſt as Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments were preparing to follow, the melancholy account of Braddock's diſaſter arrived at Albany, where it ſo damped the ſpirits of the people, and ſpread ſuch a terror, that many of the troops deſerted, and moſt of the batteau-men diſperſed, and ran home, by which means even all the neceſſary ſtores could not be carried along with the troops. Notwithſtanding this diſappointment, general Shirley ſet out from Albany before the end of July, with as many of the troops and ſtores as he could procure a conveyance for, hoping to be joined in his route by great numbers of the Indians of the Six Nations, to whom he ſent invitations to that effect as he paſſed by their ſettlements: but they, inſtead of complying with his deſire, abſolutely declared againſt all hoſtilities on that ſide of the country; and inſiſted that Oſwego, being a place of traffic and peace, ought not to be diſturbed either by the Engliſh or the French, as if they could have perſuaded both parties to agree to ſuch a local truce. Upon this refuſal, mr. Shirley proceeded forward, being joined by very few Indians, and arrived at Oſwego on the 17th or 18th of Auguſt; but the reſt of the troops and artillery did not arrive till the laſt day of that month; and even then, their ſtore of proviſions was not ſufficient to enable them to proceed againſt Niagara, though ſome tolerable good veſſels had by this time been built and got ready for that purpoſe. The general now reſolved to take but 600 men with him for the attac of Niagara, and to leave the reſt of his army, conſiſting of about 1400 more, at Oſwego, to defend that place, in caſe the French ſhould attac it in his abſence, which there was reaſon to apprehend they might, as they had then a conſiderable force at Fort Frontenac, from whence they could eaſily croſs over the lake Ontario to Oſwego. However, he was ſtill obliged to wait at Oſwego for proviſions, of which at length a ſmall ſupply arrived on the 26th of September, barely ſufficient to ſupport his men during their intended expedition, and to allow 12 days ſhort ſubſiſtence for thoſe he left behind. But by this time the rainy boiſterous ſeaſon had begun, on which account moſt of his Indians had already left him, and were returned home; and the few that remained with him declared that there was no croſſing the lake Ontorio in batteaux at that ſeaſon, or any time before the next ſummer. In this perplexity he called a council of war, which, after weighing all circumſtances, unanimouſly reſolved to defer the attempt upon Niagara till the next year, and to employ the troops, whilſt they remained at Oſwego, in building barracs, and erecting, or at leaſt beginning to erect, two new forts, one on the eaſt ſide of the river Onondaga, 450 yards diſtant from the old fort, which it was to command, as well as the entrance of the harbour, and to be called Ontario-fort; and the other 450 yards weſt of the old fort, to be called Oſwego new fort.

Theſe things being agreed on, general Shirley, with the greateſt part of the troops under his command, ſet out on

his return to Albany on the 24th of October, leaving colonel Mercer, with a garriſon of about 700 men, at Oſwego; though repeated advice had been received, that the French had then at leaſt 1000 men at their fort of Frontenac, upon the ſame lake: and, what was ſtill worſe, the new forts were not yet near compleated; but left to be finiſhed by the hard labour of colonel Mercer and his little garriſon, with the addition of this melancholy circumſtance, that, if beſieged by the enemy in the winter, it would not be poſſible for his friends to come to his aſſiſtance. Thus ended this year's unfortunate campaign, during which the French, with the aſſiſtance of their Indian allies, continued their murders, ſcalping, captivating, and laying waſte the weſtern frontiers of Virginia and Pennſylvania, during the whole winter.

The miniſters of the two jarring powers were very buſily employed this year at moſt of the courts of Europe; but their tranſactions were kept extremely ſecret. The French endeavoured to inſpire the Spaniards with a jealouſy of the ſtrength of the Engliſh by ſea, eſpecially in America; and the Spaniſh court ſeemed inclined to accept of the office of mediator; but mr. Wall, who was perfectly well acquainted with the ſtate of affairs between England and France, ſeconded the repreſentations of the Britiſh miniſtry, which demonſtrated, that however willing Great-Britain might be to accept of the mediation of Spain, ſhe could not agree to any ſuſpenſion of arms in America, which France inſiſted on as a preliminary condition, without hazarding the whole of her intereſt there; and that the captures which had been made by the Engliſh were the neceſſary conſequence of the encroachments and injuſtice of the French, particularly in that country. Upon this remonſtrance, all further talk of the mediation of Spain was dropped, and the miniſtry of Verſailles had recourſe to the princes of Germany; amongſt whom the elector of Cologn was ſoon brought over to their party, ſo as to conſent to their forming magazines in his territories in Weſtphalia. This was a plain indication of their deſign againſt Hanover, which they ſoon after made his Britannick majeſty, who was then at Hanover, an offer of ſparing, if he would agree to certain conditions of neutrality for that electorate, which he rejected with diſdain. Then the count D'Aubeterre, envoy extraordinary from France at the court of Vienna, propoſed a ſecret negotiation with the miniſters of the empreſs-queen. The ſecret articles of the treaty of Peterſburgh, between the two empreſſes had ſtipulated a kind of partition of the Pruſſian territories, in caſe that prince ſhould infringe the treaty of Dreſden; but his Britannick majeſty, though often invited, had always refuſed to agree to any ſuch ſtipulation; and the king of Poland, howſoever he might be inclined to favour the ſcheme, did not dare to avow it formally, till matters ſhould be more ripe for carrying it into execution. The court of Vienna, whoſe favourite meaſure this was, began to liſten to D'Aubeterre's inſinuations, and by degrees entered into negotiations with him, which in the end, were productive of that unnatural confederacy between the empreſs-queen and the king of France, of which further notice will be taken in the occurences of the next year, when the treaty between them, into which they afterwards found means ſecretly to bring the empreſs of Ruſſia, was concluded at Verſailles.

The king of England taking it for granted that the French would invade Hanover, in conſequence of the rupture with Great-Britain, which ſeemed to be near at hand, began to take meaſures for the defence of that electorate. To this end, during his ſtay at Hanover, he concluded, on the 18th of June, a treaty with the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, by which his ſerene highneſs engaged to hold in readineſs, during four years, for his majeſty's ſervice, a body of 8000 men, to be employed, if required, upon the continent, or in Britain or Ireland; but not on board the fleet, or beyond the ſeas; and alſo, if his Britannick majeſty ſhould judge it neceſſary or advantageous for his ſervice, to furniſh and join to this body of 8000 men, within ſix months after they ſhould be demanded, 4000 more, of which 700 were to be horſe or dragoons, and each regiment of infantry to have two field pieces of cannon*. Another treaty was begun with Ruſſia about the ſame time; but this did not take effect during his majeſty's reſidence at Hanover: that others were not concluded was the more ſurpriſing, as our ſubſidy treaty with Saxony had then expired, and that with Bavaria was near expiring, and as the ſecuring of theſe two princes in our intereſt was at leaſt as neceſſary towards forming a ſufficient confederacy upon the continent for the defence of Hanover, as it was to ſecure the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel. If the reaſon of their not being engaged, and no other ſeems ſo probable, was, that they refuſed to renew their treaties with England upon any terms, all that can be ſaid is, that they were guilty of flagrant ingratitude, as they had both received a ſubſidy from this kingdom for many years in time of peace, when they neither were nor could be of any ſervice to the intereſt of Great-Britain.

On the 15th of July an expreſs arrived from admiral Boſcawen, with an account of his having taken the two French ſhips of war, the Alcide and the Lys. This was certainly contrary to the expectation of the court of France; for had they apprehended any ſuch attac, they would not have ordered mr. M'Namara to return to Breſt with the chief part of their ſquadron; nor was it, perhaps, leſs contrary to the expectation of ſome of our own miniſtry: but as matters had been carried ſo far, it was then too late to retreat; and, therefore, orders were ſoon after given to all our ſhips of war to make repriſals upon the French, by taking their ſhips wherever they ſhould meet them. Sir Edward Hawke ſailed from Portſmouth on the 21ſt of July, with 18 ſhips of war, to watch the return of the French fleet from America, which, however, eſcaped him, and arrived at Breſt on the 3d day of September. Commodore Frankland ſailed from Spithead for the Weſt-Indies on the 13th of Auguſt with four ſhips of war, furniſhed with orders to commit hoſtilities, as well as to protect our trade and ſugar-iſlands from any inſult that the French might offer; and the duke de Mirepoix, their embaſſador at the court of London, ſet out for Paris on the 22d of July, without taking leave.

A war being thus in ſome meaſure begun, his majeſty thought proper, perhaps for that reaſon, to return to his Britiſh dominions ſooner than uſual; for he left Hanover on the 8th of September, and arrived on the 15th at Kenſington, where the treaty of alliance between him and the empreſs of Ruſſia, which he had begun during his abſence, was concluded on the 30th of the ſame month. By this treaty her Ruſſian majeſty engaged to hold in readineſs in Livonia, upon the frontiers of Lithuania, a body of troops conſiſting of 40,000 infantry, with the neceſſary artillery, and 15,000 cavalry; and alſo on the coaſts of the ſame province, 40 or 50 galleys, with the neceſſary crews; to be ready to act, upon the firſt order, in his majeſty's ſervice, in caſe, ſaid the fifth article, which was the moſt remarkable, that the dominions of his Britannick majeſty in Germany ſhould be invaded on account of the intereſts or diſputes which regard his kingdoms; her imperial majeſty declaring that ſhe would look upon ſuch an invaſion as a caſe of the alliance of the year 1742; and that the ſaid dominions ſhould be therein compriſed in this reſpect: but neither theſe troops nor gallies were to be put in motion, unleſs his Britannick majeſty, or his allies, ſhould be ſomewhere attacked; in which caſe the Ruſſian general ſhould march, as ſoon as poſſible after requiſition, to make a diverſion with 30,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry; and ſhould embark on board the gallies the other 10,000 infantry, to make a deſcent according to the exigency of the affair. On the other ſide, his Britannick majeſty engaged to pay to her Ruſſian majeſty an annual ſubſidy of 100,000l. ſterling a-year, each year to be paid in advance, and to be reckoned from the day of the exchange of the ratifications, to the day that theſe troops ſhould upon requiſition march out of Ruſſia; from which day the annual ſubſidy to her imperial majeſty was to be 500,000l. ſterling, to be paid always four months in advance, until the troops ſhould return into the Ruſſian dominions, and for three months after their return. His Britannick majeſty, who was to be at liberty to ſend once every year into the ſaid province of Livonia a commiſſary, to ſee and examine the number and condition of the ſaid troops, further engaged, that, in caſe her Ruſſian majeſty ſhould be diſturbed in this diverſion, or attacked herſelf, he would furniſh immediately the ſuccour ſtipulated in the treaty of 1742; and that, in caſe a war ſhould break out, he would ſend into the Baltic a ſquadron of his ſhips, of a force ſuit-

* The king, on his ſide, promiſed to pay to the landgrave for theſe ſuccours, 80 crowns banco, by way of levy-money, for every trooper or dragoon duly armed and mounted, and 30 crowns banco for every foot ſoldier; the crown to be reckoned at 53 ſols of Holland, or at 4s. 9¾d. Engliſh money: and alſo to pay to his ſerene highneſs, for the 8000 men, an annual ſubſidy of 150,000 crowns banco, during the four years, to commence from the day of ſigning the treaty, which ſubſidy was to be increaſed to 300,000 crowns yearly, from the time of requiring the troops, to the time of their entering into Britiſh pay, and in caſe of their being diſmiſſed, the ſaid ſubſidy of 300,000 crowns was then to revive and be continued during the reſidue of the term: but if 12,000 men were demanded and furniſhed, the ſubſidy was then to be increaſed in proportion: and in caſe the king of Great-Britain ſhould at any time think fit to ſend back theſe troops, before the expiration of the treaty, notice thereof was to be given to his ſerene highneſs three months beforehand; one month's pay was to be allowed them for their return, and they were to be furniſhed gratis with the neceſſary tranſport veſſels.

able to the circumſtances. This was the chief ſubſtance of the treaty, which by agreement of both parties, was to ſubſiſt for four years from the exchange of the ratifications: but in the ſeventh article theſe words were unluckily inſerted: 'conſidering alſo the proximity of the countries wherein the diverſion in queſtion will probably be made, and the facility her troops will probably have of ſubſiſting immediately in an enemy's country, ſhe takes upon herſelf alone, during ſuch a diverſion, the ſubſiſtence and treatment of the ſaid troops by ſea and land.' And in the 11th article it was ſtipulated, that all the plunder the Ruſſian army ſhould take from the enemy ſhould belong to them. That his Britannick majeſty, who now knew enough of the court of Vienna to be ſenſible that he could expect no aſſiſtance from thence, in caſe his German dominions were invaded, ſhould enter into this convention with the empreſs of Ruſſia, in order to ſtrengthen his defence upon the continent, was extremely natural; eſpecially as he had lately lived in great friendſhip with her, and her tranſactions with the court of France had been ſo ſecret, by paſſing through only that of Vienna, that he had not yet been informed of them; neither had the project of the treaty of Verſailles then come to his knowledge, or to that of the king of Pruſſia, nor had either of theſe princes yet made any formal advances to the other.

The firſt intimation that appeared publicly of the negotiations of France with the empreſs of Germany, was, when the French miniſter, count d'Aubeterre, declared at Vienna, 'that the warlike deſigns with which the king his maſter was charged, were ſufficiently confuted by his great moderation, of which all Europe had manifold proofs: that his majeſty was perſuaded this groundleſs charge had given as much indignation to their imperial majeſties as to himſelf: that he was firmly reſolved to preſerve to Chriſtendom that tranquillity which it enjoyed through his good faith, in religiouſly obſerving the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle: but that if his Britannick majeſty's allies ſhould take part in the war which was kindled in America, by furniſhing ſuccours to the Engliſh, his majeſty would be authoriſed to conſider and treat them as principals in it.' France likewiſe made the ſame declaration to other courts.

The words and ſtipulation in the above recited clauſe, in the 7th article of the treaty of Great-Britain with Ruſſia, were looked on as a menace levelled at the king of Pruſſia, who, having ſome time after found means to procure a copy of this treaty, and ſeeing it in that light, boldly declared, by his miniſters at all the courts of Europe, that he would oppoſe with his utmoſt force the entrance of any foreign troops into the empire, under any pretence whatever. This declaration was particularly diſpleaſing to the French, who had already marched large bodies of troops towards the frontiers of the empire, and erected ſeveral great magazines in Weſtphalia, with the permiſſion of the elector of Cologn, for which the Engliſh miniſter at his court was, in Auguſt, ordered to withdraw from thence without taking leave. However, as ſoon as this declaration of the king of Pruſſia was notified to the court of Verſailles, they ſent an embaſſador extraordinary, the duke of de Nivernois, to Berlin, to try to perſuade his majeſty to retract his declaration, and enter into a new alliance with them. His Pruſſian majeſty received this embaſſador in ſuch a manner as ſeemed to denote a diſpoſition to agree to every thing he had to propoſe. This awakened in England a jealouſy that his declaration alone was not to be relied on, but that it was neceſſary to bring him under ſome ſolemn engagement; eſpecially as the French had by this time a numerous army near the Lower-Rhine, with magazines provided for their march all the way to Hanover; and if the king of Pruſſia ſuffered them to paſs through his dominion, that electorate muſt be ſwallowed up before the Ruſſian auxiliaries could poſſibly be brought thither, or any army be formed for protecting it.[t] For this reaſon a negotiation was ſet on foot by Great-Britain at Berlin; but as it was not concluded before the beginning of the next year, we ſhall defer entering into the particulars of it, till we come to that period.

Mean while the French made another attempt upon the court of Madrid, loudly complaining of the taking of their two men of war by Boſcawen's ſquadron; before any declaration of war was made, repreſenting it as a moſt unjuſtifiable proceeding, which threatened a diſſolution of all faith amongſt nations. This produced a ſtrong memorial from ſir Benjamin Keene, our miniſter at that court, importing, 'that it was well known that the French fleet carried troops, ammunition, and every thing neceſſary for defending the countries which the French had unjuſtly uſurped in America, and of which the Engliſh claimed the property: that the rules of ſelf-defence authorize every nation to render fruitleſs any attempt that may tend to its prejudice; that this right had been made uſe of only in taking the two French ſhips of war; and that the diſtinction of place might be interpreted in favour of the Engliſh, ſeeing the two ſhips were taken on the coaſts of the countries where the conteſts aroſe.' In anſwer to this obſervation, the French miniſter repreſented the vaſt number of ſhips that had been taken in the European ſeas; for in fact the Engliſh ports ſoon began to be filled with them, in conſequence of the general orders for making repriſals. But the court of Madrid was ſo far from being perſuaded by any thing he could ſay, that it gave his Britannick majeſty the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of its friendſhip, and of its intention to take no part in the differences between him and France, but ſuch as ſhould be conciliatory, and tending to reſtore the public tranquillity.

On the other hand, his Britannick majeſty required, as king of Great-Britain, the auxiliaries ſtipulated to him by treaty from the empreſs-queen. But theſe were refuſed, under pretence, that as the conteſt between him and France related to America only, it was not a caſe of the alliance; though at the ſame time the French made no ſcruple of owning, that they intended to make a powerful deſcent on Great-Britain early in the ſpring. When, a little while after, France being employed in making great preparations for a land war in Europe, the king of England required her to defend her own poſſeſſions, the barrier in the Low-Countries, with the number of men ſtipulated by treaty, which countries, acquired by Engliſh blood and Engliſh treaſure, had been given to her on that expreſs condition, ſhe declared that ſhe could not ſpare troops for that purpoſe, on account of her dangerous enemy the king of Pruſſia: and afterwards, when he was ſecured by his treaty with England, ſhe urged that as a reaſon for her reliance with France. It muſt be owned, however, for the ſake of hiſtorical truth, that this was no bad reaſon, conſidering the power, the genius, and the character of that prince, who hovered over her dominions with an army of 150,000 veterans. It muſt likewiſe be owned that ſhe undertook to procure the French king's conſent to a neutrality for Hanover, which would have effectually ſecured that electorate from the invaſion of every other power but Pruſſia itſelf; and it is no ſtrained conjecture to ſuppoſe that the dread of this very power was the true ſource of thoſe connexions in Germany, which entailed ſuch a ruinous continental war upon Great-Britain.

Though the Engliſh continued to make repriſals upon the French, not only in the ſeas of America, but alſo in thoſe in Europe, by taking every ſhip they could meet with, and detaining them, their cargoes, and crews; yet the French, whether from a conſciouſneſs of their want of power by ſea, or that they might have a more plauſible plea to repreſent England as the aggreſſor, were ſo far from returning theſe hoſtilities, that their fleet, which eſcaped ſir Edward Hawke, having, on the 13th of Auguſt, taken the Blandford ſhip of war with governor Lyttelton on board, going to Carolina, they ſet the governor at liberty, as ſoon as the court was informed of the ſhip's being brought into Nantes, and ſhortly after releaſed both the ſhip and crew. However, at the ſame time, their preparations for a land war ſtill went on with great diligence, and their utmoſt arts and efforts were fruitleſly exerted to perſuade the Spaniards and Dutch to join with them againſt Great-Britain.

In England the preparations by ſea became greater than ever; ſeveral new ſhips of war were put in commiſſion, and many others taken into the ſervice of the government: the exportation of gunpowder was forbid: the bounties to ſeamen were continued, and the number of thoſe that either entered voluntarily, or were preſſed, increaſed daily, as did alſo the captures from the French, among which was the Eſperance, of 70 guns, taken as ſhe was going from Rochefort to Breſt to be manned. The land-forces of Great-Britain were likewiſe ordered to be augmented; ſeveral new regiments were raiſed, and all half-pay officers, and the out-penſioners belonging to Chelſea-hoſpital, were directed to ſend in their names, ages, and time of ſervice, in order that ſuch of them as were yet able to ſerve might be employed again if wanted. The Engliſh navy, ſo early as in the month of September of this year, conſiſted of one ſhip of 110 guns, five of 100 guns each, thirteen of 90, eight of 80, five of 74, twenty-nine of 70, four of 66, one of 64,

[t] Perhaps the elector of Hanover was more afraid of the Pruſſian monarch than the moſt Chriſtian king, knowing with what eaſe and rapidity this enterprizing neighbour could in a few days ſubdue the whole electorate.

thirty-three of 60, three of 54, twenty-eight of 50, four of 44, thirty-five of 40, and forty-two of 20, four ſloops of war of 18 guns each, two of 16, eleven of 14, thirteen of 12, and one of 10, beſides a number of bomb-ketches, fire-ſhips, and tenders; a force ſufficient to oppoſe the united maritime ſtrength of all the powers in Europe; whilſt that of the French, even at the end of this year, and including the ſhips then upon the ſtocs, amounted to no more than ſix ſhips of 80 guns, twenty-one of 74, one of 72, four of 74, thirty-one of 64, two of 60, ſix of 50, and thirty-two frigates.

Such was the ſituation of the two kingdoms, when, on the 13th of November, the parliament met, and his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he acquainted them, 'That the moſt proper meaſures had been taken to protect our poſſeſſions in America, and to regain ſuch parts thereof as had been encroached upon, or invaded; that to preſerve his people from the calamities of war, as well as to prevent a general war from being lighted up in Europe, he had been always ready to accept reaſonable and honourable terms of accommodation, but that none ſuch had been propoſed by France: that he had alſo confined his views and operations to hinder France from making new encroachments, or ſupporting thoſe already made; to exert his people's right to a ſatisfaction for hoſtilities committed in a time of profound peace, and to diſappoint ſuch deſigns, as, from various appearances and preparations, there was reaſon to think had been formed againſt his kingdoms and dominions: that the king of Spain earneſtly wiſhed the preſervation of the public tranquillity, and had given aſſurances of his intention to continue in the ſame pacific ſentiments: that he himſelf had greatly increaſed his naval armaments, and augmented his land forces in ſuch a manner as might be leſt burthenſome; and finally, that he had concluded a treaty with the empreſs of Ruſſia, and another with the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, which ſhould be laid before them.'

In anſwer to this ſpeech, both houſes voted moſt loyal addreſſes, but not without a warm oppoſition in each, to ſome of the particular expreſſions, for it having been propoſed in the houſe of lords to inſert in their addreſs the words following, viz. 'That they looked upon themſelves as obliged, by the ſtrongeſt ties of duty, gratitude, and honour, to ſtand by and ſupport his majeſty in all ſuch wiſe and neceſſary meaſures and engagements as his majeſty might have taken in vindication of the rights of his crown, or to defeat any attempts which might be made by France, in reſentment for ſuch meaſures, and to aſſiſt his majeſty in diſappointing or repelling all ſuch enterprizes as might be formed, not only againſt his kingdoms, but alſo againſt any other of his dominions (though not belonging to the crown of Great-Britain) in caſe they ſhould be attacked on account of the part which his majeſty had taken for maintaining the eſſential intereſts of his kingdoms;' the inſerting of theſe words in their addreſs was oppoſed by earl Temple, and ſeveral other lords; becauſe, by the firſt part of them, they engaged to approve of the treaties with Ruſſia and Heſſe-Caſſel, neither of which they had ever ſeen, nor could it be ſuppoſed that either of them could be of any advantage to this nation; and by the ſecond part of theſe words it ſeemed to be reſolved to engage this nation in a continental connexion for the defence of Hanover, which it was impoſſible for England to ſupport, and which would be ſo far from being of any advantage to it at ſea, or in America, that it might at laſt diſable the nation from defending itſelf in either of thoſe parts of the world. But upon putting the queſtion, the inſerting of theſe words was agreed to by a great majority, and accordingly they ſtand as part of the addreſs of the houſe upon that occaſion.

To this remarkable addreſs his majeſty returned the following as remakable anſwer; 'my lords, I give you my hearty thanks for this dutiful and affectionate addreſs. I ſee, with the greateſt ſatisfaction, the zeal you expreſs for my perſon and government, and for the true intereſt of your country, which I am determined to adhere to. The aſſurances which you give me for the defence of my territories abroad are a ſtrong proof of your affection for me, and regard for my honour. Nothing ſhall divert me from purſuing thoſe meaſures which will effectually maintain the poſſeſſions and rights of my kingdoms, and procure reaſonable and honourable terms of accommodation.' The addreſs of the houſe of commons breathed the ſame ſpirit of zeal and gratitude, and was full of the warmeſt aſſurances of a ready ſupport of his majeſty, and of his foreign dominions, if attacked in his reſentment of his maintaining the rights of his crown and kingdom; and his majeſty's anſwer to it was to the ſame effect as that to the houſe of lords. The ſame, or nearly the ſame words, relating to the treaties concluded by his majeſty, and to the defence of his foreign dominions, were propoſed to be inſerted in this addreſs. which was oppoſed by William Pitt, eſq. then paymaſter of his majeſty's forces; the right hon. Henry Legge, eſq. then chancellor and under-treaſurer of his majeſty's exchequer, and one of the commiſſioners of the treaſury; and by ſeveral other gentlemen in high poſts under the government, as well as by many others: but, upon putting the queſtion, it was by a conſiderable majority agreed to inſert the words objected to; and very ſoon after, mr Pitt, mr Legge, and moſt, if not all, of the gentlemen who had appeared in the oppoſition, were diſmiſſed from their employments. In the mean time, a draft came over from Ruſſia for part of the new ſubſidy ſtipulated to that crown; but ſome of the miniſtry, who were then at the head of the finances, refuſed to pay it, at leaſt before the treaty ſhould be approved of by parliament.

Sir Thomas Robinſon had not been long in poſſeſſion of the office of ſecretary of ſtate, before it was generally perceived, that though an honeſt, well-meaning man, and a favourite with the king, his abilities were not equal to the functions of that poſt. Much leſs were they ſo at this juncture, when the nation was on the point of being engaged in a difficult and expenſive war, and plunged into foreign meaſures and connexions, which would require the utmoſt ſkill of an able politician to render them palatable to the people. Mr Pitt and mr. Fox, though they ſcarce ever agreed in any other particular, had generally united in oppoſing his meaſures, and their ſuperior influence in the houſe of commons, and univerſally acknowledged abilities, though of different kinds, had always prevailed, uncommon as it was, to ſee two perſons who held conſiderable places under the government, one of them being paymaſter-general, and the other ſecretary at war, oppoſe upon almoſt every occaſion, a ſecretary of ſtate, who was ſuppoſed to know and ſpeak the ſentiments of his maſter. Sir Thomas himſelf ſoon grew ſenſible of his want of ſufficient weight in the ſenate of the nation; and therefore, of his own accord, on the 10th of November, wiſely and dutifully reſigned the ſeals of his office to his majeſty, who delivered them to mr. Fox, and appointed ſir Thomas Maſter of the wardrobe, with a penſion to him during his life, and after his death to his ſons. Lord Barrington ſucceeded mr. Fox as ſecretary at war; and ſoon after ſir George Lyttelton was made chancellor of the exchequer, and a lord of the treaſury, in the room of mr. Legge, who had declared himſelf againſt the new continental ſyſtem. However, notwithſtanding theſe changes in the miniſtry, very warm debates aroſe in both houſes, when the treaties of Ruſſia and Heſſe-Caſſel came to be conſidered by them: ſome of the members were for referring them to a committee; but this motion was over-ruled, in conſideration of his majeſty's having engaged in them to guard againſt a ſtorm that ſeemed ready to break upon his electoral dominions merely on account of our quarrel with the French. They were at length approved of by a majority of 318 againſt 126, in the houſe of commons; and by 84 againſt 11, in the houſe of lords.

The houſe of commons then proceeded to provide for the ſervice of the enſuing years and for the deficiencies of the proviſions for the former. Fifty thouſand ſeamen, including 9138 marines, were voted, on the 24th of November, for the ſervice of the year 1756, together with 2,600,000l. for their maintenance, and 34,263 land ſoldiers, 930,603l. 6s. 9d. for their ſupport. One hundred thouſand pounds were voted as a ſubſidy to the empreſs of Ruſſia; 54,140l. 12s. 6d. to the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel; and 10,000l. to the elector of Bavaria.

During theſe tranſactions, the public was overwhelmed with conſternation, by the tidings of a dreadful earthquake, which, on the 1ſt of November, ſhook all Spain and Portugal, and many other places in Europe, and laid the city of Liſbon in ruins. When the news of this great calamity firſt reached England, it was feared the conſequences of it might affect our public credit, conſidering the vaſt intereſt which the Engliſh merchants had in the Portugueſe trade: but fortunately, it afterwards proved inconſiderable, in compariſon of what had been apprehended: the quarter in which the Engliſh chiefly lived, and where they had their warehouſes, having ſuffered the leaſt of any part of the city; and moſt of the Engliſh merchants then reſiding there, together with their families, being at their country houſes, to avoid the inſults to which they might have been expoſed from the Portugueſe populace, during the celebration of their Auto-da-fe, which was kept that very day. The two firſt ſhocs of this dreadful viſitation continued near a quarter of an hour,

after which the water of the river Tagus roſe perpendicularly above 20 feet, and ſubſided to its natural bed in leſs than a minute. Great numbers of houſes, of which this city then contained about 36,000, extending in length near ſix miles, in form of a creſcent, on the aſcent of a hill, upon the north ſhore of the mouth of the river Tagus, within nine miles from the ocean, were thrown down by the repeated commotions of the earth, together with ſeveral magnificent churches, monaſtries, and public buildings. But what entirely completed the ruin of this then moſt opulent capital of the Portugueſe dominions, was a devouring conflagration, partly fortuitous or natural, but chiefly occaſioned by a ſet of impious villains, who unawed by the tremendous ſcene at that very inſtant paſſing before their eyes, with a wickedneſs ſcarcely to be credited, ſet fire even to the falling edifices in different parts of the city, to increaſe the general confuſion, that they might have the better opportunity to rob and plunder their already deſolate fellow-citizens. Out of 350,000 inhabitants, which Liſbon was then ſuppoſed to contain, about 10,000 periſhed by the calamity; and the ſurvivors, deprived of their habitations, and deſtitute even of the neceſſaries of life, where forced to ſeek for ſhelter in the open fields.

As ſoon as his majeſty received an account of this deplorable event, from his embaſſador at the court of Madrid, he ſent a meſſage to both houſes of parliament, on the 28th of November, acquainting them therewith, and deſiring their concurrence and aſſiſtance towards ſpeedily relieving the the unhappy ſufferers; and the parliament thereupon, to honour of Britiſh humanity, unanimouſly voted, on the 8th of December, a gift of 100,000l. for the diſtreſſed people of Portugal. A circumſtance which enhances the merit of this action is, that though the Engliſh themſelves were, at that very time, in great want of grain, a conſiderable part of the ſum was ſent in corn, flour, rice, and a large quantity of beef from Ireland; ſupples which came very ſeaſonably for the poor Portugueſe, who were in actual want of the neceſſaries of life. The king was ſo affected by this inſtance of Britiſh generoſity, that, to ſhow his gratitude for the timely relief, he ordered mr. Caſtres, the Britiſh reſident at his court to give the preference, in the diſtribution of theſe ſupplies, to the Britiſh ſubjects who had ſuffered by the earthquake; accordingly, about a thirtieth part of the proviſions, and 2000l. in money, was ſet apart for that purpoſe; and the Portugueſe majeſty returned his thanks, in very warm terms, to the Britiſh crown and nation.

The report of an intended invaſion of theſe kingdoms by the French increaſed daily; on the 22d day of January lord Barrington, as ſecretary at war, laid before the houſe an eſtimate for defraying the charge of 10 new regiments of foot, over and above 34,263 land ſoldiers before ordered to be raiſed; and a ſum of 91,919l. 10s. was voted for theſe additional forces: upon another eſtimate preſented a little after by the ſame lord, and founded upon the ſame reaſons, for raiſing, for the further defence of the kingdom, 11 troops of light dragoons, 49,628l. 11s. 3d. were voted for the enſuing year; together with 81,178l. 16s. for a regiment of foot to be raiſed in North-America: 298,534l. 17s. 10½d. for the maintenance of our forces already eſtabliſhed in our American colonies; and 79,915l. 6s. for ſix regiments of foot from Ireland, to ſerve in North-America and the Eaſt-Indies. Beſides all theſe ſupplies, mr. Fox, on the 28th of January, preſented to the houſe a meſſage from the king, deſiring them to take into conſideration the faithful ſervices of the people of New-England, and of ſome other parts of North-America; upon which 115,000l. more were voted, and 5000l. as a reward to ſir William Johnſon in particular. In ſhort, including ſeveral other ſums, as well for defraying the expence of the army and navy, as for a ſubſidy of 20,000l. to the king of Pruſſia, and 121,447ls. 2s. 6d. for Hanoverian troops, of which two laſt articles further notice will be taken hereafter, the whole of the ſupplies granted by parliament in this ſeſſion amounted to 7,229,117l. 4s. 6¾d. For raiſing this ſum, beſides the malt-tax, and the land-tax of 4s. in the pound, the whole produce of the ſinking-fund, from the 5th of January 1756, till it ſhould amount to 1,555,955l. 11s. 11½d. was ordered to be applied thereunto; together with a million to be raiſed by loans, or exchequer-bills, at 3 per cent. intereſt; 1,500,000l. to be raiſed by the ſale of redeemable annuities, at 3 and a half per cent. and 500,000l. to be raiſed by a lottery, at 3 per cent. All which ſums, with 83,412l. 2s. 5½d. then remaining in the Exchequer, amounted to 7,427,261l. 5s. 7d.

The clauſe inſerted in the mutiny bill laſt year, ſubjecting all officers and ſoldiers raiſed in America, by authority of the reſpective governors or governments there, to the ſame rules and articles of war, and the ſame penalties and puniſhments, as the Britiſh forces were liable to; the act paſſed at the ſame time for regulating the marine forces, while on ſhore; and that for the more ſpeedy and effectual manning of his majeſty's navy, were not only confirmed now; but it was further enacted, with reſpect to this laſt, as well as for the more ſpeedy and effectual recruiting of his majeſty's land-forces. That the commiſſioners appointed by the preſent act ſhould be empowered to raiſe and levy, within their reſpective juriſdictions, ſuch able-bodied men as did not follow any lawful calling or employment: or had not ſome other lawful and ſufficient ſupport; and might order, wherever and whenever they pleaſed, a general ſearch to be made for ſuch perſons, in order to their being brought before them to be examined; nay, that the pariſh or town officers might, without any ſuch order, ſearch for and ſecure ſuch perſons, in order to convey them before the ſaid commiſſioners to be examined: that if any three commiſſioners ſhould find any perſon, ſo brought before them, to be within the above deſcription; and if the recruiting officer attending ſhould judge him to be a man fit for his majeſty's ſervice, they ſhould cauſe him to be delivered to ſuch officer, who might ſecure him any place of ſafety provided by the juſtices of the peace for that purpoſe, or even in any public priſon; and that every ſuch man was from that time to be deemed a liſted ſoldier, and not to be taken out of his majeſty's ſervice by any proceſs, other than for ſome criminal matter. Nothing could more plainly ſhow either the zeal of the parliament for a vigorous proſecution of the war, or their confidence in the juſtice and moderation of our miniſtry, than their agreeing to this act, which was to continue in force till the end of the next ſeſſion: and which, in the hands of a wicked and enterprizing adminiſtration, might have been made ſuch an uſe of, as would have been inconſiſtent with that ſecurity which is provided by our happy conſtitution for the liberty of the ſubject.

The next object of the immediate attention of parliament in this ſeſſion was the raiſing of a new regiment of foot in North-America; for which purpoſe the ſum of 81,178l. 16s. to which the eſtimate thereof amounted, was voted. This regiment which was to conſiſt of four battalions of 1000 men each, was intended to be raiſed chiefly out of the Germans and Swiſs, who, for many years paſt, had annually tranſported themſelves in great numbers to the Britiſh plantations in America, where waſte lands had been aſſigned them upon the frontiers of the provinces; but, very injudiciouſly, no care had been taken to intermix them with the Engliſh inhabitants of the place. To this circumſtance it is owing, that they have continued to correſpond and converſe only with one another; ſo that very few of them, even of thoſe who have been born there, have yet learned to ſpeak or underſtand the Engliſh tongue. However, as they were all zealous proteſtants, and in general ſtrong, hardy men, and accuſtomed to the climate, it was judged that a regiment of good and faithful ſoldiers might be raiſed out of them, particularly proper to oppoſe the French: but to this end it was neceſſary to appoint ſome officers, eſpecially ſubalterns, who underſtood military diſcipline, and could ſpeak the German language; and as a ſufficient number of ſuch could not be found among the Engliſh officers, it was neceſſary to bring over and grant commiſſions to ſeveral German and Swiſs officers and engineers: but as this ſtep, by the act of ſettlement, could not be taken without the authority of parliament, an act was now paſſed for enabling his majeſty to grant commiſſions to a certain number of foreign proteſtants, who had ſerved as officers or engineers, to act and rank as officers or engineers in America only. An act was likewiſe paſſed in this ſeſſion, ſtrictly forbidding, under pain of death, any of his majeſty's ſubjects to ſerve as officers under the French king, or to inliſt as ſoldiers in his ſervice, without his majeſty's previous licence; and alſo for obliging ſuch of his majeſty's ſubjects as ſhould, in time to come, accept of commiſſions in the Scotch brigade in the Dutch ſervice, to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, on pain of forfeiting 500l.

As it had been reſolved, in the beginning of the preceding ſummer, to build veſſels of force upon the lake Ontario, an act was now paſſed for extending the maritime laws of England, relating to the government of his majeſty's ſhips and forces by ſea, to ſuch officers, ſeamen, and others, as ſhould ſerve on board his majeſty's ſhips or veſſels employed upon the lakes, great waters, or rivers, in North-America; and alſo, but not without oppoſition to this laſt for the better recruiting of his majeſty's forces upon the

continent of America: to which end, by a new clauſe now added to a former act, a recruiting officer was empowered to enliſt and detain an indentured ſervant, even though his maſter ſhould reclaim him, upon paying to the maſter ſuch a ſum as two juſtices of peace within the precinct ſhould adjudge to be a reaſonable equivalent for the original purchaſe-money, and the remaining time ſuch ſervant might have to ſerve.

The inteſtine broils of Ireland were happily compoſed this year, by the prudent management of the marquis of Hartington, lord-lieutenant of that kingdom. By his ſteady and diſintereſted conduct, his candour and humanity, the Iriſh were not only brought to a much better temper, even among themſelves, than they were before their late outrageous riots and dangerous diſſenſions happened; but alſo prevailed upon to acquieſce in the meaſures of England, without this laſt being obliged to give up any one point of her ſuperiority. The leading men in the parliament of Ireland were the firſt that conformed: and though the ferment continued very high for ſome time after among the middling and lower ranks of people, it was at length entirely allayed by the wiſdom of the lord-lieutenant, and the excellent laws which he encouraged and paſſed for the benefit of that nation [u]. The P—— of Ireland, who had been very buſy in fomenting many of the late diſturbances, was, by his majeſty's command, ſtruc off the liſt of privy-counſellors; and the greateſt part of thoſe patriots, whom faction had turned out of their employments there, were re-inſtated with honour.

[1756] The parliament of England, which had adjoined on the 23d of December, met again; the houſe of commons on the 13th of January, and the lords on the 19th. On the 16th of the ſame month, the treaty between his Britannick majeſty and the king of Pruſſia was ſigned, importing, that, for the defence of their common country, Germany, and in order to preſerve her peace and tranquillity, which it was feared was in danger of being diſturbed, on account of the diſputes in America; the two kings, for that end only, entered into a convention of neutrality, by which they reciprocally bound themſelves not to ſuffer foreign troops of any nation whatſoever to enter into Germany, or paſs through it during the troubles aforeſaid, and the conſequences that might reſult from them; but to oppoſe the ſame with their utmoſt might, in order to ſecure Germany from the calamities of war, maintain her fundamental laws and conſtitutions, and preſerve her peace uninterrupted. Thus, the late treaty with Ruſſia was virtually renounced. Their majeſties, moreover, ſeized this favourable opportunity to adjuſt the differences that had ſubſiſted between them, in relation to the remainder of the Sileſia loan due to the ſubjects of his Britannick majeſty, and the indemnification claimed by the ſubjects of his Pruſſian majeſty for their loſſes by ſea during the late war; ſo that the attachment laid on the ſaid debt was agreed to be taken off, as ſoon as the ratification of this treaty ſhould be exchanged.

On the 21ſt of January the houſe took into conſideration the laws then in being, relating to the militia of this kingdom; and, finding them inſufficient, ordered a new bill to be prepared, and brought in, for the better regulating of the militia forces in the ſeveral counties of England. A bill wat accordingly prepared to that effect, and preſented to the houſe on the 12th of March by the hon. Charles Townſhend, eſq. who, to his honour, was one of the chief promoters of it. After receiving many amendments in the houſe of commons, it was on the 10th of May paſſed, and ſent to the lords: but ſeveral objections being made to it by ſome of the peers, and it ſeeming to them that ſome further amendments were ſtill neceſſary, which they thought they could not in that ſeſſion ſpare time to conſider ſo maturely as the importance of the ſubject required, a negative of 59 againſt 23 was put upon the motion for paſſing the bill; though every one muſt have been ſenſible, not only of the propriety, but even of the abſolute neceſſity of ſuch a law, which was ardently deſired by the whole nation.

On the 27th of May his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and, after having given the royal aſſent to the bills then depending, thanked his parliament, in a ſpeech from the throne, for their vigorous and effectual ſupport. He acquainted them, that the injuries and hoſtilities which had been for ſome time committed by the French againſt his dominions and ſubjects, were then followed by the actual invaſion of the iſland of Minorca, though guaranteed to him by all the great powers of Europe, and particularly by the French king: that he had, therefore, found himſelf obliged, in vindication of the honour of his crown, and of the rights of his people, to declare war in form againſt France; and that he relied on the Divine Protection, and the vigorous aſſiſtance of his faithful ſubjects, in ſo juſt a cauſe. The parliament was then adjourned to the 18th of June; and from thence afterwards to the 18th of July, and then it was prorogued.

In the month of January mr. Fox, lately appointed ſecretary of ſtate, received a letter from M. Rouillè, miniſter and ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs to the king of France, expoſtulating, in the name of his ſovereign, upon the orders and inſtructions for committing hoſtilities, which his Britannick majeſty had given to general Braddock and admiral Boſcawen, in diametrical oppoſition to the moſt ſolemn aſſurances ſo often repeated by word of mouth, as well as in writing. He complained of the inſult which had been offered to his maſter's flag, in attacking and taking two of his ſhips in the open ſea, without any previous declaration of war; as alſo by committing depredations on the commerce of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's ſubjects, in contempt of the law of nations, the faith of treaties, and the uſages eſtabliſhed among civilized nations. He ſaid, the ſentiments and character of his Britannick majeſty gave the king his maſter room to expect, that, at his return to London, he would diſavow the conduct of his admiralty; but ſeeing that, inſtead of puniſhing, he rather encouraged thoſe who had been guilty of ſuch depredations, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty would be deemed deficient in what he owed to his own glory, the dignity of his crown, and the defence of his people, if he deferred any longer demanding a ſignal reparation for the outrage done to the French flag, and the damage ſuſtained by his ſubjects. He, therefore, demanded immediate and full reſtitution of all the French ſhips, which, contrary to law and decorum, had been taken by the Engliſh navy, together with all the officers, ſoldiers, mariners, guns, ſtores, and merchandiſe. He declared, that ſhould this reſtitution be made, he ſhould be willing to engage in a negotiation for what further ſatisfaction he might claim, and continue deſirous to ſee the differences relating to America determined by a ſolid and equitable accommodation: but if, contrary to all hopes, theſe demands ſhould be rejected, he would conſider ſuch a denial of juſtice as the moſt authentic declaration of war, and as a formed deſign in the court of London to diſturb the peace of Europe. To this peremptory remonſtrance the Britiſh ſecretary was directed to anſwer, that though the king of England would readily conſent to an equitable and ſolid accommodation, he would not comply with the demand of immediate and full reſtitution as a preliminary condition; for his majeſty had taken no ſteps but ſuch as were rendered juſt and indiſpenſible by the hoſtilities which the French began in time of profound peace, and a proper regard for his own honour, the rights and poſſeſſions of his crown, and the ſecurity of his kingdom.

Without all doubt the late tranſactions had afforded ſpecious arguments for both nations to impeach the conduct of each other. The French court, conſcious of their encroachments in Nova-Scotia, affected to draw a ſhade over theſe, as particulars belonging to a diſputed territory, and to divert the attention to the banks of the Ohio, where Jamonville and his detachment had been attacked and maſſacred by the Engliſh, without the leaſt provocation. They likewiſe inveighed againſt the capture of their ſhips, before any declaration of war, as flagrant acts of piracy; and ſome neutral powers of Europe ſeemed to conſider them in the ſame point of view. It was certainly high time to chec the inſolence of the French by force of arms, and ſurely this might have been as effectually and expeditiouſly exerted under the uſual ſanction of a formal declaration; the omiſſion of which expoſed the adminiſtration to the cenſure of our neighbours, and fixed the imputation of fraud and freebooting on the beginning of the war. The miniſtry was ſaid to have delayed the ceremony of denouncing war from political conſiderations, ſuppoſing that, ſhould the French be provoked into the firſt declaration of this kind, the powers of Europe would conſider his moſt Chriſtian majeſty as the aggreſſor, and Great-Britain would reap all the fruits of the defenſive alliances in which ſhe had engaged. But nothing could be more weak and frivolous than ſuch a conjecture. The aggreſſor is he who firſt violates the peace; and every

[u] Among other objects of the attention of the legiſlature of that country, 10,000l. were granted for making the river Nore navigable from the city of Kilkenny to the town of Inneſtalge; 20,000l. towards carrying on an inland navigation from the city of Dublin to the river Shannon; 4000l. for making the river Newry navigable; 1000l. a-year for two years, for the encouragement of Engliſh proteſtant ſchools; ſeveral ſums, to be diſtributed in premiums, for the encouragement of the cambric, hempen, and flaxen manufactures; and 300,000l. to his majeſty, towards ſupporting the ſeveral branches of the eſtabliſhment, and for defraying the expences of the government for two years.

ally will interpret the aggreſſion according to his own intereſt and convenience. The adminiſtration maintained the appearance of candour in the midſt of their hoſtilities. The merchant-ſhips, of which a great number had been taken from the French, were not ſold and divided among the captors according to the practice of war; but carefully ſequeſtered, with all their cargoes and effects, in order to be reſtored to the right owners, in caſe the diſputes between the two nations ſhould not be productive of an open rupture. In this particular, however, it was pity that a little common ſenſe had not been blended with their honourable intention. Great part of the cargoes conſiſted of fiſh, and other periſhable commodities, which were left to rot and putrify, and afterwards thrown overboard, to prevent contagion; ſo that the owners and captors were equally diſappointed, and the value of them loſt to both nations.

The court of Verſailles, while they preſented remonſtrances which they knew would prove ineffectual, and exclaimed againſt the conduct of Great-Britain with all the arts of calumny and exaggeration at every court in Chriſtendom, continued nevertheleſs to make ſuch preparations as denoted a deſign to proſecute the war with uncommon vigour. They began to repair and fortify Dunkirk: orders were publiſhed, that all Britiſh ſubjects ſhould quit the dominions of France: many Engliſh veſſels were ſeized in the different ports of that kingdom, and their crews ſent to priſon. At the ſame time an edict was iſſued, inviting the French ſubjects to equip privateers, offering a premium of 40 livres for every gun, and as much for every man they ſhould take from the enemy; and promiſing that, in caſe a peace ſhould be ſpeedily concluded, the king would purchaſe the privateers at prime coſt. They employed great numbers of artificers and ſeamen in equipping a formidable ſquadron of ſhips at Breſt; and aſſembling a ſtrong body of land-forces, as well as a conſiderable number of tranſports, threatened the iſland of Great-Britain with a dangerous invaſion.

The Engliſh people were ſeized with conſternation: the miniſtry were alarmed and perplexed. Colonel Yorke, the Britiſh reſident at the Hague, was ordered by his majeſty to make a requiſition of the 6000 men whom the ſtates-general are obliged by treaty to furniſh, when Great-Britain ſhall be threatened with an invaſion; and in February he preſented a memorial for this purpoſe. Monſieur d'Affry, the French king's miniſter at the Hague, having received intimation of this demand, produced a counter memorial from his maſter, charging the Engliſh as the aggreſſors, and giving the ſtates-general plainly to underſtand, that, ſhould they grant the ſuccours demanded by Great-Britain, he would conſider their compliance as an act of hoſtility againſt himſelf. The Dutch, though divided among themſelves by faction, were unanimouſly averſe to any meaſure that might involve them in the approaching war. Their commerce was in a great meaſure decayed, and their finances were too much exhauſted to admit of an immediate augmentation of their forces, which for many other reaſons they ſtrove to avoid. They foreſaw a great increaſe of trade in their adhering to a punctual neutrality: they were afraid of the French by land, and jealous of the Engliſh by ſea; and, perhaps, enjoyed the proſpect of ſeeing theſe two proud and powerful nations humble and impoveriſh each other. Certain it is, the ſtates-general protracted their anſwer to mr. York's memorial by ſuch affected delays, that the court of London perceived their intention, and, in order to avoid the mortification of a flat denial, the king ordered his reſident to acquaint the princeſs regent, that he would not inſiſt upon his demand. The ſtates, thus freed from their perplexity, at length delivered an anſwer to mr. Yorke, in which they expatiated on the difficulties they were laid under, and thanked his Britannick majeſty for having freed them by his declaration from that embaraſſment into which they were thrown by his firſt demand and the counter memorial of the French miniſter. The real ſentiments of thoſe people, however, more plainly appeared in the previous reſolution delivered to the ſtates of Holland by the towns of Amſterdam, Dort, Haerlem, Gouda, Rotterdam, and Enckhuyſen, declaring flatly that England was uncontrovertibly the aggreſſor in Europe, by ſeizing a conſiderable number of French veſſels; that the threatened invaſion of Great-Britain did not affect the republic's guarantee of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, inaſmuch as it was only intended to obtain reparation for the injury ſuſtained by the ſubjects of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty; finally, that the ſuccours demanded could be of no advantage to the king of England, as it appeared by the declaration of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, that their granting theſe ſuccours would immediately lay them under a neceſſity of demanding, in their turn, aſſiſtance from Great-Britain. From this way of arguing, the Engliſh may perceive what they have to expect in caſes of emergency from the friendſhip of their neareſt allies, who muſt always be furniſhed with the ſame excuſe, whenever they find it convenient or neceſſary to their intereſt. Such a conſideration, joined to other concurring motives, ought to induce the Britiſh legiſlature to withdraw its dependance from all foreign connections, and provide ſuch a conſtitutional force within itſelf, as will be fully ſufficient to baffle all the efforts of an external enemy. The apprehenſions and diſtraction of the people at this juncture plainly evinced the expediency of ſuch a national force: but different parties were divided in their opinions about the nature of ſuch a proviſion. Some of the warmeſt friends of their country propoſed a well regulated militia, as an inſtitution that would effectually anſwer the purpoſe of defending a wide extending ſea-coaſt from invaſion; while, on the other hand, this propoſal was ridiculed and refuted as impracticable or uſeleſs by all the retainers to the court, and all the officers of the ſtanding army. In the mean time, as the experiment could not be immediately tried, and the preſent juncture demanded ſome inſtant determination, recourſe was had to a foreign remedy.

Towards the latter end of March, the king ſent a written meſſage to parliament, intimating, that he had received repeated advices from different perſons and places, that a deſign had been formed by the French court to invade Great-Britain or Ireland; and the great preparations of forces, ſhips, artillery, and warlike ſtores, then notoriouſly making in the ports of France oppoſite to the Britiſh coaſts, together with the language of the French miniſters in ſome foreign courts, left little room to doubt the reality of ſuch a deſign: that his majeſty had augmented his forces both by ſea and land, and taken proper meaſures and precautions for putting his kingdom in a poſture of defence: that, in order further to ſtrengthen himſelf, he had made a requiſition of a body of Heſſian troops, purſuant to the late treaty, to be forthwith brought over, and for that purpoſe ordered tranſports to be prepared: that he doubted not of being enabled and ſupported by his parliament in taking ſuch meaſures as might be conducive to an end ſo eſſential to the honour of his crown, the preſervation of the proteſtant religion, and the laws and liberties of theſe kingdoms. This meſſage was no ſooner received, than both houſes voted, compoſed, and preſented very warm and affectionate addreſſes, in which his majeſty was thanked for the requiſition he had made of the Heſſian troops; a meaſure which at any other time would have been ſtigmatiſed with all the ſatire and rhetoric of the oppoſition.

Even this precaution was not thought ſufficient to ſecure the iſland, and quiet the terrors of the people. In a few days mr. Fox, the new miniſter, encouraged by the unanimity which had appeared ſo conſpicuous in the motions for the late addreſſes, ventured to move again, in the houſe of commons, that another addreſs ſhould be preſented to the king, beſeeching his majeſty, that for the more effectual defence of this iſland, and for the better ſecurity of the religion and liberties of his ſubjects, againſt the threatened attac by a foreign enemy, he would be graciouſly pleaſed to order 12 battalions of his electoral troops, together with the uſual detachment of artillery, to be forthwith brought into this kingdom. There was a conſiderable party in the houſe, to whom ſuch a motion was odious and deteſtable: but, conſidering the critical ſituation of affairs, they were afraid that a direct oppoſition might expoſe them to a more odious ſuſpicion: they, therefore moved for the order of the day, and inſiſted on the queſtion's being put upon that motion; but it was carried in the negative by a conſiderable majority, which alſo agreed to the other propoſal. The reſolution of the houſe was communicated to the lords, who unanimouſly concurred; and their joint addreſs being preſented, his majeſty aſſured them he would immediately comply with their requeſt. Accordingly, ſuch expedition was uſed that in the courſe of the next month both Hanoverians and Heſſians arrived in England, and encamped in different parts of the kingdom.—As the fears of an invaſion ſubſided in the minds of the people, their antipathy to theſe foreign auxiliaries emerged. They were beheld with the eyes of jealouſy, ſuſpicion, and diſdain. They were treated with contempt, reſerve, and rigour. The miniſtry was execrated for having reduced the nation to ſuch a low circumſtance of diſgrace, as that they ſhould owe their ſecurity to German mercenaries. There were not wanting ſome incendiaries, who circulated hints and inſinuations, that the kingdom had been purpoſely unprovided; and that the na-

tives of South-Britain had been formerly ſubdued and expelled by a body of Saxon auxilliaries, whom they had hired for their preſervation. In a word, the doubts and ſuſpicions of a people naurally blunt and jealous were inflamed to ſuch a degree of animoſity, that nothing would have reſtrained them from violent acts of outrage, but the moſt orderly, modeſt, and inoffenſive behaviour by which both the Hanoverians and Heſſians were diſtinguiſhed.

Under the cloak of an invading armament, which engroſſed the attention of the Britiſh nation, the French were actually employed in preparations for an expedition, which ſucceeded according to their wiſh. In the beginning of the year advice was received that a French ſquadron would ſoon be in a condition to ſail from Toulon: this was afterwards confirmed by repeated intelligence, not only from foreign gazettes, but alſo from Engliſh miniſters and conſuls reſiding in Spain and Italy. They affirmed that the Toulon ſquadron conſiſted of 12 or 15 ſhips of the line, with a great number of tranſports; that they were ſupplied with proviſion for two months only, conſequently could not be intended for America; that ſtrong bodies of troops were on their march from different parts of the French dominions to Dauphiné and Provence, in order to be embarked. Notwithſtanding theſe particulars of information, which plainly pointed out Minorca as the object of their expedition; notwithſtanding the extenſive and important commerce carried on by the ſubjects of Great-Britain in the Mediterranean; no care was taken to ſend thither a ſquadron of ſhips capable to protect the trade, and fruſtrate the deſigns of the enemy. That great province was left to a few inconſiderable ſhips and frigates, which could ſerve no other purpoſe than that of carrying intelligence from port to port, and enriching their commanders, by making prize of merchant veſſels. Nay, the miniſtry ſeemed to pay little or no regard to the remonſtrance of general Blakeney, deputy-governor of Minorca, who, in repeated advices, repreſented the weakneſs of the garriſon which he commanded in St. Philip's caſtle, the chief fortreſs on the iſland. Far from ſtrengthening the garriſon with a proper re-enforcement, they did not even ſend thither the officers belonging to it, who were in England upon leave of abſence, nor give directions for any veſſel to tranſport them, until the French armament was ready to make a deſcent upon the iſland.[x]

At length, the deſtination of the enemy's fleet being univerſally known, the miniſtry ſeemed to rouſe from their lethargy, and, like perſons ſuddenly waking, acted with hurry and precipitation. Inſtead of detaching a ſquadron that in all reſpects ſhould be ſuperior to the French fleet in the Mediterranean, and beſtowing the command of it upon an officer of approved courage and activity, they allotted no more than 10 ſhips of the line for this ſervice, veſting the command of them in admiral Byng, who had never met with any occaſion to ſignalize his courage, and whoſe character was not very popular in the navy: but mr. Weſt, the ſecond in command, was a gentleman univerſally reſpected for his probity, ability and reſolution. The 10 ſhips deſtined for this expedition were but in very indifferent order, poorly manned, and unprovided with either hoſpital or fire-ſhip. They ſailed from Spithead on the 7th day of April, having on board, as part of their complement, a regiment of ſoldiers to be landed at Gibraltar, with major-general Stuart, lord Effingham, and colonel Cornwallis, whoſe regiments were in garriſon at Minorca, about 40 inferior officers, and near 100 recruits, as a re-enforcement to St. Philip's fortreſs.

After all the intelligence which had been received, one would imagine the government of England was ſtill ignorant of the enemy's force and deſtination; for the inſtructions delivered to admiral Byng imported, that, on his arrival at Gibraltar, he ſhould enquire whether any French ſquadron had paſſed through the ſtraits; and that being certified in the affirmative, as it was probably deſigned for North-America, he ſhould immediarely detach rear-admiral Weſt to Louiſbourg, on the iſland of Cape-Breton, with ſuch a number of ſhips as, when joined with thoſe at Halifax, would conſtitute a force ſuperior to the armament of the enemy. On the 2d day of May, admiral Byng arrived at Gibraltar, where he found captain Edgecombe, with the Princeſs Louiſa ſhip of war, and a ſloop, who informed him that the French armament, commanded by M. de la Galiſſonniere, conſiſting of 13 ſhips of the line, with a great number of tranſports, having on board a body of 15,000 land-forces, had ſailed from Toulon on the 10th day of April, and made a deſcent upon the iſland of Minorca, from whence he (captain Edgecombe) had been obliged to retire at their approach. General Fowke, who commanded at Gibraltar, had received two ſucceſſive orders from the ſecretary at war, with reſpect to his ſparing a battalion of troops to be tranſported by mr. Byng, as a re-enforcement to Minorca; but as the two orders appeared inconſiſtent or equivocal, a council of war was conſulted, and the majority were of opinion that no troops ſhould be ſent from thence to Minorca, except a detachment to ſupply the deficiency in the little ſquadron of captain Edgecombe, who had left a good number of his ſeamen and marines, under the command of captain Scroop, to aſſiſt in the defence of Fort St. Philip's. Theſe articles of intelligence the admiral diſpatched by expreſs to the lords of the admiralty, and in his letter made uſe of ſome impolitic expreſſions, which in all probability, it would have been well for him had he omitted. He ſaid, if he had been ſo happy as to have arrived at Mahon before the French had landed, he flattered himſelf he ſhould have been able to prevent their getting a footing on that iſland. He complained, that there were no magazines in Gibraltar for ſupplying the ſquadron with neceſſaries; that the careening-wharfs, pits, and ſtore-houſes were entirely decayed, ſo that he ſhould find the greateſt difficulty in cleaning the ſhips that were foul; and this was the caſe with ſome of thoſe he carried out from England, as well as thoſe which had been for ſome time cruiſing in the Mediterranean. He ſignified his opinion, that, even if it ſhould be found practicable, it would be very impolitic to throw any men into St. Philip's-caſtle, which could not be ſaved without a land-force ſufficient to raiſe the ſiege; therefore, a ſmall re-enforcement would only add ſo many men to the number which muſt fall into the hands of the enemy. He obſerved, that ſuch engineers and artillery-men in Gibraltar as had been at Minorca, were of opinion, that it would be impoſſible to throw any number of men into St. Philip's, if the French had erected batteries on the two ſhores near the entrance of the harbour, ſo as to bar all paſſage up to the ſally-port of the fortreſs; and with this opinion he ſignified the concurrence of his own ſentiments. The firſt part of this letter was downright impeachment of the miniſtry, for having delayed the expedition, for having ſent out ſhips unfit for ſervice, and for having neglected the magazines and wharfs at Gibraltar. In the latter part he ſeemed to prepare them for the ſubſequent account of his miſconduct and miſcarriage. It cannot be ſuppoſed that they underwent this accuſation without apprehenſion and reſentment; and as they foreſaw the loſs of Minorca, which would not fail to excite a rational clamour, perhaps they now began to take meaſures for gratifying their reſentment, and transferring the blame from themſelves to the perſon who had preſumed to hint a diſapprobation of their conduct: for this purpoſe they could not have found a fairer opportunity than mr. Byng's ſubſequent behaviour afforded.

The admiral being ſtrengthened by mr. Edgecombe, and re-enforced by a detachment from the garriſon, ſet ſail from Gibraltar on the 8th day of May, and was joined off Minorca, by his majeſty's ſhip the Phœnix, under the command of captain Hervey, who confirmed the intelligence he had already received; touching the ſtrength and deſtination of the French ſquadron. When he approached Minorca, he deſcried the Britiſh colours ſtill flying at the caſtle of St. Philip's, and ſeveral bomb batteries playing upon it from different quarters, where the French banners were diſ-

[x] It is with pleaſure we ſeize this opportunity of recording an inſtance of gallantry and patriotiſm in a Britiſh officer, which would have done honour to the character of a Roman tribune. Captain Cunningham, an accompliſhed young gentleman, who acted as engineer in ſecond at Minorca, being preferred to a majority at home, and recalled to his regiment by an expreſs order, had repaired with his family to Nice in Italy, where he waited for the opportunity of a ſhip bound for England, when he received certain intelligence that the French armament was deſtined for the place he had quitted. His lady, whom he tenderly loved, was juſt delivered, and two of his children were dangerouſly ill of the ſmall-pox. He recollected that the chief engineer at Minorca was infirm, and indeed diſabled by the gout, and that many things were wanted for the defence of the fortreſs. His zeal for the honour and ſervice of his country immediately triumphed over the calls of tenderneſs and of nature. He expended a conſiderable ſum of money in purchaſing timber for the platforms, and other neceſſaries for the garriſon: hired a ſhip for tranſporting them thither; and tearing himſelf from his wife and children, thus left among ſtrangers in a foreign country, embarked again for Minorca, where he knew he ſhould be in a peculiar manner expoſed to all the dangers of a furious ſiege. In the courſe of this deſperate ſervice he acquitted himſelf with that vigilance, ſkill, and active courage which he had on divers former occaſions diſplayed, until the aſſault was given to the Queen's-baſtion, when mixing with the enemy ſword in hand, he was diſabled in his right arm by the ſhot of a muſket and the thruſt of a bayonet. His behaviour was ſo acceptable to his ſovereign, that when he returned to England, he was preferred to the rank of colonel of the guards. He afterwards acted as chief engineer in the attempts and diſcents which were made on the French coaſt. Though grievouſly maimed, he accepted the ſame office in the expedition to Guadalupe, where he died univerſally regretted.

played. Thus informed, he detached three ſhips a-head, with captain Hervey, to reconnoitre the harbour's mouth, and land, if poſſible, a letter for general Blakeney, giving him to underſtand the fleet was come to his aſſiſtance. Before this attempt could be made, the French fleet appearing to the ſouth-eaſt, and the wind blowing ſtrong off ſhore, he recalled his ſhips, and formed the line of battle. About ſix o'clock in the evening, the enemy, to the number of 17 ſhips, 13 of which appeared to be very large, advanced in order; but about ſeven tacked, with a view to gain the weather-gage. Mr Byng, in order to preſerve that advantage, as well as to make ſure of the land-wind in the morning followed their example, being then about five leagues from Cape-Mola. At day-light the enemy could not be diſcried; but two tartanes appearing cloſe to the rear of the Engliſh ſquadron, they were immediately chaſed by ſignal. One eſcaped, and the other being taken, was found to have on board two French captains, two lieutenants, and about 100 private ſoldiers, part of 600 who had been ſent out in tartanes the preceding day, to re-enforce the enemy's ſquadron. This ſoon re-appearing, the line of battle was formed on each ſide, and about two o'clock admiral Byng threw out a ſignal to bear away two points from the wind and engage. At this time his diſtance from the enemy was ſo great, that rear-admiral Weſt, perceiving it impoſſible to comply with both orders, bore away with his diviſion ſeven points from the wind, and cloſing down upon the enemy, attacked them with ſuch impetuoſity, that the ſhips which oppoſed him were in a little time driven out of the line. Had he been properly ſuſtained by the van, in all probability the Britiſh fleet would have obtained a complete victory; but the other diviſion did not bear down, and the enemy's centre keeping that ſtation, rear-admiral Weſt could not purſue his advantage without running the riſque of ſeeing his communication with the reſt of the line entirely cut off. In the beginning of the action, the Intrepid, in mr. Byng's diviſion, was ſo diſabled in her rigging, that ſhe could not be managed, and drove on the ſhip that was next in poſition: a circumſtance which obliged ſeveral others to throw all a-bac, in order to avoid confuſion, and for ſome time retarded the action. Certain it is, that mr. Byng, though accommodated with a noble ſhip of 90 guns, made little or no uſe of his artillery, but kept aloof, either from an overſtrained obſervance of diſcipline, or timidity. When his captain exhorted him to bear down upon the enemy, he very cooly replied, that he would avoid the error of admiral Matthews, who, with his engagement with the French and Spaniſh ſquadrons off Toulon, during the preceding war, had broke the line by his own precipitation, and expoſed himſelf ſingly to a fire that he could not ſuſtain. Mr Byng, on the contrary, was determined againſt acting, except with the line entire; and, on pretence of rectifying the diſorder which had happened among ſome of the ſhips, heſitated ſo long, and kept at ſuch a wary diſtance, that he never was properly engaged, though he received ſome few ſhots in his hull. M. de la Galiſſonniere ſeemed equally averſe to the continuance of the battle: part of his ſquadron had been fairly obliged to quit the line; and though he was rather ſuperior to the Engliſh in number of men and weight of metal, he did not chooſe to abide the conſequence of a cloſer fight with an enemy ſo expert in naval operations: he, therefore, took the advantage of mr. Byng's heſitation, and edged away with an eaſy ſail to join his van, which had been diſcomfited. The Engliſh admiral gave chaſe, but the French ſhips being clean, he could not come up and cloſe them again, ſo they retired at their leiſure. Then he put his ſquadron on the other tac, in order to keep the wind of the enemy; and next morning they were altogether out of ſight.

While he lay to with the reſt of his fleet, at the diſtance of 10 leagues from Mahon, he detached cruiſers to look for ſome miſſing ſhips, which joined him accordingly, and made an enquiry into the condition of the ſquadron. The number of killed amounted to 42, including captain Andrews, of the Defiance, and about 168 were wounded. Three of the capital ſhips were ſo damaged in their maſts, that they could not keep the ſea, with any regard to their ſafety: a great number of the ſeamen were ill, and there was no veſſel which could be converted into an hoſpital for the ſic and wounded. In this ſituation mr. Byng called a council of war, at which the land-officers were preſent. He repreſented to them, that he was much inferior to the enemy in weight of metal and number of men; that they had the advantage of ſending their wounded to Minorca, from whence at the ſame time they were refreſhed and re-enforced occaſionally; that, in his opinion, it was impracticable to relieve St. Philip's fort, and, therefore, they ought to make the beſt of their way bac to Gibralter, which might require immediate protection. They unanimouſly concurred with his ſentiments, and thither he directed his courſe accordingly. How he came to be ſo well acquainted with the impracticability of relieving general Blakeney it is not eaſy to determine, as no experiment was made for that purpoſe. Indeed, the neglect of ſuch a trial ſeems to have been the leaſt excuſeable part of his conduct; for it afterwards appeared, that the officers and ſoldiers belonging to the garriſon might have been landed at the ſally-port, without running any great riſque; and a gentleman, then in the fort actually paſſed and repaſſed in a boat, unhurt by any of the enemy's batteries.

Mr Byng's letter to the admiralty, containing a detail of this action, is ſaid to have arrived ſome days before it was made public; and when it appeared, was curtailed of divers expreſſions, and whole paragraphs, which either tended to his own juſtification, or implied a cenſure on the conduct of his ſuperiors. Whatever uſe might have been made of this letter while it remained a ſecret to the public we ſhall not pretend to explain: but ſure it is, that, on the 16th day of June, Sir Edward Hawke and Admiral Saunders ſailed from Spithead to Gibralter, to ſuperſede the admirals Byng and Weſt, in their commands of the Mediterranean ſquadron; and mr. Byng's letter was not publiſhed till the 26th day of the ſame month, when it produced all the effect which that gentleman's bittereſt enemies could have deſired. The populace took fire like a train of the moſt haſty combuſtibles, and broke out into ſuch a clamour of rage and indignation againſt the devoted admiral, as could not have been exceeded if he had loſt the whole navy of England, and left the coaſts of the kingdom naked to invaſion. This animoſity was carefully fomented and maintained by artful emiſſaries, who mingled with all public aſſemblies, from the drawing-room at St. James's to the mob at Charing-croſs. They expatiated upon the inſolence, the folly, the cowardice, and miſconduct of the unhappy admiral. They even preſumed to make their ſovereign in ſome meaſure an inſtrument of their calumny, by ſuggeſting that his majeſty had prognoſticated Byng's miſbehaviour from the contents of his firſt letter, dated at Gibralter. They rediculed and refuted the reaſons he had given for returning to that fortreſs, after his ſcandalous re-encounter with the French ſquadron; and, in order to exaſperate them to the moſt implacable reſentment, they exaggerated the terrible conſequences of loſing Minorca, which muſt now be ſubdued through his treachery or want of reſolution. In a word, he was devoted as the ſcape-goat of the miniſtry, to whoſe ſupine negligence, ignorance, and miſconduct the loſs of that important fortreſs was undoubtedly owing. Byng's miſcarriage was thrown out like a barrel to the whale, in order to engage the attention of the people, that it might not be attracted by the real cauſe of the national misfortune. In order to keep up the flame which had been kindled againſt the admiral, recourſe was had to the loweſt artifices. Agents were employed to vilify his perſon in all public places of vulgar reſort; and mobs were hired at different parts of the capital to hang and burn him in effigy.

The two officers who ſucceeded to the command in the Mediterranean were accompanied by lord Tyrawley, whom his majeſty had appointed to ſuperſede general Fowke in the government of Gibralter, that gentleman having incurred the diſpleaſure of the miniſtry, for not having underſtood an order which was unintelligible. By the ſame conveyance, a letter from the ſecretary to the admiralty was tranſmitted to mr. Byng, giving him notice that he was recalled. To this intimation he replied in ſuch a manner as denoted a conſciouſneſs of having done his duty, and a laudable deſire to vindicate his own conduct. His anſwer contained a further account of the engagement in which he was ſuppoſed to have miſbehaved, intermixed with ſome puerile calculation of the enemy's ſuperiority in weight of metal, which ſerved no other purpoſe than that of expoſing his character ſtill more to redicule and abuſe; and he was again ſo impolitic as to hazard certain expreſſions, which added freſh fuel to the reſentment of his enemies. Directions were immediately diſpatched to Sir Edward Hawke, that Byng ſhould be ſent home in arreſt; and an order to the ſame purpoſe was lodged at every port in the kingdom: precautions, which, however unneceſſary to ſecure the perſon of a man who longed ardently to juſtify his character by a public trial, were yet productive of conſiderable effect in augmenting the popular odium. Admiral Byng immediately embarked in the ſhip which had carried out his ſucceſſor, and was accompanied by mr. Weſt, general Fowke,

and ſeveral other officers of that garriſon, who were alſo recalled, in conſequence of having ſubſcribed to the reſult of the council of war, which we have mentioned above. When they arrived in England, mr. Weſt met with ſuch a gracious reception from his majeſty as was thought due to his extraordinary merit; but mr. Byng was committed cloſe priſoner in an apartment of Greenwich-Hoſpital.

In the mean time, the ſiege of St. Philip's fort in Minorca was proſecuting with unremitting vigour. The armament of Toulon, conſiſting of the fleet commanded by M. de la Galliſſonniere, and the troops under the duke de Richelieu, arrived on the 18th day of April at the port of Ciudadella, on that part of the iſland oppoſite to Mahon, or St. Philip's, and immediately began to diſembark their forces. Two days before they reached the iſland, general Blakeney had, by a packet-boat, received certain intelligence of their approach, and began to make preparations for the defence of the caſtle. The fort which he commanded was very extenſive, ſurrounded with numerous redoubts, ravelins, and other out works; and provided with ſubterranean galleries, mines, and traverſes, cut out of the ſolid roc with incredible labour. Upon the whole, this was one of the beſt fortified places in Europe, well ſupplied with artillery, ammunition, and proviſion; and, without all doubt, might have ſuſtained the deſperate ſiege, had it been defended by a numerous garriſon, conducted by able engineers, under the eye and auſpices of an active and ſkilful commander. All theſe advantages, however, did not concur on this occaſion. The number of troops in Minorca did not exceed four regiments, whereas the nature of the works required at leaſt double the number; and, even of theſe above 40 officers were abſent. The chief engineer was rendered lame by the gout, and the general himſelf oppreſſed with the infirmities of old age. The natives of the iſland might have been ſerviceable as pioneers, or day-labourers; but, from their hatred to the proteſtant religion, they were generally averſe to the Engliſh government, although they had lived happily and grown wealthy under its influence.

The governor ordered his officers to beat up for volunteers in the adjacent town of St. Philip's; but few or none would inliſt under his banners, and it ſeems he would not venture to compel them into the ſervice. He recalled all his advanced parties; and, in particular, a company poſted at Fornelles, where a ſmall redoubt had been raiſed, and five companies at Ciudadella, a poſt fortified with two pieces of cannon, which were now withdrawn, as ſoon as the enemy began to diſembark their forces. At the ſame time major Cunningham was detached with a party to break down the bridges, and break up the roads between that place and St. Philip's; but the taſk of deſtroying the roads could not be performed in ſuch a hurry, on account of the hard rocs which runs along the ſurface of the ground through this whole iſland; nor was there time to demoliſh the town of St. Philip's, which ſtood ſo near the fort, that the enemy could not fail to take advantage of its neighbourhood. The ſtreets ſerved them for trenches, which otherwiſe could not have been dug through the ſolid roc. Here they made a lodgement cloſe to the works; here they found convenient barracs and quarters of refreſhment, maſks for their batteries, and an effectual cover for their mortars and bombardiers. The general has been blamed for leaving the town ſtanding; but if we conſider his uncertainty concerning the deſtination of the French armament, the odious nature of ſuch a precaution, which could not fail to exaſperate the inhabitants, and the impoſſibility of executing ſuch a ſcheme after the firſt appearance of the enemy, he will be found excuſeable, if not altogether blameleſs. Some houſes and windmills were actually demoliſhed, ſo as to clear the explanade and the approaches. All the wine in the cellars of St. Philip's town was deſtroyed, and the butts were carried into the caſtle, where they might ſerve for gabions and traverſes. Five-and-twenty Minorquin bakers were hired, and a large number of cattle brought into the fort, for the benefit of the garriſon. The ports were walled up, the poſts aſſigned, the ſentinals placed, and all the different guards appointed. Commodore Edgecombe, who then ancored in the harbour of Mahon, cloſe under the walls of the caſtle, ſailed away with his little ſquadron, conſiſting of the Cheſterfield, Princeſs Louiſa, Portland, and Dolphin, after having left all his marines, a detachment from Gibraltar, the whole crew of the Porcupine ſloop, and the greater part of the Dolphin's, as a re-enforcement to the fort, under the immediate direction and command of capt. Scroop, of the Dolphin, who, with great gallantry, offered himſelf for this ſevere duty, and bravely ſignaliſed himſelf during the whole ſiege. The French admiral might certainly have blocked up this harbour in ſuch a manner as would have prevented the eſcape of theſe ſhips, and divers other rich merchant veſſels, which happened then to be at Mahon: but, in all probability, they purpoſely allowed them to abandon the place, which, on any emergency, or aſſault, their crews, and officers would have conſiderably re-enforced. The enemy were perfectly acquainted with the great extent of the works, and the weakneſs of the garriſon; from which circumſtances they derived the moſt ſanguine hopes that the place might be ſuddenly taken, without the trouble of a regular ſiege. After mr. Edgecombe had ſailed for Gibraltar, and general Blakeney had ordered a ſloop to be ſunk in the channel that leads to the harbour, the French ſquadron made its appearance at this part of the iſland; but, without having attempted any thing againſt the fort, fell to leeward of Cape-Mola. Next day they came in ſight again, but ſoon bore away, and never afterwards, during the whole courſe of the ſiege, approached ſo near as to give the garriſon the leaſt diſturbance.

On the 22d day of April, the governor ſent a drummer to the French with a letter general, deſiring to know his reaſons for invading the iſland. To this an anſwer was returned by the duke de Richelieu, declaring he was come with intention to reduce the iſland under the dominion of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, by way of retaliation for the conduct of his maſter, who had ſeized and detained the ſhips belonging to the king of France and his ſubjects.—If we may judge from the firſt operations of this nobleman, he was but indifferently provided with engineers: for, inſtead of beginning his approaches on the ſide of St. Philip's town, cloſe by the outworks, where he might have been ſcreened from the fire of the garriſon, his batteries were erected at Cape Mola, on the other ſide of the harbour, where they were more expoſed, their fire much leſs effectual, and indeed at too great a diſtance to be of any ſervice. The fire of St. Philip's was ſo ſevere, and the cannon ſo well ſerved on this quarter, that in a little time the enemy thought proper to change their plan of attac, and advance on the ſide of St. Philip's town, which ought to have been the firſt object of their conſideration, eſpecially as they could find little or no earth to fill their gabions, and open their trenches in the uſual form. On the 12th of May, about nine at night, they opened two bomb batteries, near the place where the windmills had been deſtroyed; and from that period an inceſſant fire was kept up on both ſides, from mortars and cannon, the French continuing to raiſe new batteries in every ſituation from whence they could annoy the beſieged.

On the 17th day of the month the garriſon were tranſported with joy at the ſight of the Britiſh ſquadron, commanded by admiral Byng; and mr. Boyd, commiſſary of the ſtores, ventured to embark in a ſmall boat, with ſix oars, which paſſed from St. Stephen's cove, a creek on the weſt ſide of the fortification, through a ſhower of cannon and muſketry from the enemy's poſt on the other ſide, and actually reached the open ſea, his deſign being to join the ſquadron; but this being at a great diſtance, ſtretching away to the ſouthward, and mr. Boyd perceiving himſelf chaſed by two of the enemy's light veſſels, he returned by the ſame rout to the garriſon, without having ſuſtained the leaſt damage. A circumſtance which plainly confutes the notion of mr. Byng, that it was impracticable to open a communication with the garriſon of St. Philip's. Next day the hopes of the beſieged, which had prognoſticated a naval victory to the Britiſh ſquadron, a ſpeedy relief to themſelves, and no leſs than captivity to the aſſailants, were conſiderably damped by the appearance of the French fleet, which, quietly returned to their ſtation of the harbour of Mahon. That ſame evening they were told by a deſerter, that the Engliſh fleet had been worſted in an engagement by M. de la Galiſſonniere; and this information was ſoon confirmed by a general diſcharge, or feu de joie, through the whole French camp, to celebrate the victory they pretended to have obtained. How little ſoever they had reaſon to boaſt of any advantage in the action, the retreat of the Engliſh ſquadron was undoubtedly equivalent to a victory; for had mr. Byng acquired and maintained the ſuperiority at ſea, the French forces, which had been diſembarked in Minorca, would, in all probability, have been obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war to his Britannick majeſty. The caſe was now much altered in their favour: their ſquadron cruiſed about the iſland without moleſtation: and they daily received, by means of their tranſports, re-enforcements of men and ammunition, as well as conſtant ſupplies of proviſions.

The Engliſh garriſon, however mortified at finding themſelves thus abandoned, reſolved to quit themſelves with gallantry in the defence of the place, not without ſome remaining hope that the Engliſh ſquadron would be re-enforced, and return to their relief. In the mean time, they ſuſtained and retorted the enemy's fire with undaunted reſolution. They remounted cannon, the carriages of which had been diſabled: they removed them occaſionally to places from whence it was judged they could do the greateſt execution: they repaired breaches, reſtored merlons, and laboured with ſurpriſing alacrity, even when they were ſurrounded by the numerous batteries of the foe; when their embraſures, and even the parapets, were demoliſhed, and they ſtood expoſed not only to the cannon and mortars, but alſo to the muſquetry, which fired upon them, without ceaſing, from the windows of the houſes in the town of St. Philip. By this time, they were inveſted with an army of 20,000 men, and plyed inceſſantly from 62 battering cannon, 21 mortars, and 4 howitzers, beſides the ſmall arms: nevertheleſs, the loſs of men within the fortreſs was very inconſiderable, the garriſon being moſtly ſecured in the ſubterranean works, which were impenetrable to ſhells or ſhot. By the 27th day of June they had made a practicable breach in one of the ravelins, and damaged the other outworks to ſuch a degree, that they determined this night to give a general aſſault. Accordingly, between the hours of 10 and 11, they advanced to the attac from all quarters on the land-ſide. At the ſame time a ſtrong detachment, in armed boats, attempted to force the harbour, and penetrate into the creek, called St. Stephen's Cove, to ſtorm Fort Charles, and ſecond the attac upon Fort Marlborough, on the farther ſide of the creek, the moſt detached of all the outworks. The enemy advanced with great intrepidity, and their commander, the duke de Richelieu, is ſaid to have led them up to the works in perſon. Such an aſſault could not but be attended with great ſlaughter: they were mowed down, as they approached, with grape-ſhot and muſquetry: and ſeveral mines were ſprung with great effect, ſo that the glacis was almoſt covered with the dying and the dead. Nevertheleſs, they preſerved with uncommon reſolution; and, though repulſed on every other ſide, at length made a lodgement in the Queen's redoubt, which had been greatly damaged by their cannon. Whether their ſucceſs in this quarter was owing to the weakneſs of the place, or to the timidity of the defender, certain it is, the enemy were in poſſeſſion before it was known to the officers of the garriſon: for lieutenant-colonel Jeffries, the ſecond in command, who had acquitted himſelf ſince the beginning of the ſiege, with equal courage, ſkill, and activity, in his viſitation of this poſt, was ſuddenly ſurrounded and taken by a file of French grenadiers, at a time when he never dreamed they had made a lodgement. Major Cunningham, who accompanied him, met with a ſeverer fate, though he eſcaped captivity: he was run through the arm with a bayonet, and the piece being diſcharged at the ſame time, ſhattered the bones of his hand in ſuch a manner, that he was maimed for life. In this ſhocking condition he retired behind a traverſe, and was carried home to his quarters. Thus the governor was deprived of his two principal aſſiſtants, one being taken, and the other diſabled.

The enemy having made themſelves maſters of Anſtruther's and the Queen's redoubts, from which perhaps they might have been diſlodged, had a vigorous effort been made for that purpoſe, before they had leiſure to ſecure themſelves, the duke de Richelieu ordered a parley to be beat, in order to obtain permiſſion to bury the dead, and remove the wounded. This requeſt was granted with more humanity than diſcretion, inaſmuch as the enemy took this opportunity to throw a re-enforcement of men privately into the places where the lodgements had been made, and theſe penetrated into the gallery of the mines, which communicated with all the other outworks. During this ſhort ceſſation, general Blakeney ſummoned a council of war, to deliberate upon the ſtate of the fort and garriſon; and the majority declared for a capitulation. The works were in many places ruined; the body of the caſtle was ſhattered; many guns were diſmounted, the embraſures and parapets demoliſhed, the palliſadoes broke in pieces, the garriſon exhauſted with hard duty and inceſſant watching, and the enemy in poſſeſſion of the ſubterranean communications. Beſides, the governor had received information from priſoners, that the duke de Richelieu was alarmed by a report that the marſhal duke de Belleiſle would be ſent to ſuperſede him in the command, and for that reaſon would hazard another deſperate aſſault, which it was the opinion of the majority the garriſon could not ſuſtain. Theſe conſiderations, added to the deſpair of being relieved, induced him to command him to a capitulation. But this meaſure was not taken with the unanimous conſent of the council. Some officers obſerved, that the garriſon was very little diminiſhed, and ſtill in good ſpirits: that no breach was made in the body of the caſtle, nor a ſingle cannon erected to batter in breach: that the loſs of an outwork was never deemed a ſufficient reaſon for ſurrendering ſuch a fortreſs: that the counterſcarp was not yet taken, nor, on account of the rocky ſoil, could be taken, except by aſſault, which would coſt the enemy a greater number than they had loſt in their late attempt: that they could not attac the ditch, or batter in breach, before the counterſcarp ſhould be taken, and even then they muſt have recourſe to galleries before they could paſs the foſſé, which was furniſhed with mines and countermines: finally, they ſuggeſted, that in all probability the Britiſh ſquadron would be re-enforced, and ſail bac to their relief; or, if it ſhould not return, it was the duty of the governor to defend the place to extremity, without having any regard to the conſequences. Theſe remarks being over ruled, the chamade was beat, a conference enſued, and very honourable conditions were granted to the garriſon, in conſideration of the gallant defence they had made. This it muſt be owned was vigorous while it laſted, as the French general was ſaid to have loſt 5000 men in the ſiege; whereas the loſs of the garriſon, which at firſt fell ſhort of 3000 men, did not exceed 100. The capitulation imported that the garriſon ſhould march out with all the honours of war, and be conveyed by ſea to Gibraltar. The French were put in poſſeſſion of one gate, as well as Fort-Charles and Marlborough redoubt: but the Engliſh troops remained in the other works till the 7th day of July, when they embarked. In the mean time, reciprocal civilities paſſed between the commanders and officers of both nations.

The articles of capitulation were no ſooner executed than monſieur de la Galiſſonniere ſailed bac to Toulon, with all the prizes which had lain at anchor in the harbour of Mahon ſince the fort of St. Philip was firſt inveſted. In all probability the ſafety of himſelf and his whole ſquadron was owing to this expeditious retreat; for in a few days after the ſurrender of the fort, ſir Edward Hawke's fleet, augmented by five ſhips of the line, which had been ſent from England, when the firſt tidings arrived of Minorca's being invaded, now made its appearance off the iſland: but by this time Geliſſonnier was retired, and the Engliſh admiral had the mortification to ſee the French colours flying upon St. Philip's-caſtle. What, perhaps, chagrined this gallant officer ſtill more, he was not provided with frigates, ſloops, and ſmall craft to cruiſe round the iſland, and intercept the ſupplies which were daily ſent to the enemy. Had he reached Minorca ſooner, he might have diſcomfited the French ſquadron; but he could not have raiſed the ſiege of St. Philip's, becauſe the duke de Richelieu had received his reenforcements, and ſuch a train of artillery as no fortification could long withſtand. Indeed, if the garriſon had been conſiderably re-enforced, and the communication with it opened by ſea, the defence would have been protracted, and ſo many vigorous ſallies might have been made, that the aſſailants would have had cauſe to reprent of their enterprize.

When the news of this conqueſt was brought to Verſailles, by the count of Egmont, whom the duke de Richelieu had diſpatched for that purpoſe, the people of France were tranſported with the moſt extravagant joy. Nothing was ſeen but triumphs and proceſſions; nothing heard but anthems, congratulations, and hyperibolical encomiums upon the conqueror of Minorca, who was celebrated in a thouſand poems and ſtudied orations; while the conduct of the Engliſh was vilified and ridiculed in ballads, farces, and paſquinades. Nothing more argues the degeneracy of a warlike nation than the pride of ſuch mean triumph for an advantage, which, in more vigorous times, would ſcarce have been diſtinguiſhed by the ceremony of a Te Deum Laudamus. Nor is this childiſh exultation that diſgraces the laurels of victory, confined to the kingdom of France. Truth obliges us to own, that even the ſubjects of Great-Britain are apt to be elevated by ſucceſs into an illiberal inſolence of ſelf-applauſe, and contemptuous compariſon. This muſt be condemned as a proof of unmanly arrogance, and abſurd ſelf-conceit, by all thoſe who cooly reflect, that the events of war generally, if not always, depend upon the genius or miſconduct of one individual. The loſs of Minorca was ſeverely felt in England, as a national diſgrace; but inſtead of producing dejection and deſpondence, it excited an univerſal clamour of rage and reſentment, not only againſt mr. Byng, who

had retreated from the French ſquadron; but alſo in reproach of the adminiſtration, which was taxed with having neglected the ſecurity of Minorca. Nay, ſome politicians were inflamed into a ſuſpicion, that this important place had been negatively betrayed into the hands of the enemy, that, in caſe the arms of Great-Britain ſhould proſper in other parts of the world, the French king might have ſome ſort of equivalent to reſtore for the conqueſts which ſhould be abandoned at the peace. This notion, however, ſeems to have been conceived from prejudice and party, which now began to appear with the moſt acrimonious aſpect, not only throughout the united kingdoms in general, but even in the ſovereign's councils.

Sir Edward Hawke, being diſappointed in his hope of encountering La Galiſſonniere, and relieving the Engliſh garriſon of St. Philip's, at leaſt aſſerted the empire of Great-Britain in the Mediterranean, by annoying the commerce of the enemy, and blocking up the ſquadron in the harbour of Toulon. Underſtanding that the Auſtrian government at Leghorn had detained an Engliſh privateer, and impriſoned the captain, on pretence that he had violated the neutrality of the port, he detached two ſhips of war, to inſiſt, in a peremptory manner, on the releaſe of the ſhip, effects, crew and captain; and they thought proper to comply with his demand, even without waiting for orders from the court of Vienna. The perſon in whoſe behalf the admiral thus interpoſed, was one Fortunatus Wright, a native of Liverpool; who, though a ſtranger to a ſea-life, had, in the laſt war, equipped a privateer, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſuch a manner, by his uncommon vigilance and valour, that, if he had been indulged with a command ſuituable to his genius, he would have then deſerved as honourable a place in the annals of the navy, as that which the French had beſtowed upon their boaſted Guai Trouin, Du Bart, and Thurot. An uncommon exertion of ſpirit was the occaſion of his being detained at this juncture. While he lay at anchor in the harbour of Leghorn, commander of the St. George privateer of Liverpool, a ſmall ſhip of 12 guns and 80 men, a large French xebeque, mounted with 16 cannon, and nearly three times the number of his complement, choſe her ſtation in view of the harbour, in order to interrupt the Britiſh commerce. The gallant Wright could not endure this inſult: notwithſtanding the enemy's ſuperiority in metal and number of men, he weighed anchor, hoiſted his ſails, engaged him within ſight of the ſhore, and after a very obſtinate diſpute, in which the captain, lieutenant, and above 60 of the men belonging to the xebeque were killed on the ſpot, he obliged them to ſheer off, and returned to the harbour in triumph. This brave corſer would, no doubt, have ſignalized himſelf by many other exploits, had not he, in the ſequel, been overtaken in the midſt of his career by a dreadful ſtorm, in which the ſhip foundering, he and all his crew periſhed.

Sir Edward Hawke, having ſcoured the Mediterranean, and inſulted the enemy's ports, returned with the homeward-bound trade to Gibraltar; from whence, about the latter end of the year, he ſet ſail for England with part of his ſquadron, leaving the reſt in that bay, for the protection of our commerce, which in thoſe parts ſoon began to ſuffer extremely from the French privateers, that now ſwarmed in the Mediterranean. General Blakeney had arrived, with the garriſon of Minorca, at Portſmouth in the month of November, and been received with expreſſions of tumultuous joy: every place through which he paſſed celebrated his return with bonfires, illuminations, bell-ringing, and acclamations; every mouth was opened in his praiſe, extolling him for the gallant defence he had made in the caſtle of St. Philip. In a word, the people's veneration for Blakeney encraeſed in proportion to their abhorrence of Byng: the firſt was lifted into an idol of admiration, while the other ſunk into an object of reproach; and they were viewed at different ends of a falſe perſpective, through the medium of prejudice and paſſion; of a perſpective artfully contrived, and applied by certain miniſters for the purpoſes of ſelf-intereſt and deceit. The ſovereign is ſaid to have been influenced by the prepoſſeſſion of the ſ——t. Mr Blakeney met with a gracious reception from his majeſty, who raiſed him to the rank of an Iriſh baron. in conſideration of his faithful ſervices, while ſome mal-contents murmured as this mark of favour, as an unreaſonable ſacrifice to popular miſapprehenſion.

In the beginning of the year, the meaſures taken by the government of England ſeemed to have been chiefly dictated by the dread of an invaſion, from which the miniſters did not think themſelves ſecured by the guard-ſhips and cruiſers on different parts of the coaſt, or the ſtanding army of the kingdom, though re-enforced by the two bodies of German auxiliaries. A conſiderable number of new troops was levied: the ſucceſs in recruiting was not only promoted by the land-holders throughout the kingdom, who thought their eſtates were at ſtake, and for that reaſon encouraged their dependents to engage in the ſervice, but alſo in a great meaſure owing to a dearth of corn, which reduced the lower claſs of labourers to ſuch diſtreſs, that ſome inſurrections were raiſed, and many inliſted with a view to obtain a livelihood, which otherwiſe they could not earn. New ſhips of war were built, and daily put in commiſſion; but it was found impracticable to man them, without having recourſe to the odious and illegal practice of impreſſing ſailors, which muſt always be a reproach to every free people. Notwithſtanding large bounties granted by the government to volunteers, it was found neceſſary to lay an embargo upon all ſhipping, and impreſs all the ſeamen that could be found, without any regard to former protections; ſo that all the merchant-ſhips were ſtripped of their hands, and foreign commerce for ſome time wholly ſuſpended. Nay, the expedient of compelling men into the ſervice was carried to an unuſual degree of oppreſſion; for rewards were publicly offered to thoſe who ſhould diſcover where any ſeaman lay concealed: ſo that thoſe unhappy people were in ſome reſpects treated like felons, dragged from their families and connexions to confinement, mutilation, and death, and totally cut off from the enjoyment of that liberty, which, perhaps, at the expence of their lives, their own arms had helped to preſerve, in favour of their ungrateful country.[y]

About 80 ſhips of the line and 60 frigates were already equipped, and conſiderable bodies of land forces aſſembled, when, on the 3d day of February, a proclamation was iſſued, requiring all officers civil and military, upon the firſt appearance of any hoſtile attempt to land upon the coaſts of the kingdom, immediately to cauſe all horſes, oxen, or cattle, which might be fit for draft or burthen, and not actually enployed in the king's ſervice, or in the defence of the country, and alſo (ſo far it might be practicable) all other cattle and proviſions, to be removed 20 miles at leaſt from the place where ſuch hoſtile attempt ſhould be made, and to ſecure the ſame, ſo as that they might not fall into the hands or power of thoſe who ſhould make ſuch attempt; regard being had, however, that the reſpective owners ſhould ſuffer as little damage as might be conſiſtent with the public ſafety.

As the miniſtry were determined to make their chief efforts againſt the enemy in North-America, where the firſt hoſtilities had been committed, and where the ſtrongeſt impreſſion could be made, a detachment of two regiments was ſent thither under the conduct of general Abercrombie, who was appointed as ſucceſſor to general Shirley, whom they recalled, as a perſon no ways qualified to conduct military operations: nor indeed, could any ſucceſs in war be expected from a man who had not been trained to arms, nor ever acted but in a civil capacity. But the command in chief of all the forces in America was conferred upon the earl of Loudoun, a nobleman of amiable character, who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſervice of his country. Over and above this command, he was now appointed governor of Virginia, and colonel of a royal American regiment, conſiſting of four battalions, to be raiſed in that country, and diſciplined by officers of experience, invited from foreign ſervice. Mr Abercrombie ſet ſail for America in March; but the earl of Loudoun, who directed in chief the plan of operations, and was veſted with power and authority little inferior to thoſe of a viceroy, did not embark till the latter end of May.

All theſe previous meaſures being taken, his majeſty, in the courſe of the ſame month, thought proper to publiſh a declaration of war[z] againſt the French king, importing,

[y] At this juncture, a number of public ſpirited merchants of the city of London, and others formed themſelves in a very laudible aſſociation, under the name of the Marine Society, and contributed conſiderable ſums of money for equipping ſuch orphans, friendleſs and forloin boys, as were willing to engage in the ſervice of the navy. In conſequence of this excellent plan, which was executed with equal zeal and diſcretion, many thouſands were reſcued from miſery, and rendered uſeful members of that ſociety, of which they muſt have been the bane and the reproach, without this humane interpoſition.

[z] When the French embaſſador returned to London, he propoſed that orders ſhould be immediately diſpatched to the Engliſh governors in America, with expreſs orders to deſiſt from any new undertaking, and all acts of hoſtility; but with regard to the lands on the Ohio, to put, without delay, matters on the ſame footing in which they ſtood before the late war, that the reſpective claims of both nations might be amicably referred to the commiſſaries at Paris. The Britiſh court agreed to the ceſſation of hoſtilities, and the diſcuſſion of the diſputes by the miniſters of the two crowns, on condition that

that, ſince the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the uſurpations and encroachments made upon the Britiſh territories in America had been notorious: that his Britannick Majeſty had, in divers ſerious repreſentations to the court of Verſailles, complained of theſe repeated acts of violence, and demanded ſatisfaction; but notwithſtanding the repeated aſſurances given by the French king, that every thing ſhould be ſettled agreeably to the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns, and particularly that the evacuation of the four neutral iſlands in the Weſt-Indies ſhould be effected, the execution of theſe aſſurances, and of the treaties on which they were founded, had been evaded under the moſt frivolous pretences: that the unjuſtifiable practices of the French governors, and officers acting under their authority, were ſtill continued, until they broke out in open acts of hoſtility in the year 1754; when, in time of profound peace, without any declaration of war, without any previous notice given, or application made, a body of French troops, commanded by an officer bearing the French king's commiſſion, attacked in an hoſtile manner, and took poſſeſſion of, an Engliſh fort on the river Ohio in North-America: that great naval armaments were prepared in the ports of France, and a conſiderable body of French troops embarked for that country: that although the French embaſſador was ſent bac to England with ſpecious profeſſions of a deſire to accommodate theſe differences, it appeared their real deſign was only to amuſe and gain time for the paſſage of theſe ſupplies and re-enforcements, which they hoped would ſecure the ſuperiority of the French forces in America, and enable them to carry their ambituous and oppreſſive projects into execution: that in conſequence of the juſt and neceſſary meaſures taken by the king of Great-Britain for preventing the ſucceſs of ſuch a dangerous deſign, the French embaſſador was immediately recalled from England, the fortifications of Dunkirk were enlarged, great bodies of troops marched down to the ſea-coaſts of France, and the Britiſh dominions threatened with an invaſion: that though the king of England, in order to fruſtrate theſe intentions, had given orders for ſeizing at ſea the ſhips of the French king and his ſubjects, yet he had hitherto contented himſelf with detaining thoſe ſhips which had been taken, and preſerving their cargoes intire, without proceeding to confiſcation; but it being at laſt evident, from the hoſtile invaſion of Minorca, that the court of Verſailles was determined to reject all propoſals of accommodation, and carry on the war with the utmoſt violence, his Britannick majeſty could no longer conſiſtently with the honour of his crown, and the welfare of his ſubjects, remain within thoſe bounds, which from a deſire of peace, he had hitherto obſerved A denunciation of war followed in the uſual form, and was concluded with an aſſurance, that all the French ſubjects reſiding in Great-Britain and Ireland, who ſhould demean themſelves dutifully to the government, might depend upon its protection, and be ſafe in their perſons and effects.

In the beginning of June the French king declared war in his turn againſt his Britannick majeſty, and his declaration was couched in terms of uncommon aſperity. He artfully threw a ſhade over the beginning of hoſtilities in North-America, referring to a memorial which had been delivered to the ſeveral courts of Europe, containing a ſummary of thoſe facts which related to the preſent war, and the negotiations by which it had been preceded. He inſiſted on the attac made by the king of England, in the year 1754, on the French poſſeſſions in North-America; and afterwards by the Engliſh navy on the navigation and commerce of the French ſubjects, in contempt of the law of nations, and direct violation of treaties. He complained that the French ſoldiers and ſailors underwent the harſheſt treatment in the Britiſh iſles, exceeding thoſe bounds which are preſcribed to the moſt rigorous rights of war, by the law of nature, and common humanity. He affirmed, that while the Engliſh miniſtry, under the appearance of ſincerity, impoſed upon the French embaſſador with falſe proteſtations, orders diametrically oppoſite to theſe deceitful aſſurances of a ſpeed accommodation were actually carrying into execution in North-America: that while the court of London em loyed every caballing art, and ſquandered away the ſubſidies of England, to inſtigate other powers againſt France, his moſt Chriſtian majeſt did not even aſk of theſe powers the ſuccours which guarantees and defenſive treaties authoriſed him to demand: but recommended to them ſuch meaſures only as tended to their own peace and ſecurity; that while the Engliſh navy, by the moſt odious violences, and ſometimes by the vileſt artifices, made captures of French veſſels, navigating in full ſecurity under the lafeguard of public faith, his moſt Chriſtian ma eſty releaſed an Engliſh frigate taken by a French ſquadron, and Britiſh veſſels traded to the ports of France without moleſtation: that the ſtriking contraſt formed by theſe different methods of proceeding would convince all Europe, that one court was guided by motives of jealouſy, ambition and avarice, and that the conduct of the other was founded on principles of honour, juſtice, and moderation: that the vague imputations contained in the king of England's declaration, had in reality no foundation; and the very manner in which they were ſet forth would prove their futility and falſehood: that the mention made of the works at Dunkirk, and the troops aſſembled on the coaſts of the ocean, implied the moſt groſs attempt to deceive mankind into a belief, that theſe were the points which determined the king of England to iſſue orders for ſeizing the French veſſels; whereas, the works at Dunkirk were not begun till after two French ſhips of war had been taken by an Engliſh ſquadron; and depredations had been committed ſix months upon the ſubjects of France before the firſt battalions began their march for the ſea-ſide. In a word, the moſt Chriſtian king, laying aſide that politeneſs and decorum on which his people value themſelves above all the nations upon the face of the earth, very roundly taxes his brother monarch's adminiſtration with piracy, perfidy, inhumanity, and deceit. A charge conveyed in ſuch reproachful terms, againſt one of the moſt reſpectable crowned heads in Europe, will appear the more extraordinary and injurious, if we conſider the accuſers were well acquainted with the falſity of their own imputations, and at the ame time conſcious of having practiſed thoſe very arts which they affected ſo much to decry. For, after all, it muſt be allowed, that nothing could be juſtly urged againſt the Engliſh government, with reſpect to France, except the omiſſion of a mere form, which other nations might interpret into an irregularity, but could not conſtrue into perfidious dealing, as the French had previouſly violated the peace by their inſolence and encroachments.

Whatever might have been the opinion of other nations, certain it is, the ſubjects of Great Britain heartily approved of the hoſtilities committed and intended againſt a people, whom they have always conſidered as their natural enemies, and the incendiaries of Europe. They chearfully contributed to the expence of armaments,[a] and ſeemed to approve of their deſtination, in hopes of being able to wipe off the diſgraces they had ſuſtained in the defeat of Braddock, and the loſs of Minorca. The laſt event made a deep impreſſion upon the minds of the community. An addreſs was preſented to the king by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, containing ſtrong hints to the diſadvantage of the miniſtry. They expreſſed their apprehenſion, that the loſe of the important fortreſs of St. Philip and iſland of Minorca, poſſeſſions of the utmoſt conſequence to the commerce and naval ſtrength of Great-Britain, without any attempt by timely and effectual ſuccours to prevent or defeat an attac, after ſuch early notice of the enemy's intention, and when his majeſty's navy was ſo evidently ſu-

all the poſſeſſions in America ſhould be previouſly put in the ſituation preſcribed by the treaty of Utrecht, confirmed by that of Aix-la-Chapelle. The French miniſtry, inſtead of complying with this condition, produced an evaſive draft of a preliminary convention, and this was anſwered by a counter-propoſal: At length the embaſſador of France demanded, as preliminary conditions, that Great-Britain would renounce all claim to the ſouth-coaſt of the river St. Laurence, and the lakes that diſcharge themſelves into that river; cede to the French 20 leagues of country lying along the bay of Fundy, which divides Acadia, or Nova-Scotia; and all the land between the rivers Ohio and Onabache. A memorial was afterwards preſented on the ſame ſubject, including the affair of the neutral iſlands in the Weſt-Indies; but this was amply refuted in another piece, in which the Britiſh miniſtry obſerved, that even at the very opening of the commiſſion eſtabliſhed in Paris, for terminating amicably the diſputes in North-America, the French invaded Nova-Scotia, erected three forts in the heart of that province, and would have deſtroyed the Engliſh ſettlement at Halifax, had they not been prevented: that the like hoſtilities were committed upon his Britannick majeſty's ſubjects on the Ohio and Indian lakes, where the governors appointed by the French king, without any ſhadow of right, prohibited the Engliſh from trading; ſeized their traders by force, and ſent them priſoners to France; invaded the territories of Virginia, attacked a fort that covered its frontier, and, to ſecure their uſurpations, erected, with an armed force, a chain of forts on the lands which they had invaded: that his Britannick majeſty had complained of theſe hoſtilities to the court of Verſailles, but without effect; ſo that he found himſelf obliged to provide for the ſecurity of his ſubjects; and as the encroachments made by France were hoſtile, it could never be unlawful, or irreconcileable with the aſſurance of his majeſty's peaceable diſpoſition, to repel an aggreſſor; and that the ſame motive of ſelf-defence had forced him to ſeize the French ſhips and ſailors, in order to deprive that court of the means of making an invaſion, with which their miniſters in all the courts of Europe had menaced England.

[a] Immediately after the declaration of war, the French ſhips and cargoes which had been taken were tried and condemned, as legal prizes expoſed to public ſale, and their produce lodged in the Bank; but in what manner this money, amounting to a large ſum, was diſtributed or employed, we have not been able to diſcover.

perior to theirs, would be an indeliable reproach on the honour of the Britiſh nation. They expatiated upon the imminent danger to which the Britiſh poſſeſſions in America were expoſed, by the miſmanagement and delays which had attended the defence of thoſe invaluable colonies, the object of the preſent war, the principal ſource of the wealth and ſtrength of theſe kingdoms. They lamented the want of a conſtitutional well-regulated militia, the moſt natural and certain defence againſt all invaders whatſoever. They ſignified their hope, that the authors of the late loſſes and diſappointments would be detected, and brought to condign puniſhment; that his majeſty's known intentions of protecting and defending his ſubjects in their rights and poſſeſſions might be faithfully and vigorouſly carried into execution; and the large ſupplies, ſo neceſſarily demanded, and ſo chearfully granted, might be religiouſly applied to the defence of theſe kingdoms, their colonies, and their commerce, as well as to the annoyance of their inveterate and perfidious enemies, the only ſure means of obtaining a laſting and honourable peace. In anſwer to this addreſs the king aſſured them, that he would not fail to do juſtice upon the perſons who ſhould have been wanting in their duty to him and their country; to enforce obedience and diſcipline in his fleets and armies; and to ſupport the authority and reſpect due to his government. Remonſtrances of the ſame kind were preſented by different counties and corporations; and the populace clamoured aloud for enquiry and juſtice.

The firſt victim offered to the enraged multitude was the unfortunate general Fowke, who had been deputy-governor of Gibraltar, and behaved with remarkable conduct and integrity in the exerciſe of that important office, till that period, when he fell under the diſpleaſure of the government. He was now brought to trial before a board of general officers, and accuſed of having diſobeyed the orders he had received from the ſecretary at war in three ſucceſſive letters [b], touching the relief of Minorca. Mr Fowke alledged in his own defence, that the orders were confuſed and contradictory, and implied a diſcretionary power; that the whole number of his garriſon did not exceed 2600 men, after he had ſpared 275 to the ſhips commanded by mr. Edgecombe: that the ordinary duty of the garriſon requiring 800 men, the whole number was not ſufficient for three reliefs: that, if he had detached a battalion on board the fleet, he ſhould not have had above two reliefs, at a time when he believed the place was in danger of being attacked, for good reaſons, which he did not think himſelf at liberty to mention: that his orders being doubtful, he held a council of war, which was of opinion, that as undoubted intelligence was received of the French army's being landed at Minorca, to the number of between 13 and 16,000 men, and that a French ſquadron of 16 ſhips was ſtationed off the harbour, the ſending a detachment equal to a battalion from Gibraltar would be an ineffectual ſupply for the relief of the place, and a weakening of the garriſon from which they muſt be ſent. He obſerved, that ſuppoſing the orders to have been poſitive, and 700 men detached to Minorca, the number remaining at Gibraltar would not have exceeded 1556: a deduction of 700 more, according to the order of May the 12th, would have left a remainder of 856: that the men daily on duty in the garriſon, including artificers and labourers in the king's works, amounted to 839; ſo that if he had complied with the orders as they arrived, he would not have had more than 17 men over and above the number neceſſary for the daily work of the garriſon: thus, the important fortreſs of Gibraltar muſt, at this critical juncture, have been left almoſt naked and defenceleſs to the attempts of the enemy; and had thoſe detachments been actually ſent aboard, it afterwards appeared that they could not have been landed on the iſland of Minorca. The order tranſmitted to general Fowke to detain all empty veſſels, for further tranſportation of troops, ſeems to have been ſuperfluous; for it can hardly be ſuppoſed he could have occaſion for them, unleſs to embark the whole garriſon, and abandon the place. It ſeems likewiſe to have been unneceſſary to exhort the general to keep his garriſon as alert as poſſible, during that critical time; inaſmuch as it would have been impoſſible for the men to have enjoyed the leaſt repoſe or intermiſſion of duty, had the orders been punctually and literally obeyed. What other aſſiſtance it might have been in the governor's power to give for the relief of Minorca, or in what manner he could avoid fatiguing his garriſon, while there was an impoſſibility of relieving the guards, it is not eaſy to comprehend. Be that as it may, when the trial was finiſhed, and the queſtion put to acquit or ſuſpend for one year, the court was equally divided; and in ſuch caſes the caſting vote being veſted in the preſident, he threw it into the ſcale againſt the priſoner, whom his majeſty thought fit to diſmiſs from his ſervice.

The expectation of the public was now eagerly turned towards America, the chief if not the ſole ſcene of our military operations. On the 25th of June, mr. Abercrombie arrived at Albany, the frontier of New-York, and aſſumed the command of the forces there aſſembled, conſiſting of two regiments which had ſerved under Braddock, two battalions raiſed in America, two regiments now tranſported from England, four independent companies which had been many years maintained in New-York, the New-Jerſey regiment, four companies levied in North-Carolina, and a body of provincial forces raiſed by the government of New-England. Thoſe to the ſouthward, including Pennſylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, had not yet determined on any regular plan of operation, and were moreover hard preſſed in defending their weſtern frontier from the French and Indians who, in ſkulking parties, made ſudden irruptions upon their unguarded ſettlements, burning, plundering, and maſſacring with the moſt ſavage inhumanity. As for South-Carolina, the proportion of negro-ſlaves to the number of white inhabitants was ſo great in that colony, that the government could not, with any regard to the ſafety of the province, ſpare any re-enforcement for the general enterprize. The plan of this undertaking had been ſettled the preceding year in a council of war held at New-York. There it was reſolved to attac the fort of Niagara, ſituated between the lakes Ontario and Erie, in order to cut off the communication between Canada and Louiſiana, and prevent the French from ſupporting their new fortreſſes on the Ohio; to reduce Ticonderago and Crown-Point, ſo that the frontier of New-York might be delivered from the danger of an invaſion, and Great-Britain become maſter of the lake Champlain, over which the forces might be tranſported in any future attempt: to beſiege Fort Du Queſne upon the Ohio; and to detach a body of troops by the river Kennebec, to alarm the capital of Canada. This plan was too extenſive for the number of troops which had been prepared: the ſeaſon was too far advanced before the regiments arrived from England, the different colonies were divided in their opinions, and mr. Abercrombie poſtponed in the execution of any important ſcheme till the arrival of lord Loudoun, who was daily expected. The reaſons that delayed the reenforcement, and detained his lordſhip ſo long, we do not pretend to explain; though we may be allowed to obſerve,

[b] To lieu. gen. Fowke, or, in his abſence, to the commander in chief in his majeſty's garriſon of Gibraltar.

SIR, War-Office, March 21, 1756.

I am commanded to acquaint you, that it is his majeſty's pleaſure that you receive into your garriſon lord Robert Bertie's regiment, to do duty there; and in caſe you ſhould apprehend that the French intend to make any attempt upon his majeſty's iſland of Minorca, it is his majeſty's pleaſure, that you make a detachment out of the troops in your garriſon equal to a battalion, to be commanded by a lieutenant-colonel and major; ſuch lieutenant-colonel and major to be the eldeſt in your garriſon, to be put on board the fleet for the relief of Minorca, as the admiral ſhall think expedient, who is to carry them to the ſaid iſland. I am,

Your humble ſervant, B.

To lieut. gen. Fowke, or, in his abſence, to the commander in chief at Gibraltar.

SIR, War-Office, March 26, 1756.

I am commanded to acquaint you, that it is his majeſty's pleaſure, in caſe the iſland of Minorca ſhould be in any likelihood of being attacked, that you make a detachment from the troops in your garriſon equal to a battalion, commanded by a lieutenant-colonel and major, for the relief of that place, to be put on board the fleet, at the diſpoſition of the admiral: ſuch lieutenant-colonel and major to be the eldeſt in your garriſon.

To lieut. gen. Fowke, or, in his abſence, to the commander in chief in his majeſty's garriſon in Gibraltar.

SIR, War-Office, April 1, 1756.

It is his majeſty's pleaſure, that you receive into your garriſon the women and children belonging to lord Robert Bertie's regiment.

To lieut. gen. Fowke, or the commander in chief at Gibraltar.

SIR, War-Office, May 12, 1756.

I wrote to you by general Stewart: if that order is not complied with, then you are now to make a detachment of 700 men out of your own regiment and Guiſe's; and alſo another detachment out of Pulteney's and Panmure's regiments, and ſend them on board the fleet for the relief of Mahon. But if that order has been complied with, then you are only to make one detachment of 700 men, to be commanded by another lieutenant-colonel and major, and to ſend it to Mahon; and you are alſo to detain all ſuch empty veſſels as ſhall come into your harbour, and keep them in readineſs for any further tranſportation of troops. I have alſo his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland's commands, to deſire that you will keep your garriſon as alert as poſſible, during this critical time, and give ſuch other aſſiſtance as may be in your power for the relief of Minorca; taking care, however, not to fatigue or endanger your own garriſon.

that many fair opportunities have been loſt, by the neglect and procraſtination of an Engliſh miniſtry. Certain it is, the unaccountable delay of this armament rendered it uſeleſs for a whole year, afforded time and leiſure to the enemy to take their precautions againſt any ſubſequent attac, and, in the mean time, to proceed unmoleſted in diſtreſſing the Britiſh ſettlements. Even before this period, they had attacked and reduced a ſmall poſt in the country of the Five Nations, occupied by 25 Engliſhmen, who were cruelly butchered to a man, in the midſt of thoſe Indians whom Great-Britain had long numbered among her allies.

Soon after this expedition, having received intelligence that a conſiderable convoy of proviſions and ſtores, for the garriſon of Oſwego, would in a little time ſet out from Schenectady, and be conveyed in batteaux up the river Onondaga, they formed an ambuſcade among the woods and thickets on the north ſide of that river; but underſtanding the convoy had paſſed before they had reached the place, they reſolved to wait the return of the detachment. Their deſign, however, was fruſtrated by the vigilance and valour of colonel Bradſtreet, who expected ſuch an attempt, and had taken his meaſures accordingly. On the 3d day of July, while he ſtemmed the ſtream of the river, with his batteaux formed into three diviſions, they were ſaluted with the Indian war-whoop, and a general diſcharge of muſquetry from the north ſhore. Bradſtreet immediately ordered his men to land on the oppoſite bank, and with a few of the foremoſt took poſſeſſion of a ſmall iſland, where he was forthwith attacked by a party of the enemy, who had forded the river for that purpoſe; but theſe were ſoon repulſed. Another body having paſſed a mile higher, he advanced to them at the head of 200 men, and fell upon them, ſword in hand, with ſuch vigour, that many were killed on the ſpot, and the reſt driven into the river with ſuch precipitation, that a conſiderable number of them were drowned. Having received information that a third body of them had paſſed at a ford ſtill higher, he marched thither without heſitation, and purſued them to the other ſide, where they were intirely routed and diſperſed. In this action, which laſted near three hours, about 70 of the batteau-men were killed or wounded, but the enemy loſt double the number killed, and above 70 taken priſoners. In all probability the whole detachment of the French, amounting to 700 men, would have been cut off, had not a heavy rain interpoſed, and diſabled colonel Bradſtreet from following his blow; for that ſame night he was joined by captain Patten with his grenadiers, in his march from Oneida to Oſwego, and next morning re-enforced with 200 men, detached to his aſſiſtance from the garriſon of Oſwego, but by this time the rivulets were ſo ſwelled by the rain, that it was found impracticable to purſue the enemy through the woods and thickets. Patten and his grenadiers accompanied the detachment to Oſwego, while Bradſtreet purſued his voyage to Schenectady, from whence he repaired to Albany, and communicated to general Abercromble the intelligence he had received from the priſoners, that a large body of the enemy were encamped on the eaſtern ſide of the lake Ontario, provided with artillery, and all other implements, to beſiege the fort of Oſwego.

In conſequence of this information, major-general Webb was ordered to hold himſelf in readineſs to march with one regiment to the relief of that garriſon; but, before they could be provided with neceſſaries, the earl of Loudoun arrived at the head-quarters at Albany, on the 29th day of July. The army at this time is ſaid to have conſiſted of regular troops to the number of 2600, about 7000 provincials, ſuppoſed to be in readineſs to march from Fort William-Henry, under the command of general Winſlow, over and above a conſiderable number of batteau-men at Albany and Schenectady. The garriſon at Oſwego amounted to 1400 ſoldiers, beſides 300 workmen and ſailors, either in the fort, or poſted in ſmall parties between the fort and place called Burnet's field, to ſecure a ſafe paſſage through the country of the Six Nations, upon whoſe friendſhip there was no longer any reliance. By the beſt accounts received of the enemy's force, they had about 3000 men at Crown-Point and Ticonderoga upon the lake Champlain: but their chief ſtrength was collected upon the banks of the lake Ontario, where their purpoſe undoubtedly was to reduce the Engliſh fort at Oſwego. The immediate object, therefore, of lord Loudoun's attention was the relief of this place; but his deſign was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the province of New-York, and other northern governments, who were much more intent upon the reduction of Crown-Point, and the ſecurity of their own frontiers, which they apprehended was connected with this conqueſt. They inſiſted upon Winſlow's being joined by ſome regiments of regular troops before he ſhould march againſt this fortreſs; and ſtipulated that a body of reſerve ſhould be detained at Albany, for the defence of that frontier, in caſe Winſlow ſhould fail in his enterprize and be defeated. At length they agreed, that the regiment which mr. Abercrombie had deſigned for that purpoſe ſhould be detached to the relief of Oſwego: and on the 12th day of Auguſt major-general Webb began his march with it from Albany: but on his arrival at the Carrying-place, between the Mohock's river and Wood's-creek, he received the diſagreeable news that Oſwego was taken, and the garriſon made priſoners of war. Mr Webb, apprehending himſelf in danger of being attacked by the beſieging army, began immediately to render the creek impaſſable, even to canoes, by felling trees, and throwing them into the ſtream; while the enemy, ignorant of his numbers, and apprehenſive of a like viſitation from him, took the very ſame method of preventing his approach: in conſequence of this apprehenſion, he was permitted to retire unmoleſted.

The loſs of the two ſmall forts, called Ontario and Oſwego, was a conſiderable national misfortune. They were erected on the ſouth ſide of the great lake Ontario, ſtanding on the oppoſite ſides, at the mouth of the Onandago river, that diſcharges itſelf into the lake, and conſtituted a poſt of great importance, where veſſels had been built, to cruiſe upon the lake, which is a kind of inland ſea, and interrupt the commerce as well as the motions and deſigns of the enemy. The garriſon, as we have already obſerved, conſiſted of 1400 men, chiefly militia and new-raiſed recruits, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Mercer, an officer of courage and experience: but the ſituation of the forts was very ill choſen; the materials moſtly timber, or logs of wood; the defences wretchedly contrived, and unfiniſhed; and, in a word, the place altogether untenable againſt any regular approach. Such were the forts which the enemy wiſely reſolved to reduce. Being under no apprehenſion for Crown-Point, they aſſembled a body of troops, conſiſting of 1300 regulars, 1700 Canadians, and a conſiderable number of Indian auxiliaries, under the command of the marquis de Montcalm, a vigilant and enterprizing officer, to whom the conduct of the ſiege was entruſted by the marquis de Vaudreuil, governor and lieutenant-general of New France. The firſt ſtep taken by Montcalm was to bloc up Oſwego by water with two large armed veſſels, and poſt a ſtrong body of Canadians on the road between Albany and the forts, to cut off all communication of ſuccour and intelligence. In the mean time, he embarked his artillery and ſtores upon the lake, and landed them in the bay of Nixouri, the place of general rendezvous. At another creek, within half a league of Oſwego, he erected a battery for the protection of his veſſels, and on the 12th day of Auguſt, at midnight, after his diſpoſitions had been made, he opened the trenches before Fort-Ontario. The garriſon having fired away all their ſhells and ammunition, ſpiked up the cannon, and deſerting the fort, retired next day acroſs the river into Oſwego, which was even more expoſed than the other, eſpecially when the enemy had taken poſſeſſion of Ontario, from whence they immediately began to fire without intermiſſion. Colonel Mercer being, on the 13th, killed by a cannon-ball, the fort, deſtitute of all cover, the officers divided in opinion, and the garriſon in confuſion, they next day demanded a capitulation, and ſurrendered priſoners of war, on condition that they ſhould be exempted from plunder, conducted to Montreal, and treated with humanity. Theſe conditions, however, the marquis did not punctually obſerve. The Britiſh officers and ſoldiers were inſulted by the ſavage Indians, who robbed them of their clothes and baggage, maſſacred ſeveral men as they ſtood defenceleſs on the parade, aſſaſſinated lieutenant De la Court as he lay wounded in his tent, under the protection of a French officer, and barbarouſly ſcalped all the ſic people in the hoſpital: finally, Montcalm, in direct violation of the articles, as well as in contempt of common humanity, delivered up above 20 men of the garriſon to the Indians, in lieu of the ſame number they had loſt during the ſiege; and, in all probability, theſe miſerable captives were put to death by thoſe barbarians with the moſt excruciating tortures, according to the execrable cuſtom of the country. Thoſe who countenance the perpetration of cruelties, at which human nature ſhudders with horror, ought to be branded as infamous to all poſterity. Such, however, were the trophies that, in the courſe of the American war, diſtinguiſhed the operations of a people who pique themſelves upon politeneſs, and the virtues of humanity. The priſoners taken at Oſ-

wego, after having been thus barbarouſly treated, were conveyed in batteaux to Montreal, where they had no reaſon to complain of their reception; and, before the end of the year, they were exchanged. The victors immediately demoliſhed the two forts (if they deſerved that denomination) in which they found 121 pieces of artillery, 14 mortars, with a great quantity of ammunition, warlike ſtores, and proviſion, beſides two ſloops, and 200 batteaux, which likewiſe fell into their hands. Such an important magazine, depoſited in a place altogether indefenſible, and without the reach of immediate ſuccour, was a flagrant proof of egregious folly, temerity, and miſconduct.

The earl of Loudoun finding the ſeaſon too far advanced to admit of any enterprize againſt the enemy, exerted all his endeavours in making preparations for an early campaign in the ſpring, in ſecuring the frontiers of the Engliſh colonies, in forming an uniform plan of action, and promoting a ſpirit of harmony among the different governments, which had been long divided by jarring intereſts, and other ſources of diſſenſion. Mean while, the forts Edward and William-Henry were put in a proper poſture of defence, and ſecured with numerous garriſons: and the forces put into winter quarters at Albany, where comfortable barracs were built for that purpoſe. Fort-Granville, on the confines of Pennſylvania, an inconſiderable block-houſe, was ſurpriſed by a party of French and Indians, who made the garriſon priſoners, conſiſting of 22 ſoldiers, with a few women and children. Theſe they loaded with flour and proviſion, and drove into captivity; but the fort they reduced to aſhes. Many ſhocing murders were perpetrated upon defenceleſs people, without diſtinction of age or ſex, in different parts of the frontiers: but theſe outrages were in ſome meaſure balanced by the advantages reſulting from a treaty of peace, which the governor of Pennſylvania concluded with the Delaware Indians, a powerful tribe that dwell upon the river Saſquehanna, forming, as it were, a line along the ſouthern ſkirts of the province. At the ſame time the governor of Virginia ſecured the friendſhip and alliance of the Cherokees and Catawbas, two powerful nations adjoining to that colony, who were able to bring 3000 fighting men into the field. All theſe circumſtances conſidered, Great-Britain had reaſon to expect that the enſuing campaign would be vigorouſly proſecuted in America, eſpecialily as a freſh re-enforcement of troops, with a great ſupply of warlike ſtores was ſent to that country in 14 tranſports, under convoy of two ſhips of war, which ſailed from Cork, in Ireland, about the beginning of November.

No action of great importance diſtinguiſhed the naval tranſactions of this year on the ſide of America. In the beginning of June, captain Spry, who commanded a ſmall ſquadron, cruiſing off Louiſbourg, in the iſland Cape-Breton, took the Arc en Ciel, a French ſhip of 50 guns, having on board near 600 men, with a large quantity of ſtores and proviſions for the garriſon. He likewiſe made prizes of another French ſhip, with 70 ſoldiers, 200 barrels of powder, two large braſs mortars, and other ſtores of the like deſtination. On the 27th day of July commodore Holmes, being in the ſame latitude, with two large ſhips and a couple of ſloops, engaged two French ſhips of the line and four frigates, and obliged them to ſheer off, after an obſtinate diſpute. A great number of privateers were equiped in this country, as well as in the Weſt-India iſlands belonging to the crown of Great-Britain; and as thoſe ſeas ſwarmed with French veſſels, their cruiſers proved very advantageous to the adventurers.

Scenes of higher import were this year acted by the Britiſh arms in the Eaſt-Indies. The ceſſation of hoſtilities between the Engliſh and French companies on the peninſula of Indus, though it encouraged mr. Clive to viſit his native country, was not of long duration; for in a few months both ſides recommenced their operations no longer as auxiliaries to the princes of the country, but as principals and rivals, both in arms and commerce. Major Laurence, who now enjoyed the chief command of the Engliſh forces, obtained divers advantages over the enemy; and proſecuted his ſucceſs with ſuch vigour, as in all probability, would in a little time have terminated the war according to his own wiſh, when the progreſs of his arms was interrupted and ſuſpended by an unfortunate event at Calcutta, the cauſe of which is not eaſily explained: for extraordinary pains have been taken to throw a veil over ſome tranſactions, from whence this calamity was immediately or remotely derived.

The old ſuba or viceroy of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, dying in the month of April, in the year 1756, was ſucceeded by his adopted ſon, Sur Raja al Dowlat, a young man of violent paſſions, without principle, fortitude, or good faith, who began his adminiſtration with acts of perfidy and violence. In all probability, his deſign againſt the Engliſh ſettlements was ſuggeſted by his rapacious diſpoſition, on a belief that they abounded with treaſure; as the pretences which he uſed for commencing hoſtilities were altogether inconſiſtent, falſe and frivolous. In the month of May, he cauſed the Engliſh factory at Caſſimbuzzar to be inveſted, and inviting mr. Watts the chief of the factory, to a conference, under the ſanction of a ſafe conduct, detained him as priſoner; then by means of fraud and force intermingled, made himſelf maſter of the factory. This exploit being achieved, he made no ſecret of his deſign to deprive the Engliſh of all their ſettlements. With this view he marched to Calcutta, at the head of a numerous army, and inveſted the place, which was then in no poſture of defence.

The governor, intimidated by the number and power of the enemy, abandoned the fort, and with ſome principal perſons reſiding in the ſettlement, took refuge on board a ſhip in the river, carrying along with them their moſt valuable effects, and the books of the company. Thus the defence of the place devolved to mr. Holwell, the ſecond in command, who with the aſſiſtance of a few gallant officers, and a very feeble garriſon, maintained it with uncommon courage and reſolution againſt ſeveral attacs, until he was overpowered by numbers, and the enemy had forced their way into the caſtle. Then he was obliged to ſubmit; and the ſuba, or viceroy, promiſed on the word of a ſoldier, that no injury ſhould be done to him or his garriſon. Nevertheleſs, they were all driven to the number of 146 perſons of both ſexes, into a place called the Black-Hole priſon, a cube of about 18 feet, walled up to the eaſtward and ſouthward, the only quarters from which they could expect the leaſt refreſhing air, and open to the weſtward by two windows ſtrongly barred with iron, through which there was no perceptible circulation. The humane reader will conceive with horror the miſerable ſituation to which they muſt have been reduced, when thus ſtewed up in a cloſe ſultry night under ſuch a climate as that of Bengal, eſpecially when he reflects that many of them were wounded, and all of them fatigued with hard duty. Tranſported with rage to find themſelves thus barbarouſly cooped up in a place where they muſt be expoſed to ſuffocation, thoſe hapleſs victims endeavoured to force open the door, that they might ruſh upon the ſwords of the barbarians by whom they were ſurrounded: but all their efforts were ineffectual; the door was made to open inwards, and being once ſhut upon them, the crowd preſſed upon it ſo ſtrongly as to render all their endeavours abhortive: then they were overwhelmed with diſtraction and deſpair. Mr Holwell, who had placed himſelf at one of the windows, accoſted a jemmautdaar, or ſerjeant of the Indian guard, and having endeavoured to excite his compaſſion, by drawing a pathetic picture of their ſufferings, promiſed to gratify him with 1000 rupees in the morning, if he could find means to remove one-half of them into a ſeparate apartment. The ſoldier, allured by the promiſe of ſuch a reward, aſſured him he would do his endeavour for their relief, and retired for that purpoſe, but in a few minutes returned, and told him that the ſuba, by whoſe order alone ſuch a ſtep could be taken, was aſleep, and no perſon durſt diſturb his repoſe. By this time a profuſe ſweat had broke out on every individual, and this was attended with an inſatiable thirſt, which became the more intolerable as the body was drained of its moiſture. In vain thoſe miſerable objects ſtripped themſelves of their clothes, ſquatted down on their hams, and fanned the air with their hats, to produce a refreſhing undulation. Many were unable to riſe again from this poſture, but falling down were trod to death, or ſuffocated. The dreadful ſymptoms of thirſt was now accompanied with a difficulty of reſpiration, and every individual gaſped for breath. Their deſpair became outrageous: again they attempted to force the door and provoke the guard to fire upon them by execration and abuſe. The cry of 'water! water!' iſſued from every mouth. Even the jammautdaar was moved to compaſſion at their diſtreſs. He ordered his ſoldiers to bring ſome ſkins of water, which ſerved only to enrage the appetite, and increaſe the general agitation. There was no other way of conveying it through the windows but by hats, and this was rendered ineffectual by the eagerneſs and tranſports of the wretched priſoners, who at ſight of it ſtruggled and raved even into fits of delirium. In conſequence of theſe conteſts, very little reached thoſe who ſtood neareſt the windows, while the reſt at the farther end of the priſon, were totally excluded from all relief, and continuing calling

upon their friends for aſſiſtance, and conjuring them by all the tender ties of pity and affection. To thoſe who were indulged, it proved pernitious; for, inſtead of allaying their thirſt, it enraged their impatience for more. The confuſion became general and horrid; all was clamour and conteſt; thoſe who were at a diſtance endeavoured to force their paſſage to the window, and the weak were preſſed down to the ground, never to riſe again. The inhuman ruffians without derived entertainment from their miſery: they ſupplied the priſoners with more water, and held up lights cloſe to the bars, that they might enjoy the inhuman pleaſure of ſeeing them fight for the baneful indulgence. Mr Holwell ſeeing all his particular friends lying dead around him, and trampled upon by the living, finding himſelf wedged up ſo cloſe as to be deprived of all motion, begged, as the laſt inſtance of their regard, that they would remove the preſſure, and allow him to retire from the window, that he might die in quiet. Even in thoſe dreadful circumſtances, which might be ſuppoſed to have levied all diſtinction, the poor delirious wretches manifeſted a reſpect for his rank and character: they forthwith gave way, and he forced his paſſage into the centre of the place, which was not crowded ſo much, becauſe by this time, about one-third of the number had periſhed, and lay in little compaſs on the floor, while the reſt ſtill crowded to both windows. He retired to a platform at the farther end of the room, and lying down upon ſome of his dead friends, recommended his ſoul to heaven. Here his thirſt grew inſupportable; his difficulty in breathing increaſed, and he was ſeiſed with a ſtrong palpitation. Theſe violent ſymptoms, which he could not bear, urged him to make another effort: he forced his way bac to the window, and cried aloud, 'water! for God's ſake!' He had been ſuppoſed already dead by his wretched companions, but finding him ſtill alive, they exhibited another extraordinary proof of tenderneſs and regard to his perſon: 'give him water,' they cried; nor would one of them attempt to touch it until he had drank. He now breathed more freely, and the palpitation ceaſed: but finding himſelf ſtill more thirſty after drinking, he abſtained from water, and moiſtened his mouth from time to time, by ſucking the perſpiration from his ſhirt ſleeves[c]. The miſerable priſoners, perceiving that water rather agrivated than relieved their diſtreſs, grew clamorous for air, and repeated their inſults to the guard, loading the ſuba and his governor with the moſt violent reproach. From railing they had recourſe to prayer, beſeeching heaven to put an end to their miſery. They now began to drop on all hands; but then a ſteam aroſe from the living, and the dead, as pungent and volatile as ſpirit of hortſhorn: ſo that all who could not approach the windows were ſuffocated. Mr Holwell being weary of life, retired once more to the platform, and ſtretched himſelf by the rev. mr. Jervas Bellamy, who, together with his ſon, a lieutenant, lay dead in each other's embrace. In this ſituation he was ſoon deprived of ſenſe, and lay to all appearance dead till day-break, when his body was diſcovered, and removed by his ſurviving friends to one of the windows, where the freſh air revived him, and he was reſtored to his ſight and ſenſes. The ſuba, at laſt, being informed that the greater part of the priſoners were ſuffocated, enquired if the chief was alive; and being anſwered in the affirmative, ſent an order for their immediate releaſe, when no more than 23 ſurvived of 146 who had entered alive.

Nor was the late deliverance, even of theſe few, owing to any ſentiment of compaſſion in the viceroy. He had received intimation, that there was a conſiderable treaſure ſecreted in the fort, and that mr. Holwell knew the place where it was depoſited. That gentleman, who, with his ſurviving companions, had been ſeized with a putrid fever, immediately upon their releaſe, was dragged in that condition before the inhuman ſuba, who queſtioned him about the treaſure, which exiſted no where but in his own imagination; and would give no credit to his proteſtations, when he ſolemnly declared he knew of no ſuch depoſit. Mr Holwell and three of his friends were loaded with fetters, and conveyed three miles to the Indian camp, where they lay all night, expoſed to a ſevere rain: next morning they were brought bac to town, ſtill manacled, under the ſcorching beams of a ſun intenſely hot; and muſt infallibly have expired, had not nature expelled the fever in large painful boils, that covered almoſt the whole body. In this piteous condition they were embarked in an open boat for Muxadavad, the capital of Bengal, and underwent ſuch cruel treatment and miſery in their paſſage, as would ſhoc the humane reader, ſhould he peruſe the particulars. At Muxadavad they were led through the city in chains, as a ſpectacle to the inhabitants, lodged in an open ſtable, and treated for ſome days as the worſt of criminals. At length the ſuba's grandmother interpoſed her mediation in their behalf; and as that prince was by this time convinced that there was no treaſure concealed at Calcutta, he ordered them to be ſet at liberty. When ſome of his ſycophants oppoſed this indulgence, repreſenting that mr. Holwell had ſtill enough left to pay a conſiderable ranſom, he replied with ſome marks of compunction and generoſity, 'If he has any thing left, let him keep it: his ſufferings have been great: he ſhall have his liberty.' Mr Holwell and his friends were no ſooner unfettered, than they took water for the Dutch Tankſall or mint, in the neighbourhood of the city, where they were received with great tenderneſs and humanity. The reader, we hope, will excuſe us for having thus particulariſed a tranſaction ſo intereſting and ſo extraordinary in all its circumſtances. The ſuba having deſtroyed Calcutta, and diſperſed the inhabitants, extorted large ſums from the French and Dutch factories, that he might diſplay a ſpirit of impartiality againſt all the Europeans, even in his oppreſſion, and returned to his city of Muxadavad in triumph. By the reduction of Calcutta, the Engliſh Eaſt-India company's affairs were ſo much embroiled in that part of the world, that perhaps nothing could have retrieved them but the interpoſition of a national force, and the good fortune of a Clive, whoſe enterprizes were always crowned with ſucceſs.

As the Engliſh Eaſt-India company had, for a whole century, been at a conſiderable expence in maintaining a marine force at Bombay, to protect their ſhips from the piracies of the Angrias, who had rendered themſelves independent princes, and fortified Geriah in that neighbourhood; many unſucceſsful attempts had been made to deſtroy their naval power, and reduce the fortreſs, under which they always took ſhelter. In the year 1754, the fleet of Tullagee Angria, the reigning prince, attacked three Dutch ſhips of force, which they either took or deſtroyed. Elated with this ſucceſs, he boaſted that he ſhould in a little time ſweep the ſeas of the Europeans, and began to build ſome large ſhips, to re-enforce his grabs and gallivats, which were the veſſels on which he had formerly depended. Next year his neighbours, the Mahrattas, having ſignified to the preſidency at Bombay, that they were diſpoſed to join in the neceſſary ſervice of humbling this common enemy, ſo formidable to the whole Malabar coaſt, commodore James was detached with ſome ſhips of force to attac Angria, in conjunction with thoſe allies. They accordingly joined him with ſeven grabs and ſixty gallivats. They proceeded to the harbour of Severndroog, where Angria's fleet lay at anchor: but they no ſooner received intelligence of his approach, then they ſlipped their cables, and ſtood out to ſea. He chaſed them with all the canvaſs he could carry; but their veſſels being lighter than his, they eſcaped; and he returned to Severndroog, which is a fortreſs ſituated on an iſland within muſket-ſhot of the main-land, ſtrongly, but irregularly fortified, and mounted with 54 pieces of cannon. There were three other ſmall forts on the continent, the largeſt of which was called Goa. On the 2d day of April, the commodore began to batter and bombard the iſland, fort, and Fort-Goa, at the ſame time. That of Severndroog was ſet on fire; one of the magazines blew up: a general conflagration enſued: the garriſon were overwhelmed with fire and confuſion; the Engliſh ſeamen landed under cover of the fire from the ſhips, and took the place by ſtorm with very little loſs. The other forts were immediately ſurrendered, and all of theſe by treaty delivered to the Mahrattas. On the 8th of April, the commodore anchored off Bancote, now called Fort-Victoria, one of the moſt northern parts of Angria's dominions, which ſurrendered without oppoſition, and ſtill remains in the hands of the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, by the conſent of the Mahrattas. The harbour is good, and here is a great trade for ſalt and other commodities ſent hither from Bombay.

It was in November following, that the ſquadron under admiral Watſon arrived at Bombay, where it was reſolved to give Angria the finiſhing ſtroke, ſtill in conjunction with the Mahrattas. Mean while commodore James was ſent to reconnoitre Geriah, the capital of his dominions, and to ſound the depth of the harbour; a ſervice which he ſuc-

[c] In his deſpair of obtaining water, this unhappy gentleman had attempted to drink his own urine; but found it intolerable bitter; whereas the moiſture that flowed from the pores of his body was ſoft, pleaſant, and refreſhing.

ceſsfully performed. The admiral being joined by a diviſion of ſhips, fitted out at the company's expence, having on board a body of troops commanded by colonel Clive, ſailed on the 7th day of February, and found in the neighbourhood of Geriah the Mahratta fleet, conſiſting of four grabs, and forty ſmaller veſſels, called gallivats, lying to the northward of the place, in a creek called Rajipore; and a land-army of horſe and foot, amounting to ſeven or eight thouſand men, the whole commanded by Rhamagee Punt, who had already taken one ſmall fort, and was actually treating about the ſurrender of Geriah. Angria himſelf had quitted the place; but his wife and family remained under the protection of his brother-in-law; who, being ſummoned to ſurrender by a meſſage from the admiral, replied that he would defend the place to the laſt extremity. In conſequence of this refuſal the whole Engliſh fleet, in two diviſions, ſailed on the 12th day of February into the harbour, and ſuſtained a warm fire from the enemy's batteries as they paſſed, as well as from the grabs poſted in the harbour for that purpoſe: this, however, was ſoon ſilenced after the ſhips were brought to their ſtations, ſo as to return the ſalutation. Between the hours of four and five in the afternoon, a ſhell being thrown into one of Angria's armed veſſels, ſet her on fire; and the flames communicating to the reſt, they were all deſtroyed: between ſix and ſeven the fort was ſet on fire by another ſhell; and ſoon after the fire ceaſed on both ſides. The admiral, ſuſpecting that the governor of the place would ſurrender it to the Mahrattes rather than to the Engliſh, diſembarked all the troops under mr. Clive, that he might be at hand, in caſe of emergency, to take poſſeſſion. In the mean time, the fort was bombarded; the line of battle ſhips were warped near enough to batter in breach; and then the admiral ſent an officer, with a flag of truce to the governor, requiring him to ſurrender. His propoſal being again rejected, the Engliſh ſhips renewed their fire next day with redoubled vigour. About one o'clock the magazine of the fort blew up, and at four the garriſon hung out a white flag for capitulation. The parley that enſued proved ineffectual, the engagement began again, and continued till 15 minutes after five: when the white flag was again diſplayed, and now the governor ſubmitted to the terms which were impoſed. Angria's flag was immediately hauled down; and two Engliſh captains taking poſſeſſion of the fort with a detachment, forthwith hoiſted the Britiſh enſign. To theſe captains, whoſe names were Buchannan and Forbes, the Mahrattas offered a bribe of 50,000 rupees, if they would allow them to paſs their guard, that they might take poſſeſſion of the fort for themſelves; but this offer was rejected with diſdain, and immediately diſcloſed to colonel Clive, who took effectual meaſures to fruſtrate their deſign. In this place, which was reduced with very inconſiderable loſs, the conquerors found above 200 cannon, ſix braſs mortars, a large quantity of ammunition, with money and effects to the value of 130,000l. The fleet which was deſtroyed conſiſted of eight grabs, one ſhip finiſhed, two upon the ſtocs, and a good number of gallivats. Among the priſoners, the admiral found Angria's wife, children, and mother, towards whom he demeaned himſelf with great humanity. Three hundred European ſoldiers, and as many ſepoys, were left to guard the fort; and four of the company's armed veſſels remained in the harbour for the defence of the place, which was extremely well ſituated for commerce[d].

The admiral and mr. Clive ſailed bac to Madras in triumph, and there another plan was formed for reſtoring the company's affairs upon the Ganges, recovering Calcutta, and taking vengeance on the cruel viceroy of Bengal. In October they ſet ſail again for the bottom of the bay; and about the beginning of December, arrived at Balaſore, in the kingdom of Bengal. Having croſſed the Braces, they proceeded up the river Ganges as far as Falta, where they found governor Drake, and the other perſons who had eſcaped on board of the ſhips when Calcutta was inveſted. Colonel Clive was diſembarked with his forces to attac the fort of Buſbudgia by land, while the admiral battered it by ſea: but the place being ill provided with cannon, did not hold out above an hour after the firing began. This conqueſt being atchieved at a very eaſy purchaſe, two of the great ſhips anchored between Tannay fort and a battery on the other ſide of the river, which were abandoned before one ſhot was diſcharged againſt either; thus the paſſage was laid open to Calcutta, the reduction of which we ſhall record among the tranſactions of the enſuing year.

Having thus, to the beſt of our power, given a faithful and exact detail of every material event, in which Great-Britain was concerned either at home, or in her ſettlements abroad, during the greateſt part of the year 1756, we ſhall now return to Europe, and endeavour to explain the beginning of a bloody war in Germany, which then ſeemed to have become the chief object of the Britiſh councils. On the eve of a rupture between France and England, it was natural for his Britannick majeſty to provide for the ſafety of his electoral dominions, the only quarter by which he was at all acceſſible to the efforts of the enemy, who he foreſaw would not fail to annoy him through that avenue. He at that time ſtood upon indifferent terms with the king of Pruſſia, who was conſidered as a partiſan and ally of France; and he knew that the houſe of Auſtria alone would not be ſufficient to ſupport him againſt two ſuch powerful antagoniſts. In this emergency, he had recourſe to the empreſs of Ruſſia, who, in conſequence of a large ſubſidy granted by England, engaged to furniſh a ſtrong body of forces for the defence of Hanover. His Pruſſian majeſty, ſtartled at the conditions of this treaty, took an opportunity to declare that he would not ſuffer foreign forces of any nation to enter the empire, either as principals or auxiliaries: a declaration which probably flowed from a jealouſy and averſion he had conceived to the court of Peterſburgh, as well as from a reſolution he had formed of ſtriking ſome great ſtroke in Germany, without any riſque of being reſtricted or controlled. He knew he ſhould give umbrage to the French king, who had already made preparations for penetrating into Weſtphalia: but he took it for granted he ſhould be able to exchange his connexions with France for an alliance with Great-Britain, which would be much leſs troubleſome, and much more productive of advantage: indeed, ſuch an alliance was the neceſſary conſequence of his declaration. Had his Britannick majeſty made a requiſition of the Ruſſian auxiliaries, he muſt have expoſed himſelf to the reſentment of a warlike monarch, who hovered on the ſkirts of his electorate at the head of 140,000 men, and could have ſubdued the whole country in one week; and if he forebore to avail himſelf of the treaty with the czarina, he did not know how ſoon the king of Pruſſia might be reconciled to his moſt chriſtian majeſty's deſign of invaſion. As for the empreſs-queen, her attention was engroſſed by ſchemes of her intereſt or preſervation; and her hands ſo full, that ſhe either could not or would not fulfil the engagements ſhe had contracted with her former and firmeſt allies. In theſe circumſtances the king of England ſought and obtained the alliance of Pruſſia, which, to the beſt of our comprehenſion, entailed upon Great-Britain the enormous burthen of extravagant ſubſidies, together with the intolerable expence of a continental war, without being productive of one advantage either poſitive or negative to England or Hanover. On the contrary, this connexion threw the empreſs-queen into the arms of France, whoſe friendſhip ſhe bought at the expence of the Barrier in the Netherlands, acquired with infinite labour, by the blood and treaſure of the maritime powers: it gave birth to a confederacy of deſpotic princes; ſufficient, if their joint force was fully exerted, to overthrow the liberties of all the free ſtates in Europe; and, after all, Hanover has been over-run, and ſubdued by the enemy: and the king of Pruſſia put to the ban of the empire. All theſe conſequences are, we apprehend, fairly deducible from the reſolution which his Pruſſian majeſty took, at this juncture, to precipitate a war with the houſe of Auſtria. The apparent motives that prompted him to this meaſure we ſhall preſently explain. In the mean time, the defenſive treaty between the empreſs-queen and France was no ſooner ratified, than the czarina was invited to accede to the alliance, and a private miniſter ſent from Paris to Peterſburgh, to negotiate the conditions of this acceſſion, which the empreſs of Ruſſia accordingly embraced: a circumſtance ſo agreeable to the court of Verſailles, that the marquis de L'Hopital was immediately appointed embaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Ruſſia. Applications were likewiſe made to the court of Madrid and Turin, ſolliciting their concurrence; but their Catholic and Sardinian majeſties wiſely reſolved to obſerve a neutrality. At the ſame time, intrigues were begun by the French emmiſſaries in the ſenate of Sweden, in order to

[d] When the admiral entered their apartment, the whole family ſhedding floods of tears fell with their faces to the ground; from which being raiſed, the mother of Angria told him, in a piteous tone, the people had no king, ſhe no ſon, her daughter no huſband, their children no father. The admiral replying, 'they muſt look upon him as their father and their friend;' the youngeſt boy, about ſix years of age, ſeized him by the hand, and ſobbing exclaimed, 'then you ſhall be my father.' Mr Watſon was ſo affected with this pathetic addreſs, that the tears tricked down his cheeks, while he aſſured them they might depend upon his protection and friendſhip.

kindle up a war between that nation and Pruſſia; and their endeavours ſucceeded in the ſequel, even contrary to the inclination of their ſovereign. At preſent a plot was diſcovered for altering the form of government, by increaſing the power of the crown; and ſeveral perſons of rank being convicted upon trial, were beheaded as principals in this conſpiracy. Although it did not appear that the king and queen was at all concerned in the ſcheme, his Swediſh majeſty thought himſelf ſo hardly treated by the diet, that he threatened to reſign his royalty, and retire into his own hereditary dominions. This deſign was extremely diſagreeable to the people in general, who eſpouſed his cauſe in oppoſition to the diet, by whom they conceived themſelves more oppreſſed than they ſhould have been under an unlimited monarchy.

The king of Pruſſia, alarmed at theſe formidable alliances, ordered all his forces to be completed, and held in readineſs to march at the firſt notice; and a report was induſtriouſly circulated, that by a ſecret article in the late treaty between France and the houſe of Auſtria, theſe two powers had obliged themſelves to deſtroy the proteſtant religion, and overturn the freedom of the empire, by a forced election of a king of the Romans. The cry of religion was no impolitic meaſure; but it no longer produced the ſame effect as in times paſt. Religion was made a pretence on both ſides: for the partiſans of the empreſs-queen inſinuated, on all occaſions, that the ruin of the catholic faith in Germany was the principal object of the new alliance between the kings of Great-Britain and Pruſſia. It was in conſequence of ſuch ſuggeſtions, that his Britannick majeſty ordered his electoral miniſter at the diet to deliver a memorial to all the miniſters at Ratiſbon, expreſſing his ſurpriſe to find the treaty he had concluded with the king of Pruſſia induſtriouſly repreſented as a ground of apprehenſion and umbrage, eſpecially for religion. He obſerved, that as France had made open diſpoſitions for invading the electorate of Hanover, and diſturbing the peace of the empire; that as he had been denied, by the empreſs-queen, the ſuccours ſtipulated in treaties of alliance; and as he was refuſed aſſiſtance by certain ſtates of the empire, who even ſeemed diſpoſed to favour ſuch a diverſion; he had, in order to provide for the ſecurity of his own dominions, to eſtabliſh peace and tranquillity in the empire, and maintain its ſyſtem and privileges, without any prejudice to religion, concluded a defenſive treaty with the king of Pruſſia: that, by this inſtance of patriotic zeal for the welfare of Germany, he had done an eſſential ſervice to the empreſs-queen, and performed the part which the head of the empire, in dignity and duty, ought to have acted: that time would demonſtrate how little it was the intereſt of the empreſs-queen to engage in a ſtrict alliance with a foreign power, which, for upwards of two centuries, had ravaged the principal provinces of the empire, maintained repeated wars againſt the archducal houſe of Auſtria, and always endeavoured, as it ſuited her views, to excite diſtruſt and diſſention among the princes and ſtates that compoſe the Germanick body.

The court of Vienna formed two conſiderable armies in Bohemia and Moravia; yet pretended that they had nothing in view but ſelf-preſervation, and ſolemnly diſclaimed both the ſecret article, and the deſign which had been laid to their charge. His moſt Chriſtian majeſty declared, by his miniſter at Berlin, that he had no other intention but to maintain the public tranquillity of Europe; and this being the ſole end of all his meaſures, he beheld with ſurpriſe the preparations and armaments of certain potentates: that, whatever might be the view with which they were made, he was diſpoſed to make uſe of the power which God had put into his hands, not only to maintain the public peace of Europe againſt all who ſhould attempt to diſturb it, but alſo to employ all his forces, agreeably to his engagements, for the aſſiſtance of his ally, in caſe her dominions ſhould be attacked: finally, that he would act in the ſame manner in behalf of all the other powers with whom he was in alliance. This intimation made very little impreſſion upon the king of Pruſſia, who had already formed his plan, and was determined to execute his purpoſe. What his original plan might have been, we ſhall not pretend to diſcloſe; nor do we believe he imparted it to any confident or ally. It muſt be confeſſed, however, that the intrigues of the court of Vienna furniſhed him with a ſpecious pretence for drawing the ſword, and commencing hoſtilities. The empreſs-queen had ſome reaſon to be jealous of ſuch a formidable neighbour. She remembered his irruption into Bohemia, in the year 1744, at a time when ſhe thought that country, and all her other dominions, ſecure from his invaſion by the treaty of Breſlau, which ſhe had in no particular contravened. She caballed againſt him in different courts of Europe: ſhe concluded a treaty with the czarina, which, though ſeemingly defenſive, implied an intention of making conqueſts upon this monarch: ſhe endeavoured to engage the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, as a contradicting power in this confederacy; and, if he had not been afraid of a ſudden viſit from his neighbour of Pruſſia, it cannot be ſuppoſed but he would have been pleaſed to contribute to the humiliation of a prince who had once before, without the leaſt provocation, driven him from his dominions, taken poſſeſſion of his capital, routed his troops, and obliged him to pay a million of crowns, to indemnify him for the expence of this expedition: but he carefully avoided taking ſuch a ſtep as might expoſe him to another invaſion, and even refuſed to accede to the treaty of Peterſburgh, though it was expreſsly defenſive; the Caſus Fœderis being his Pruſſian majeſty's attacking either of the contradicting parties. It appears, however, that count de Bruhl, prime miniſter and favourite of the king of Poland, had, in conjunction with ſome of the Auſtrian miniſters, carried on certain ſcandalous intrigues, in order to embroil the king of Pruſſia with the empreſs of Ruſſia, between whom a miſunderſtanding had long ſubſiſted.

His Pruſſian majeſty, perceiving the military preparations of the court of Vienna, and having obtained intelligence of their ſecret negotiations with different powers in Europe, ordered M. de Klingraafe, his miniſter at the imperial court, to demand whether all thoſe preparations of war on the frontiers of Sileſia, were deſigned againſt him, and what were the intentions of her imperial majeſty? To this demand the empreſs replied, That in the preſent juncture ſhe had found it neceſſary to make armaments, as well for her own defence as for that of her allies; but they did not tend to the prejudice of any perſon or ſtate whatever. The king, far from being ſatisfied with this general anſwer ſent freſh orders to Klingraafe, to repreſent, that after the king had diſſembled as long as he thought conſiſtent with the ſafety and honour, the bad deſigns imputed to the empreſs would not ſuffer him longer to diſguiſe his ſentiments: that he was acquainted with the offenſive projects which the two courts had formed at Peterſburgh; that he knew they had engaged to attac him ſuddenly with an army of 200,000 men; a deſign which would have been executed in the ſpring of the year, had not the Ruſſian forces wanted recruits, their fleet mariners, and Livonia a ſufficient quantity of corn for their ſupport; that he conſtituted the empreſs arbiter of peace or war: if ſhe deſired the former, he required a clear and formal declaration, or poſitive aſſurance, that ſhe had no intention to attac him, either this year or the next; but he ſhould look upon an ambiguous anſwer as a declaration of war; and he called heaven to witneſs, that the empreſs alone would be guilty of the innocent blood that ſhould be ſpilt, and all the diſmal conſequences that would attend the commiſſion of hoſtilities.

A declaration of this nature might have provoked a leſs haughty court than that of Vienna, and, indeed, ſeems to have been calculated on purpoſe to exaſperate the pride of her imperial majeſty, whoſe anſwer he ſoon received, to this effect: that his majeſty the king of Pruſſia had already been employed, for ſome time, in all kinds of the moſt conſiderable preparations of war, and the moſt diſquieting with regard to the public tranquillity, when he thought fit to demand explanations of her majeſty, touching the military diſpoſitions that were making in her dominions; diſpoſitions on which ſhe had not reſolved till after the preparations of his Pruſſian majeſty had been made; that though her majeſty might have declined explaining herſelf on thoſe ſubjects, which required no explanation, ſhe had been pleaſed to declare, with her own mouth, to M. de Klingraafe, that the critical ſtate of public affairs rendered the meaſures ſhe was taking abſolutely neceſſary for her own ſafety, and that of her allies; but that in other reſpects, they tended to the prejudice of no perſon whatſoever: that her imperial majeſty had undoubtedly a right to form what judgment ſhe pleaſed of the circumſtances of the time; and likewiſe that it belonged to none but herſelf to eſtimate her own danger; that her declaration was ſo clear, ſhe never imagined it could be thought otherwiſe: that being accuſtomed to receive, as well as to practiſe the decorums which ſovereigns owe to each other, ſhe could not hear without aſtoniſhment and ſenſibility the contents of the memorial now preſented by M. de Klingraafe; ſo extraordinary, both in the matter and expreſſing the bounds of that moderation which ſhe had preſcribed to herſelf, were ſhe to anſwer the whole of its contents; nevertheleſs, ſhe thought proper to declare, that the information communicated to

his Pruſſian majeſty of an offenſive alliance againſt him ſubſiſting between herſelf and the empreſs of Ruſſia, together with the circumſtances and pretended ſtipulations of that alliance, were abſolutely falſe and forged, for no ſuch treaty did exiſt, or even had exiſted. She concluded with obſerving, that this declaration would enable all Europe to judge of what weight and quality thoſe dreadful events were which Klingraafe's memorial announced; and to perceive that, in any caſe, they could not be imputed to her imperial majeſty. This anſwer, though ſeemingly explicit, was not deemed ſufficiently categorical, or at leaſt not ſuitable to the purpoſes of the king of Pruſſia, who, by his reſident at Vienna, once more declared, that if the empreſs-queen would ſign a poſitive aſſurance that ſhe would not attac his Pruſſian majeſty either this year or the next, he would directly withdraw his troops, and let things be reſtored to their former footing. This demand was evaded on pretence that ſuch an aſſurance could not be more binding than the ſolemn treaty by which he was already ſecured; a treaty which the empreſs-queen who had no intention to violate. But, before an anſwer could be delivered, the king had actually invaded Saxony, and publiſhed his declaration againſt the court of Vienna. The court of Vienna believing that the king of Pruſſia was bent upon employing his arms ſomewhere: being piqued at the dictatorial manner in which his demands were conveyed; unwilling to lay themſelves under further reſtrictions; apprehenſive of giving umbrage to their allies, and confident of having provided for their own ſecurity, reſolved to run the riſque of his reſentment, not without hopes of being indemnified in the courſe of the war for the part of Sileſia which the queen had been obliged to cede in the treaty of Breſlau.

Both ſides being thus prepared, and perhaps equally eager for action, the king of Pruſſia would no longer ſuſpend his operations, and the ſtorm firſt fell upon Saxony. He reſolved to penetrate through that country into Bohemia, and even to take poſſeſſion of it as a frontier, as well as for the convenience of ingreſs and egreſs to and from the Auſtrian dominions. Beſides, he had reaſon to believe the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, was connected with the czarina and the empreſs-queen; therefore, he thought it would be impolitic to leave that prince in any condition to give him the leaſt diſturbance. His army entered the Saxon territory towards the latter end of Auguſt, when he publiſhed a declaration, importing, that the unjuſt conduct and dangerous views of the court of Vienna againſt his majeſty's dominions laid him under the neceſſity of taking proper meaſures for protecting his territories and ſubjects; that for this purpoſe he could not forbear taking the diſagreeable reſolution to enter with his troops the hereditary dominions of his majeſty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony: but he proteſted before God and man, that on account of his perſonal eſteem and friendſhip for that prince, he would not have proceeded to this extremity, had he not ben forced to it by the laws of war, the fatality of the preſent conjuncture, and the neceſſity of providing for the defence and ſecurity of his ſubjects. He reminded the public of the tenderneſs with which he had treated the elector of Saxony, during the compaign of the year 1744, and of the bad conſequences reſulting to that monarch from his engagements with the enemies of Pruſſia. He declared that the apprehenſions of being expoſed again to ſuch enterprizes, had obliged him to take thoſe precautions which prudence dictated: but he proteſted in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he had no hoſtile views againſt the Poliſh majeſty, or his dominions; that his troops did not enter Saxony as enemies, and he had taken care that they ſhould obſerve the beſt order, and the moſt exact diſcipline: that he deſired nothing more ardently than the happy minute that ſhould procure him the ſatisfaction of reſtoring to his Poliſh majeſty his hereditary dominions, which he had ſeized only as a ſacred depoſitum. By his miniſter at Dreſden, he had demanded a free paſſage for his forces through the Saxon dominions; and this the king of Poland was ready to grant, with reaſonable limitations, to be ſettled by commiſſaries appointed for that purpoſe. But theſe were formalities which did not at all ſuit with his Pruſſian majeſty's diſpoſition or deſign. Even before this requiſition was made, a body of his troops, amounting to 15,000, under the command of prince Ferdinand, brother to the duke of Brunſwick, took poſſeſſion of Leipſick on the 20th day of September. Here he publiſhed a declaration, ſignifying, that it was his Pruſſian majeſty's intention to conſider and defend the inhabitants of that electorate as if they were his own ſubjects; and that he had given preciſe orders to his troops to obſerve the moſt exact diſcipline. As the firſt mark of his affection, he ordered them to provide the army with all ſorts of proviſion, according to a certain rate, on pain of military execution. That ſame evening notice was given to the corporation of merchants, that their debuties ſhould pay all taxes and cuſtoms to the king of Pruſſia; then he took poſſeſſion of the Cuſtom-houſe and Exciſe-office, and ordered the magazines of corn and meal to be opened for the uſe of his ſoldiers.

The king of Poland, apprehenſive of ſuch a viſitation, had ordered all the troops of his electorate to leave their quarters, and aſſemble in a ſtrong camp marked out for them between Pirna and Koningſtein, which was entrenched, and provided with a numerous train of artillery. Thither the king of Poland repaired, with his two ſons Xaverius and Charles; but the queen and the reſt of the royal family remained at Dreſden. Of this capital his Pruſſian majeſty, with the bulk of his army, took poſſeſſion on the 8th day of September, when he was viſited by lord Stormont, the Engliſh embaſſador at that court, accompanied by count Salmour, a Saxon miniſter, who, in his maſter's name, propoſed a neutrality. The king of Pruſſia profeſſed himſelf extremely well pleaſed with the propoſal; and as the moſt convincing proof of his neutrality, deſired the king of Poland would ſeparate his army, by ordering his troops to return to their former quarters. His Poliſh majeſty did not like to be ſo tutored in his own dominions: he depended for his own ſafety more upon the valour and attachment of his troops thus aſſembled, than upon the friendſhip of a prince who had invaded his dominions, and ſequeſtered his revenue without provocation: and he truſted too much to the ſituation of his camp at Pirna, which was deemed impregnable. In the mean time, the king of Pruſſia fixed his head-quarters at Seidlitz, about half a German league diſtant from Pirna, and poſted his army in ſuch a manner as to be able to intercept all convoys of proviſion deſigned for the Saxon camp: his forces extended on the right towards the frontiers of Bohemia, and the van-guard actually ſeized the paſſes that lead to the circles of Satzer and Leutmeritz in that kingdom; while prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick marched with a body of troops along the Elbe, and took poſt at this laſt place without oppoſition. At the ſame time the king covered his own dominions, by aſſembling two conſiderable bodies in the Upper and Lower-Sileſia, which occupied the paſſes that communicated with the circles of Buntzla and Koningſgratz. Hoſtilities were commenced on the 13th day of September by a detachment of Pruſſian huſſars, who attacked an Auſtrian eſcorte to a convoy of proviſions, deſigned for the Saxon camp; and having routed them, carried off a conſiderable number of loaded waggons. The magazines at Dreſden were filled with an immenſe quantity of proviſion and forage for the Pruſſian army, and the bakers were ordered to prepare a vaſt quantity of bread, for which purpoſe 30 new ovens were erected. When the king of Pruſſia firſt arrived at Dreſden, he lodged at the houſe of counteſs Moczinſka; and gave orders that the queen and royal family of Poland ſhould be be treated with all due veneration and reſpect:[e] even while the Saxon camp was blocked up on every ſide, he ſometimes permitted a waggon, loaded with freſh proviſion and game, to paſs unmoleſted for the uſe of his Poliſh majeſty.

During theſe tranſactions the greateſt part of the

[e] His majeſty ſeems to have abated of this reſpect in the ſequel, if we may believe the aſſertion of his Poliſh majeſty's queen, and the court of Vienna, who affirmed, that the ſentinels were poſted within the palace where the queen and royal family reſided; as alſo at the door of the ſecret cabinet, where the papers relating to foreign tranſactions were depoſited. The keys of this cabinet were ſeized, and all the writings demanded. The whole Saxon miniſtry were diſcharged from their reſpective employments, and a new commiſſion was eſtabliſhed by the king of Pruſſia for the adminiſtration of affairs in general. When the queen entreated this prince to remove the ſentinels poſted within the palace, and contiguous paſſages, agreeably to his aſſurances that all due reſpect ſhould be obſerved towards the royal family, the king ordered the guards to be doubled, and ſent an officer to demand of her majeſty the keys of the ſecret cabinet. The queen obtained this officer's conſent, that the doors ſhould be ſealed up; but afterwards he returned with orders to break them open: then her majeſty, placing herſelf before the door, ſaid, ſhe truſted ſo much to the promiſe of the king of Pruſſia, that ſhe could not believe he had given ſuch orders. The officer declaring that his orders were poſitive, and that he durſt not diſobey them, ſhe continued in the ſame place, declaring, that if violence was to be uſed, he muſt begin with her. The officer returning to acquaint the king with what had paſſed, her majeſty conjured the miniſters of Pruſſia and England to remind his majeſty of his promiſe, but her repreſentations had no effect; the officer returned with freſh orders to uſe force, in ſpite of the oppoſition ſhe might make againſt it in perſon. The queen finding herſelf in danger of her life, at length withdrew; the doors were forced, the cheſts broke open, and all the papers ſeized,

Pruſſian army advanced into Bohemia, under the command of Veldt-Mareſchal Keith, [f] who reduced the town and palace of Tetchen, took poſſeſſion of all the paſſes, and encamped near Auſſig, a ſmall town in Bohemia, at no great diſtance from the imperial army, amounting to 50,000 men, commanded by count Brown, an officer of Iriſh extract, who had often diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the field by his courage, vigilance, and conduct. His Pruſſian majeſty having left a conſiderable body of troops for the blockade of Pirna, aſſumed in perſon the command of Mareſchal Keith's corps, and advanced to give battle to the enemy. On the 29th day of September he formed his troops in two columns, and in the evening arrived with his van at Welmina, from whence he ſaw the Auſtrian army poſted with its right at Lowoſchulz, and its left towards the Egra. Having occupied with ſix battalions a hollow way, and ſome riſing grounds, which commanded the town of Lowoſchutz, he remained all night under arms at Welmina; and on the firſt day of October, early in the morning, formed his whole army in order of battle; the firſt line, conſiſting of the infantry occupied two hills, and a bottom betwixt them; the ſecond line being formed of ſome battalions, and the third compoſed of the whole cavalry. The Auſtrian general had taken poſſeſſion of Lowoſchutz, with a great body of infantry, and placed a battary of cannon in front of the town: he had formed his cavalry chequerwiſe, in a line between Lowoſchutz and the village of Sanſchitz; and poſted about 200 Croats and irregulars in the vineyards and avenues on his right. The morning was darkened with a thic fog, which vaniſhed about ſeven: then the Pruſſian cavalry advanced to attac the enemy's horſe, but received ſuch a fire from the irregulars, poſted in vineyards and ditches, as well as from a numerous artillery, that they were obliged to retire for protection to the rear of the Pruſſian infantry and cannon. There being formed, and led bac to the charge, they made an impreſſion on the Auſtrian cavalry, and drove the irregulars and other bodies of infantry from the ditches, defiles, and vineyards which they poſſeſſed: but they ſuffered ſo ſeverely in this dangerous ſervice, that the king ordered them to re-aſcend the hill, and take the poſt again behind the infantry, from whence they no more advanced. In the mean time a furious cannonading was maintained on both ſides with conſiderable effect. At length the left of the Pruſſian infantry was ordered to attac the town of Lowoſchutz in flank; but met with a very warm reception, and, in all likelihood, would have miſcarried, had not Veldt-Mareſchal Keith headed them in perſon: when he drew his ſword, and told them he would lead them on, he was given to underſtand, that all their powder and ſhot was exhauſted; he turned immediately to them with a chearful countenance, ſaid he was very glad they had no more ammunition, being well aſſured the enemy could not withſtand them at puſh of a bayonet; ſo ſaying, he advanced at their head, and driving the Auſtrians from Lowoſchutz, ſet the ſuburbs on fire. The infantry had been already obliged to quit the eminence on the right; and now the whole army quit the eminence on the right; and now their whole army retired to Budin, on the other ſide of the Egra. Some priſoners, colours, and pieces of cannon, were taken on both ſides; and the loſs of each might amount to 2,500 killed and wounded: ſo that on the whole, it was a drawn battle, though both generals claimed the victory. The detail of the action, publiſhed at Berlin, delares that the king of Pruſſia not only gained the battle, but that ſame day eſtabliſhed his head quarters at Lowoſchutz: whereas the Auſtrian gazette affirms, that Mareſchal count Brown obliged his Pruſſian majeſty to retire, and remained all night on the field of battle; but next day, finding his troops in want of water, he repaired to the camp of Budin. If the battle was at all deciſive, the advantage certainly fell to the Auſtrians; for his Pruſſian majeſty, who, in all probability, had hoped to winter at Pragu, was obliged, by the oppoſition he met with, to reſign this plan, and retreat before winter into the electorate of Saxony.

The Pruſſian army having rejoined that body which had been left to bloc up the Saxons at Pirna, his Poliſh majeſty and his troops were reduced to ſuch extremity of want, that it became indiſpenſably neceſſary to attempt an eſcape, or ſurrender to the king of Pruſſia. The former part of the alternative was choſen, and the plan concerted with count Brown, the Auſtrian general, who, in order to falicitate the execution, advanced privately with a body of troops to Litchtendorf, near Schandau; but the junction could not be effected. On the 14th day of October the Saxons threw a bridge of boats over the Elbe, near Konigſtein, to which caſtle they removed all their artillery; then ſtriking their tents in the night, paſſed the river undiſcovered by the enemy. They continued to retreat with all poſſible expedition; but the roads were ſo bad, they made little progreſs. Next day, when part of them had advanced about half way up a hill oppoſite to Konigſtein, and the reſt were entangled in a narrow plain, where there was no room to act, they perceived that the Pruſſians were in poſſeſſion of all the paſſes, and found themſelves ſurrounded on every ſide, fainting with hunger and fatigue, and deſtitute of every convenience. In this deplorable condition they remained, when the king of Poland, from the fortreſs of Konigſtein, ſent a letter to his general, the Veldt-Mareſchal count Rutowſki, veſting him with full and diſcretionary power to ſurrender, or take ſuch other meaſures as he ſhould judge moſt conducive to the preſervation of the officers and ſoldiers [g]. By this time count Brown had retired to Budin, ſo that there was no choice left. A capitulation was demanded: but, in effect, the whole Saxon army was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion: and the ſoldiers were afterwards, by compulſion, incorporated with the troops of Pruſſia. The king of Poland being thus deprived of his electoral dominions, his troops, arms, artillery, and ammunition, thought it high time to provide for his own ſafety, and retired with all expedition to Poland. His Pruſſian majeſty cantoned his forces in the neighbourhood of Seidlitz, and along the Elbe towards Dreſden. His other army, which had entered Bohemia, under the command of the count de Schwerin, retired to the confines of the county of Glatz, where they were diſtributed in quarters of cantonment; ſo that this ſhort campaign was finiſhed by the beginning of November.

The king of Poland, in his diſtreſs, did not fail to implore the aſſiſtance and mediation of neutral powers. His miniſter at the Hague preſented a memorial to the ſtates-general, complaining, that the invaſion of Saxony was one of thoſe attacs againſt the law of nations, which from the great reſpect due to this law, demanded the aſſiſtance of every power intereſted in the preſervation of its own liberty and independency. He obſerved, that, from the firſt glimſe of miſunderſtanding between the court of Vienna and Berlin, he had expreſſly enjoined his miniſters at all the courts of Europe to declare, that it was his firm reſolution in the preſent conjuncture of affairs, to obſerve the ſtricteſt neutrality. He repreſented, that a free and neutral ſtate had been, in the midſt of peace, invaded by an enemy, who diſguiſed himſelf under the maſque of friendſhip, without alledging the leaſt complaint, or any pretenſion whatſoever; but founding himſelf ſolely on his own convenience, made himſelf maſter, by armed force, of all the cities and towns of the electorate, diſmantling ſome, and fortifying others: that he had diſarmed the burghers; carried off the magiſtrates as hoſtages for the payment of unjuſt and enormous contributions of proviſions and forage; ſeized the coffers, confiſcated the revenues of the electorate, broke open the arſenals, and tranſported the arms and artillery to his own town of Magdeburgh; aboliſhed the privy-council, and, inſtead of the lawful government, eſtabliſhed a directory, which acknowledged no other law but his own arbitrary will. He gave them to underſtand, that all theſe proceedings were no other than preliminaries to the unheard-of treatment which was reſerved for a queen, whoſe virtues ought to have commanded reſpect, even from her enemies: that, from the hands of that auguſt princeſs, the archives of the ſtate were forced away by menaces and violences, notwithſtanding the ſecu-

[f] Brother to the earl Mareſchal of Scotland, a gentleman who had ſignalized himſelf as a general in the Ruſſian army, and was accounted one of the beſt officers of his time; not more admired for his genius, than amiable in his diſpoſition.

[g] The letter was to the following effect:

'Veldt-Mareſchal Count Rutowſki,

'It is not without extreme ſorrow I underſtand the deplorable ſituation, which a chain of misfortunes has reſerved for you, the beſt of my generals, and my whole army: but we muſt acquieſce in the diſpenſations of Providence, and conſole ourſelves with the rectitude of our ſentiments and intentions. They would force me, it ſeems, as you give me to underſtand by major-general the baron de Dyherrn, to ſubmit to conditions the more ſevere, in proportion as the circumſtances become more neceſſitous. I cannot hear them mentioned. I am a free monarch; ſuch I will live; ſuch I will die, and I will both live and die with honour. The fate of my army I leave wholly to your diſcretion. Let your council of war determine whether you muſt ſurrender priſoners of war, fall by the ſword, or die by famine. May your reſolutions, if poſſible, be conducted by humanity: whatever they may be, I have no longer any ſhare in them: and I declare you ſhall not be anſwerable for aught but one thing, namely, not to carry arms againſt me or my allies. I pray God may have you, mr. Mareſchal, in his holy keeping. Given at Konigſtein, the 14th of October, 1756.

'AUGUSTUS, Rex.'

To the Velt-Mareſchal the count Rutowſki.

rity which her majeſty had promiſed herſelf under the protection of all laws, human and divine; and notwithſtanding the repeated aſſurances given by the king of Pruſſia, that not only her perſon, and the place of her reſidence, ſhould be abſolutely ſafe, but that even the Pruſſian garriſon ſhould be under her direction. He obſerved, that a prince who declared himſelf protector of the proteſtant religion had begun the war, by cruſhing the very ſtate to which that religion owes its eſtabliſhment, and the preſervation of its moſt invaluable rights: that he had broke through the moſt reſpectable laws which conſtitute the union of the Germanick body, under colour of a defence which the empire ſtood in no need of, except againſt himſelf: that the king of Pruſſia, while he inſiſts on having entered Saxony as a friend, demands his army, the adminiſtration of his dominions, and, in a word, the ſacrifice of his whole electorate; and that the Pruſſian directory, in the declaration of motives, publiſhed under the noſe of a prince to whom friendſhip was pretended, thought it ſuperfluous to alledge even any pretext, to colour the uſurpation of his territories and revenues. Though this was certainly the caſe, in his Pruſſian majeſty's firſt expoſition of motives, the omiſſion was afterwards ſupplied, in a ſubſequent memorial to the ſtates-general; in which he charged the king of Poland, as an accomplice in, if not acceſſary to the treaty of Peterſburgh; and even taxed him with having agreed to a partition of ſome Pruſſian territories, when they ſhould be conquered. This treaty of partition, however, appears to have been made in time of actual war, before all cauſe of diſpute was removed by the peace of Dreſden.

While the Auſtrian and Pruſſian armies were in the field, their reſpective miniſters were not idle at Ratiſbon, where three imperial decrees were publiſhed againſt his Pruſſian majeſty: the firſt, ſummoning that prince to withdraw his troops from the electorate of Saxony: the ſecond, commanding all the vaſſals of the empire employed by the king of Pruſſia to quit that ſervice immediately; and the third, forbidding the members of the empire to ſuffer any levies of ſoldiers, for the Pruſſian ſervice, to be raiſed within their reſpective juriſdictions. The French miniſter declared to the diet, that the proceedings of his Pruſſian majeſty having diſcloſed to the world the project concerted between that prince and the king of England, to excite in the empire a religious war, which might be favourable to their particular views, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, in conſequence of his engagement with the empreſs-queen, and many other princes of the empire, being reſolved to ſuccour them in the moſt efficacious manner, would forthwith ſend ſuch a number of troops to their aid, as might be thought neceſſary to preſerve the liberty of the Germanick body. On the other hand, the Pruſſian miniſter aſſured the diet, that his maſter would very ſoon produce the proofs that were come to his hands of the plan concerted by the courts of Vienna and Dreſden, for the ſubverſion of the electoral houſe, and for impoſing upon him a yoke, which ſeemed to threaten the whole empire.

About the ſame time, the Ruſſian preſident at the Hague communicated to the ſtates-general a declaration from his miſtreſs, importing, that her imperial majeſty having ſeen a memorial preſented at the court of Vienna by the king of Pruſſia's envoy extraordinary, was thereby convinced that his Pruſſian majeſty's intention was to attac the territories of the empreſs-queen; in which caſe, ſhe (the czarina) was inevitably obliged to ſuccour her with all her forces; for which end ſhe had ordered all her troops in Livonia to be forthwith aſſembled on the frontiers, and hold themſelves in readineſs to march: that, moreover, the Ruſſian admiralty had been enjoined to provide immediately a ſufficient number of gallies for tranſporting a large body of troops to Lubeck. The miniſters of the empreſs-queen, both at the Hague and at London, delivered memorials to the ſtates-general and his Britannick majeſty, demanding the ſuccours which theſe two powers were bound to afford the houſe of Auſtria by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; but their high mightineſſes kept warily aloof, by dint of evaſion, and the king of Great-Britain was far otherwiſe engaged. The invaſion of Saxony had well nigh produced tragedies in the royal family of France. The dauphineſs, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, no ſooner learned the diſtreſsful circumſtances of her parents, the king and queen of Poland, than ſhe was ſeized with violent fits which occaſioned a miſcarriage, and brought her life into the moſt eminent danger. The Pruſſian miniſter was immediately ordered to quit Verſailles; and directions were diſpatched to the French miniſter at Berlin, to retire from that court without taking leave. Finally, the emperor of Germany concluded a new convention with the French king, regulating the ſuccours to be derived from that quarter: he claimed, in all the uſual forms, the aſſiſtance of the Germanick body, as guarantee of the pragmatic ſanction and treaty of Dreſden; and Sweden was alſo addreſſed on the ſame ſubject.

The king of Pruſſia did not paſſively bear all the imputations that were fixed upon his conduct. His miniſter at the Hague preſented a memorial, in anſwer to that of the Saxon reſident, in which he accuſed the court of Dreſden of having adobted every part of the ſcheme which his enemies had formed for his deſtruction. He affirmed that the Saxon miniſters had, in all the courts of Europe, played off every engine of unwarrantable politics, in order to pave the way for the execution of their project: that they had endeavoured to give an odious turn to his moſt innocent actions: that they had ſpared neither malicious inſinuations, nor even the moſt atrocious calumnies, to alineate all the world from his majeſty, and raiſe up enemies againſt him every where. He ſaid, he had received information that the court of Saxony intended to let his troops paſs freely, and afterwards wait for events which they might avail themſelves, either by joining his enemies, or making a diverſion in his dominions: that in ſuch a ſituation he could not avoid having recourſe to the only means which were left him for preventing his inevitable ruin, by putting it out of the power of Saxony to increaſe the number of his enemies. He aſſerted, that all the meaſures he had purſued in that electorate were but the neceſſary conſequences of the firſt reſolution he was forced to take for his own preſervation: that he had done nothing but deprived the court of Saxony of the means of hurting him; and this had been done with all poſſible moderation: that the country enjoyed all the ſecurity and all the quiet which could be expected in the very midſt of peace, the Pruſſian troops obſerving the moſt exact diſcipline: that all due reſpect was ſhown to the queen of Poland, who had been prevailed upon, by the moſt ſuitable repreſentations, to ſuffer ſome papers to be taken from the Paper-office, of which his Pruſſian majeſty already had copies; and thought it neceſſary, to aſcertain the dangerous deſign of the Saxon miniſtry againſt him, to ſecure the originals; the exiſtence and reality of which might otherwiſe have been denied. He obſerved that every man has a right to prevent the miſchief with which he is threatened, and to retort it upon its author; and that neither the conſtitutions nor the laws of the empire could obſtruct the exertion of a right ſo ſuperior to all others as that of ſelf-preſervation and ſelf-defence; eſpecially when the depoſitory of theſe laws is ſo cloſely united to the enemy, as manifeſtly to abuſe his power in her favour.

But the moſt important ſtep which his Pruſſian majeſty took in his own juſtification, was that of publiſhing another memorial, ſpecifying the conduct of the courts of Vienna and Saxony, and their dangerous deſigns againſt his perſon and intereſt, together with the original documents adduced as proofs of theſe ſiniſter intentions. As a knowledge of theſe pieces is requiſite to form a diſtinct idea of the motives which produced the dreadful war upon the continent, it will not be amiſs to uſher the ſubſtance of them to the reader's acquaintance. His Pruſſian majeſty affirms, that to arrive at the ſource of the vaſt plan upon which the courts of Vienna and Saxony had been employed againſt him ever ſince the peace of Dreſden, we muſt trace it as far bac as the war which preceded this peace: that the fond hopes which the two allied courts had conceived upon the ſucceſs of the campaign in the year 1744, gave occaſion to a treaty of eventual partition, ſtipulating that the court of Vienna ſhould poſſeſs the duchy of Sileſia and the county of Glatz; while the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, ſhould ſhare the duches of Magdeburgh and Croiſſen; the circles of Zullichow and Swibus, together with the Pruſſian part of Luſatio; that after the peace of Dreſden, concluded in the year 1745, there was no further room for a treaty of this nature; yet the court of Vienna propoſed to that of Saxony a new alliance, in which the treaty of eventual partition ſhould be renewed: but this laſt thought it neceſſary, in the firſt place, to give a greater conſiſtency to their plan, by grounding it upon an alliance between the empreſs-queen and the czarina. Accordingly, theſe two powers did, in fact, conclude a defenſive alliance at Peterſburgh in the courſe of the enſuing year: but the body or oſtenſible part of this treaty was compoſed merely with a view to conceal from the knowledge of the public ſix ſecret articles, the fourth of which was levelled ſingly againſt Pruſſia, according to the exact copy of it, which appeared among the documents. In this article, the empreſs-queen of Hungary

and Bohemia ſets out with a proteſtation, that ſhe will religiouſly obſerve the treaty of Dreſden: but explains her real way of thinking upon the ſubject, a little lower, in the following terms: 'If the king of Pruſſia ſhould be the firſt to depart from this peace, by attacking either her majeſty the empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, or her majeſty the empreſs of Ruſſia, or even the republic of Poland; in all theſe caſes, the rights of the empreſs-queen to Sileſia and the county of Glatz would again take place, and recover their full effect; the two contracting parties ſhould mutually aſſiſt each other with 60,000 men to achieve theſe conqueſts.' The king obſerves upon this article, that every war which can ariſe between him and Ruſſia, on the republic of Poland, would be looked upon as a manifeſt infraction of the peace of Dreſden, and a revival of the rights of the houſe of Auſtria to Sileſia; though neither Ruſſia nor the republic of Poland is at all concerned in the treaty of Dreſden; and though the latter, with which the king lived in the moſt intimate friendſhip, was not even in alliance with the court of Vienna: that, according to the principles of the law of nature, received among all civilized nations, the moſt the court of Vienna could be authoriſed to do in ſuch caſes, would be to ſend thoſe ſuccours to her allies which are due to them by treaties, without her having the leaſt preference, on that account, to free herſelf from the particular engagements ſubſiſting between her and the king: he appealed, therefore, to the judgment of the impartial world, whether in this ſecret article the contracting powers had kept within the bounds of a defenſive alliance; or whether this article did not rather contain a plan of an offenſive alliance againſt the king of Pruſſia. He affirmed it was obvious, from this article, that the court of Vienna had prepared three pretences for the recovery of Sileſia; and that ſhe thought to attain her end, either by provoking the king to commence hoſtilities againſt her, or to kindle a war between his majeſty and Ruſſia by her ſecret intrigues and machinations: he alledged that the court of Saxony, being invited to accede to this alliance, eagerly accepted the invitation; furniſhed its miniſters at Peterſburgh with full powers for that purpoſe; and ordered them to declare that their maſter was not only ready to accede to the treaty itſelf, but alſo to the ſecret article againſt Pruſſia; and to join in the regulations made by the two courts, provided effectual meaſures ſhould be taken, as well for the ſecurity of Saxony, as for its indemnification and recompence, in proportion to the efforts and progreſs that might be made; that the court of Dreſden declared, if upon any freſh attac from the king of Pruſſia the empreſs-queen ſhould, by their aſſiſtance, not only re-conquer Sileſia, and the county of Glatz, but alſo reduce him within narrower bounds, the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, would abide by the partition formerly ſtipulated between him and the empreſs-queen. He alſo declared that count Loſs, the Saxon miniſter at Vienna, was charged to open a private negotiation for ſettling an eventual partition of the conqueſt which might be made on Pruſſia, by laying down, as the baſis of it, the treaty of Leipſick, ſigned on the 18th day of May, in the year 1745, as would appear by the documents affixed. He owned it had been ſuppoſed, through the whole of this negotiation, that the king of Pruſſia ſhould be the aggreſſor againſt the court of Vienna; but he inſiſted, that even in this caſe the king of Poland could have no right to make conqueſts on his Pruſſian majeſty. He likewiſe acknowledged that the court of Saxony had not yet acceded in form to the treaty of Peterſburgh; but he obſerved, its allies were given to underſtand again and again, that it was ready to accede without reſtriction, whenever this could be done without riſque; and the advantages to be gained ſhould be ſecured in its favour, circumſtances proved by divers authentic documents, particularly by a letter from count Fleming to count de Bruhl, informing him that count Uhlefield had charged him to repreſent afreſh to his court, that they could not take too ſecure meaſures againſt the ambitious views of the king of Pruſſia; that Saxony, in particular, ought to be cautious, as being the moſt expoſed: that it was of the higheſt importance to ſtrengthen their old engagements upon the footing propoſed by the late count de Harrach in the year 1745; a ſtep which might be taken on occaſion of his Poliſh majeſty's acceſſion to the treaty of Peterſburgh. The anſwer of count Bruhl to this diſpatch imported, That the king of Poland was not averſe to treat in the utmoſt ſecreſy with the court of Vienna about ſuccours, by privite and confidential declarations relating to the fourth ſecret article of the treaty of Peterſburgh, on condition of reaſonable terms and advantages, which in this caſe ought to be granted to his majeſty. He quotted other diſpatches to prove the unwillingneſs of his Poliſh majeſty to declare himſelf, until the king of Pruſſia ſhould be attacked, and his forces divided; and that this ſcruple was admitted by the the allies of Saxony. From theſe premiſes he deduced this inference, that the court of Dreſden, without having acceded in form to the treaty of Peterſburgh, was not leſs an accomplice in the dangerous deſigns which the court of Vienna had grounded upon this treaty; and that having been diſpenſed with from a formal concurrence, it had only waited for that moment when it might, without running any great riſque, concur in effect, and ſhare the ſpoils of its neighbour. In expectation of this petition, he ſaid, the Auſtrian and Saxon miniſters laboured in concert and underhand with the more ardour, to bring the Caſus Fœderis into exiſtence; for it being laid down as a principle in the treaty, that any war whatever between him and Ruſſia would authoriſe the empreſs-queen to retake Sileſia, there was nothing more to be done but to kindle ſuch a war; for which purpoſe no method was found more proper than that of embroiling the king with the empreſs of Ruſſia; and to provoke that princeſs with all ſorts of falſe inſinuations, impoſtures, and the moſt atrocious calumnies, in laying to his majeſty's charge a variety of deſigns, ſometimes againſt Ruſſia, and even the perſon of the czarina; ſometimes views upon Poland, and ſometime intrigues in Sweden. By theſe and other ſuch contrivances, he affirmed they had kindled the animoſity of the empreſs to ſuch a degree, that in a council held in the month of October, in the year 1753, ſhe had reſolved to attac the king of Pruſſia, without any further diſcuſſion, whether he ſhould fall upon any of the allies of Ruſſia, or one of them ſhould begin with him: a reſolution which for that time was fruſtrated by their want of ſeamen and magazines; but the preparations were continued under pretence of keeping themſelves in a condition to fulfil their engagements contracted in the laſt ſubſidiary convention with England; and when all were finiſhed, the ſtorm would fall on the king of Pruſſia.

This is the ſubſtance of that famous memorial publiſhed by his Pruſſian majeſty, to which the juſtifying pieces or authentic documents were annexed; and to which a circumſtancial anſwer was exhibited by the partiſans of her imperial majeſty. Specious reaſons may, doubtleſs, be adduced on either ſide of almoſt any diſpute, by writers of ingenuity: but, in examining this conteſt, it muſt be allowed that both ſides adopted illicit practices. The empreſs-queen and the elector of Saxony had certainly a right to form defenſive treaties for their own preſervation; and, without all doubt, it was their intereſt and their duty to ſecure themſelves from the enterprizes of ſuch a formidable neighbour; but, at the ſame time, the contracting parties ſeem to have carried their views much farther than defenſive meaſures. Perhaps the court of Vienna conſidered the ceſſion of Sileſia as a circumſtance altogether compulſive, and, therefore, not binding againſt the rights of natural equity. She did not at all doubt that the king of Pruſſia would be tempted by his ambition and great warlike power to take ſome ſtep which might be juſtly interpreted into an infraction of the treaty of Dreſden; and in that caſe ſhe was determined to avail herſelf of the confederacy ſhe had formed, that ſhe might retrieve the countries ſhe had loſt by the unfortunate events of the laſt war, as well as bridle the dangerous power and diſpoſition of the Pruſſian monarch: and, in all probability, the king of Poland, over and above the ſame conſideration, was deſirous of ſome indemnification for the laſt irruption into his electoral dominions, and the great ſums he had paid for the ſubſequent peace. Whether they were authoriſed by the law of nature and nations to make repriſals by an actual partition of the countries they might conquer, ſuppoſing him to be the aggreſſor, we ſhall not pretend to determine: but it does not at all appear that his Pruſſian majeſty's danger was ſuch as entitled him to take thoſe violent ſteps which he now attempted to juſtify. By this time the flame of war was kindled up to a blaze that ſoon filled the empire with ruin and deſolation; and the king of Pruſſia had drawn upon himſelf the reſentment of the three greateſt powers in Europe, who laid aſide their former animoſities, and every conſideration of that balance which it had coſt ſuch blood and treaſure to preſerve, in order to conſpire his deſtruction. The king himſelf could not but foreſee his confederacy, and know the power it might exert: but probably he confided ſo much in the number, the valour and diſcipline of his troops: in the ſkill of his officers; in his own conduct and activity; that he hoped to cruſh the houſe of Auſtria by one rapid endeavour at the latter end of the ſeaſon, or at leaſt eſtabliſh himſelf in Bohemia, before her allies could move to her aſſiſtance. In

this hope, however, he was diſappointed by the vigilance of the Auſtrian councils. He found the empreſs-queen in a condition to make head againſt him in every avenue to her dominions; and in a fair way of being aſſiſted by the circles of the empire. He ſaw himſelf threatened with the vengeance of the Ruſſian empreſs, and the ſword of France gleaming over his head, without any proſpect of aſſiſtance but that which he might derive from his alliance with Great-Britain. Thus the king of England exchanged the alliance of Ruſſia, who was his ſubſidiary, and the friendſhip of the empreſs-queen, his old and natural ally, for a new connexion with his Pruſſian majeſty, who could neither act as an auxiliary to Great-Britain, nor as a protector to Hanover; and for this connexion, the advantage of which was merely negative, ſuch a price was paid by England as had never been given by any other potentate of Europe, even for ſervices of the greateſt importance.

About the latter end of November the Saxon miniſter at Ratiſbon delivered to the diet a new and ample memorial, explaining the lamentable ſtate of that electorate, and imploring afreſh the aſſiſtance of the empire. The king of Pruſſia had alſo addreſſed a letter to the diet, demanding ſuccour of the ſeveral ſtates, agreeably to their guarantees of the treaties of Weſtphalia and Dreſden: but the miniſter of Mentz, as director of the diet, having refuſed to lay it before that aſſembly, the miniſter of Brandenburgh ordered it to be printed, and ſent to his court for further inſtructions. In the mean time, his Pruſſian majeſty thought proper to intimate to the king and ſenate of Poland, that ſhould the Ruſſian troops be permitted to march through that kingdom, they might expect to ſee their country made a ſcene of war and deſolation. In France the proſpect of a general and ſanguinary war did not at all allay the diſturbance which ſprang from the diſſention between the clergy and parliament, touching the bull Unigenitus. The king being again brought over to the eccleſiaſtical ſide of the diſpute, received a brief from the pope, laying it down as a fundamental article, that whoſoever refuſes to ſubmit to the bull Unigenitus is in the way to damnation: and certain caſes are ſpecified, in which the ſacraments are to be denied. The parliament of Paris, conſidering this brief or bull as a direct attac upon the rights of the Gallican church, iſſued an arret or decree, ſuppreſſing the ſaid bull; reſerving to themſelves the right of providing againſt the inconveniencies with which it might be attended; as well as the privilege to maintain in their full force the prerogatives of the crown, the power and juriſdiction of the biſhops, the liberties of the Gallican church, and the cuſtoms of the realm. The king, diſſatisfied with their interpoſition, declared his deſign to hold a bed of juſtice in perſon at the palace. Accordingly, on the 12th day of November, the whole body of his guards, amounting to 10,000 men, took poſt in the city of Paris: and next day the king repaired with the uſual ceremony to the palace, where the bed of juſtice was held: among other regulations, an edict was iſſued for ſuppreſſing the fourth and fifth chambers of inqueſts, the members of which had remarkably diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their oppoſition to the bull Unigenitus.

In England, the dearth of corn, ariſing in a great meaſure from the iniquitious practice of engroſſing, was ſo ſeverely felt by the common people, that inſurrections were raiſed in Shropſhire and Warwickſhire by the populace, in conjunction with the colliers, who ſeized by violence all the proviſion they could find; pillaging without diſtinction the millars, farmers, grocers, and butchers, until they were diſperſed by the gentlemen of the country, at the heads of their tenants and dependants. Diſorders of the ſame nature were excited by the colliers on the foreſt of Dean, and thoſe employed in the works in Cumberland. The corporations, noblemen, and gentlemen, in different parts of the kingdom, exerted themſelves for the relief of the poor, who were greatly diſtreſſed; and a grand council being aſſembled at St. James's on the ſame ſubject, a proclamation was publiſhed, for putting the laws in ſpeedy and effectual execution againſt the foreſtallers and engroſſers of corn.

The fear of an invaſion having now ſubſided, and Hanover being ſuppoſed in greater danger than Great-Britain, the auxiliaries of that electorate were tranſported from England to their own country. At the latter end of the ſeaſon, when the weather became ſevere, the inn-keepers of England refuſed to admit the Heſſian ſoldiers into winter quarters, as no proviſion had been made for that purpoſe by act of parliament; ſo that they were obliged to hut their camp, and remain in the open fields till January: but the rigour of this uncomfortable ſituation was ſoftened by the hand of generous charity, which liberally ſupplied them with all manner of refreſhment, and other conveniencies; an humane interpoſition, which reſcued the national character from the imputation of cruelty and ingratitude.

On the 2d day of December, his majeſty opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech that ſeemed to be dictated by the genius of England. He expreſſed his confidence, that, under the guidance of divine Providence, the union, fortitude, and affection of his people would enable him to ſurmount all difficulties, and vindicate the dignity of his crown againſt the ancient enemy of Great-Britain. He declared that the ſuccour and preſervation of America conſtituted a main object of his attention and ſollicitude; and obſerved, that the growing dangers to which the Britiſh colonies might ſtand expoſed, from late loſſes in that country, demanded reſolutions of vigour and diſpatch. He ſaid an adequate and firm defence at home ſhould maintain the chief place in his thoughts; and in this great view he had nothing ſo much at heart as to remove all grounds of diſſatisfaction from his people: for this end, he recommended to the care and diligence of the parliament the framing of a national militia, planned and regulated with equal regard to the juſt rights of his crown and people; an inſtitution which might become one good reſource in time of general danger. He took notice that the unnatural union of councils abroad, the calamities which, in conſequence of this unhappy conjunction, might, by irruptions of foreign armies into the empire, ſhake its conſtitution, overturn its ſyſtem, and threaten oppreſſion to the proteſtant intereſt on the continent, were events which muſt ſenſibly affect the minds of the Britiſh nation, and had fixed the eyes of Europe on this new and dangerous criſis. He gave them to underſtand that the body of his electoral troops, which were brought hither at the deſire of his parliament, he had now directed to return to his dominions in Germany, relying with pleaſure on the ſpirit and zeal of his people, in defence of his perſon and realm. He told the commons that he confided in their wiſdom, for preferring more vigorous efforts, though more expenſive, to a leſs effectual, and therefore leſs frugal plan of war; that he had placed before them the dangers and neceſſities of the public; and it was their duty to lay the burthens they ſhould judge unavoidable in ſuch a manner as would leaſt diſturb and exhauſt his people. He expreſſed his concern for the ſufferings of the poor, ariſing from the preſent dearth of corn, and for the diſturbances to which it had given riſe; and exhorted his parliament to conſider of proper proviſions for preventing the like miſchiefs hereafter. He concluded with remarking, that unproſperous events of war in the Mediterranean had drawn from his ſubjects ſignal proofs how dearly they tendered the honour of his crown; therefore, they could not, on his part fail to meet with juſt returns of unwearied care, and unceaſing endeavours for the glory, proſperity, and happineſs of his people.

The king having retired from the houſe of peers, the ſpeech was read by lord Sandys, appointed to act as ſpeaker to that houſe; then earl Gower moved for an addreſs, which, however, was not carried without objection. In one part of it his majeſty was thanked for having cauſed a body of electoral troops to come into England at the requeſt of his parliament; and this article was diſagreeable to thoſe who had diſapproved of the requeſt in the laſt ſeſſion. They ſaid they wiſhed to ſee the preſent addreſs unanimouſly agreed to by the lords; a ſatisfaction they could not have, if ſuch a paragraph ſhould be inſerted; for they ſtill thought the bringing over Hanoverian troops a prepoſterous meaſure; becauſe it had not only loaded the nation with an enormous expence, but alſo furniſhed the court of France with a plauſible pretence for invading the electorate, which otherwiſe it would have no ſhadow of reaſon to attac; beſides, the expedient was held in reprobation by the ſubjects in general, and ſuch a paragraph might be conſidered as an inſult on the people. Notwithſtanding theſe exceptions, which did not ſeem to be very important, the addreſs, including this paragraph, was approved by a great majority.

In the addreſs of the commons no ſuch paragraph was inſerted. As ſoon as the ſpeaker had recited his majeſty's ſpeech, mr. C. Townſhend propoſed the heads of an addreſs, to which the houſe unanimouſly agreed; and it was preſented accordingly. This neceſſary form was no ſooner diſcuſſed, than the houſe, with a warmth of humanity and benevolence ſuitable to ſuch an aſſembly, reſolved itſelf into a committee, to deliberate on that part of his majeſty's ſpeech which related to the dearth of corn that ſo much diſtreſſed the poorer claſs of people. A bill was immediately framed, to prohibit, for a time limited, the exportation of corn, malt, meal, flour, bread, biſcuit, and ſtarch; and

a reſolution unanimouſly taken to addreſs the ſovereign, that an embargo might be forthwith laid upon all ſhips laden or to be laden with theſe commodities to be exported from the ports of Great-Britain and Ireland. At the ſame time, vice-admiral Boſcawen, from the board of admiralty, informed the houſe, that the king and the board having been diſſatisfied with the conduct of admiral Byng, in a late action with the French fleet in the Mediterranean, and for the appearance of his not having acted agreeably to his inſtructions for the relief of Minorca, he was then in cuſtody of the marſhal of the admiralty, in order to be tried by a court-martial: that although this was no more than what was uſual in like caſes, yet as admiral Byng was then a member of the houſe, and as his confinement might detain him ſome time from his duty there, the board of admiralty thought it a reſpect due to the houſe to inform them of the commitment and detainer of the ſaid admiral. This meſſage being delivered, the journal of the houſe in relation to rear-admiral Knowles [h] was read, and what mr. Boſcawen now communicated was alſo inſerted.

[1757] The committees of ſupply, and of ways and means, being appointed, took into conſideration the neceſſities of the ſtate, and made every ample proviſion for enabling his majeſty to maintain the war with vigour. They granted 55,000 men for the ſea-ſervice, including 11,419 marines; and for the land-ſervice 49,749 effective men, comprehending 4008 invalids. The ſupply was granted for the maintenance of theſe forces, as well as for the troops of Heſſe and Hanover; for the ordnance; the levy of new regiments; for aſſiſting his majeſty in forming and maintaining an army of obſervation, for the juſt and neceſſary defence and preſervation of his electoral dominions, and thoſe of his allies; and towards enabling him to fulfil his engagements with the king of Pruſſia; for the ſecurity of the empire againſt the irruption of foreign [i] armies, as well as for the ſupport of the common cauſe; for building and repairs of of ſhips, hiring tranſports, payment of half-pay officers, and the penſions of widows: for enabling his majeſty to diſcharge the like ſum, raiſed in purſuance of an act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, and charged upon the firſt aids or ſupplies to be granted in this ſeſſion, for enabling the governors and guardians of the hoſpital for the maintenance and education of expoſed and deſerted young children to receive all ſuch children, under a certain age, as ſhould be brought to the ſaid hoſpital within the compaſs of one year; [k] for maintaining and ſupporting the new ſettlement of Nova Scotia; for repairing and finiſhing military roads; for making good his majeſty's engagements with the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, for the expence of marching, recruiting, and remounting German troops in the pay of Great-Britain; for empowering his majeſty to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the ſervice of the enſuing year, and to take all ſuch meaſures as might be neceſſary to diſappoint or defeat any enterprizes or deſigns of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs ſhould require: for the payment of ſuch perſons, in ſuch a manner as his majeſty ſhould direct, for the uſe and relief of his ſubjects in the ſeveral provinces of North and South Carolina and Virginia, in recompence for ſuch ſervices as, with approbation of his majeſty's commander in chief in America, they reſpectively had performed, or ſhould perform, either by putting theſe provinces in a ſtate of defence, or by acting with vigour againſt the enemy; for enabling the Eaſt-India company to defray the expence of a military force in their ſettlements, to be maintained in them, in lieu of a battalion of his majeſty's forces withdrawn from thoſe forts and factories; for the maintenance and ſupport of the forts on the coaſt of Africa; for widening the avenues, and rendering more ſafe and commodious the ſtreets and paſſages leading from Charing-croſs to the two houſes of parliament, the courts of juſtice, and the new bridge at Weſtminſter. [l] Such were the articles under which we may ſpecify the ſupplies of this year, on the whole amounting to 8,350,325l. 9s. 3d. It muſt be acknowledged for the honour of adminiſtration, that the houſe of commons could not have exhibited ſtronger marks of their attachments to the crown and perſon of their ſovereign, as well as of their deſire to ſee the force of the nation exerted with becoming ſpirit. The ſums granted by the committee of ſupply did not exceed 8,350,325l. 9s. 3d. the funds eſtabliſhed amounted to 8,689,511. 19s. 7d. ſo that there was an overplus of 338,726l. 10s. 4d. an exceſs which was thought neceſſary, in caſe the lottery, which was founded on a new plan, ſhould not ſucceed.

Some of theſe impoſitions were deemed grievous hardſhips by thoſe upon whom they immediately fell; and many friends of their country exclaimed againſt the projected army of obſervation in Germany, as the commencement of a ruinous continental war, which it was neither the intereſt of the nation to undertake, nor in their power to maintain, without ſtarving the operations by ſea, and in America, founded on Britiſh principles; without contracting ſuch an additional load of debts and taxes, as could not fail to terminate in bankruptcy and diſtreſs. To thoſe dependents of the miniſtry, who obſerved, that as Hanover was threatened by France for its connection with Great-Britain, it ought, in common gratitude, to be protected, they replied, that every ſtate, in aſſiſting any ally, ought to have a regard of its own preſervation: that if the king of England enjoyed by inheritance, or ſucceſſion, a province in the heart of France, it would be equally abſurd and unjuſt, in caſe of a rupture with that kingdom, to exhauſt the treaſures of Great-Britain in the defence of ſuch a province; and yet the inhabitants of it would have the ſame right to complain that they ſuffered for their connexion with England. They obſerved, that other dominions, electorates, and principalities in Germany were ſecured by the conſtitutions of the empire, as well as by fair and equal alliances with their co-eſtates; whereas Hanover ſtood ſolitary, like a hunted deer avoided by the herd, and had no other ſhelter but that of ſhrinking under the extended ſhield of Great-Britain: that the reluctance expreſſed by the German princes to undertake the defence of theſe dominions flowed from a firm perſuaſion, founded on experience, that England would interpoſe as a principal, and not only draw her ſword againſt the enemies of the electorate, but concentrate her chief ſtrength in that object, and waſte her treaſures in purchaſing their concurrence; that, excluſive of an ample revenue drained from the ſweat of the people, great part of which had been expended in continental effort, the whole national debt incurred ſince the acceſſion of the late king had been contracted in purſuance of meaſures totally foreign to the intereſt of theſe kingdoms: that ſince Hanover was the favourite object, England would ſave money, and great quantities of Britiſh blood, by allowing France to take poſſeſſion of the electorate, paying its ranſom at the peace, and indemnifying the inhabitants for the damage they might ſuſtain; an expedient that would be productive of another good conſequence; it would rouſe the German princes from their affected indifference, and oblige them to exert themſelves with vigour, in order to avoid the deteſted neighbourhood of ſuch an enterprizing invader.

The article of the ſupply relating to the army of obſerva-

[h] Rear-admiral Knowles being, in the month of December, 1749, tried at Deptford, before a court-martial, for his behaviour in and relating to an action which happened on the 1ſt day of October in the preceding year, between a Britiſh ſquadron under his command, and a ſquadron of Spain, the court was unanimouſly of opinion, that the ſaid Knowles, while he was ſtanding for the enemy, might, by a different diſpoſition of his ſquadron, have begun the attac with ſix ſhips as early in the day as four of them were engaged; and that, therefore, by his neglecting ſo to do, he gave the enemy a manifeſt advantage: that the ſaid Knowles remained on board the ſhip Cornwall with his flag, after ſhe was diſabled from continuing the action, though he might, upon her being diſabled, have ſhifted his flag on board another ſhip; and the court were unanimouſly of opinion he ought to have done ſo, in order to have conducted and directed, during the whole action, the motions of the ſquadron entruſted to his care and conduct. Upon conſideration of the whole conduct of the ſaid Knowles, relating to that action, the court did unanimouſly agree that he fell under part of the 14th article of the articles of war, namely, the word Negligence, and no other; and alſo under the 23d article.——The court, therefore, unanimouſly adjudged that he ſhould be reprimanded for not bringing up the ſquadron in cloſer order than he did, and not beginning the attac with as great force as he might have done; and alſo for not ſhifting his flag, upon the Cornwall's being diſabled.

[i] Nothing could more glorioufly evince the generoſity of a Britiſh parliament than this interpoſition for defending the liberties of Germany, in conjunction with two electors only, againſt the ſenſe of the other ſeven, and in direct oppoſition to the meaſures taken by the head of the empire, who, in the ſequel, ſtigmatiſed theſe two princes as rebels, and treated one of them as an out-law.

[k] This charity, eſtabliſhed by voluntary contribution, might, under proper reſtrictions, prove beneficial to the common-wealth, by reſcuing deſerted children from miſery and death, and qualifying them for being ſerviceable members of the community; but ſince the liberality of parliament hath enabled the governors and corporation to receive all the children that are preſented, without queſtion or limitation, the yearly expence hath ſwelled into a national grievance, and the humane purpoſes of the original inſtitution are in a great meaſure defeated. Inſtead of an aſylum for poor forlorn orphans and abandoned foundlings, it is become a general receptacle for the offſpring of the diſſolute, who care not to work for the maintenance of their families. The hoſpital itſelf is a plain edifice, well contrived for œconomy and convenience, ſtanding on the north ſide of the city, and a little detached from it, in an agreeable and ſalubrious ſituation. The hall is adorned with ſome good paittings, the chapel is elegant, and the regulations are admirable.

[l] The bridge at Weſtminſter may be conſidered as a national ornament. It was built at the public expence, from the neighbourhood of Weſtminſter-Hall to the oppoſite ſide of the river, and conſiſts of 13 arches conſtructed with equal elegance and ſimplicity.

tion took riſe from a meſſage ſigned by his majeſty, and preſented by mr. Pitt, now promoted to the office of principal ſecretary of ſtate, a gentleman who had, upon ſundry occaſions, combated the gigantic plan of continental connexions with all the ſtrength and reaſon, and all the powers of eloquence. He now imparted to the houſe an intimation importing, It was always with reluctance that his majeſty aſked extraordinary ſupplies of his people; but as the united councils, and the formidable preparations of France and her allies threatened Europe in general with the moſt alarming conſequence; and as theſe unjuſt and vindictive deſigns were particularly and immediately bent againſt his majeſty's electorate dominions, and thoſe of his good ally, the king of Pruſſia, his majeſty confided in the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful commons, that they would chearfully aſſiſt him in forming and maintaining an army of obſervation, for the juſt and neceſſary defence and preſervation of thoſe territories, and enable him to fulfil his engagements with his Pruſſian majeſty, for the ſecurity of the empire againſt the irruption of foreign armies, and for the ſupport of the common cauſe. Poſterity will hardly believe, that the emperor and all the princes in Germany were in a conſpiracy againſt their country, except the king of Pruſſia, the elector of Hanover, and the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel; and they will no doubt, be ſurpriſed, that Great-Britain, after all the treaties ſhe had made, and the numberleſs ſubſidies ſhe had granted, ſhould not have an ally, left except one prince, ſo embarraſſed in his own affairs, that he could grant her no ſuccour, whatever aſſiſtance he might demand. The king's meſſage met with as favourable a reception as he could have deſired. It was read in the houſe of commons, together with a copy of the treaty between his majeſty and the king of Pruſſia, including the ſecret and ſeparate article, and the declaration ſigned on each ſide by the plenipotentiaries at Weſtminſter: the requeſt was granted, and the convention approved. With equal readineſs did they gratify his majeſty's inclination, ſignified in another meſſage, delivered on the 17th day of May, by lord Bateman, intimating, That, in this critical juncture, emergencies might ariſe of the utmoſt importance, and be attended with the moſt pernicious conſequences, if proper means ſhould not be immediately applied to prevent or defeat them; his majeſty was, therefore, deſirous that the houſe would enable him to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the ſervice of the current year; and to take all ſuch meaſures as might be neceſſary to diſappoint or defeat any enterprizes or deſigns of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs might require. The committee of ſupply forthwith granted a very large ſum for theſe purpoſes, including the charge of German mercenaries. A like meſſage being at the ſame time communicated to the upper-houſe, their lordſhips voted a very loyal addreſs upon the occaſion; and when the article of ſupply, which it produced among the commons fell under their inſpection, they unanimouſly agreed to it, by way of a clauſe of appropriation.

We have already obſerved, that the firſt bill which the commons paſſed in this ſeſſion, was for the relief of the poor, by prohibiting the exportation of corn; but this remedy not being judged adequate to the evil, another bill was framed, removing, for a limited time, the duty then payable upon foreign corn and flour imported: as alſo permitting, for a certain time, all ſuch foreign corn, grain, meal, bread, biſcuit, and flour, as had been or ſhould be taken from the enemy, to be landed and expended in the kingdom duty free. In order ſtill more to reduce the high price of corn, and to prevent any ſupply of proviſions from being ſent to our enemies in America, a third bill was brought in, prohibiting, for a time therein limited, the exportation of corn, grain, meal, malt, flour, bread, biſcuit, ſtarch, beef, pork, bacon, or other victual, from any of the Britiſh plantations, unleſs to Great-Britain or Ireland, or from any one colony to another. To this act two clauſes were added, for allowing thoſe neceſſaries, mentioned above, to be imported in foreign built ſhips, and from any ſtate in amity with his majeſty, either into Great-Britain or Ireland; and for exporting from Southampton or Exeter to the Iſle of Man, for the uſe of the inhabitants, a quantity of wheat, barley, oats, meal, or flour, not exceeding 2500 quarters. The commons would have ſtill improved their humanity, had they contrived and eſtabliſhed ſome effectual method to puniſh thoſe unfeeling villains, who, by engroſſing and hoarding up great quantities of grain, had created this artificial ſcarcity, and deprived their fellow-creatures of bread, with a view to their own private advantage. Upon a ſubſequent report of the committee, the houſe reſolved, that, to prevent the high price of wheat and bread, no ſpirits ſhould be diſtilled from wheat for a limited time. While the bill, formed on this reſolution, was in embrio, a petition was preſented to the houſe by the brewers of London, Weſtminſter, Southwark, and parts adjacent, repreſenting, that, when the reſolution paſſed, the price of malt, which was before too high, immediately roſe to ſuch a degree, that the petitioners found themſelves utterly incapable of carrying on buſineſs at the price malt then bore, occaſioned, as they conceived, from an apprehenſion of the neceſſity the diſtillers would be under to make uſe of the beſt pale malt, and ſubſtitute the beſt barley in lieu of wheat: that, in ſuch a caſe, the markets would not be able to ſupply a ſufficient quantity of barley for the demands of both profeſſions, beſides other neceſſary uſes: they, therefore, prayed, that in regard to public revenue, to which the trade of the petitioners ſo largely contributed, proper meaſures might be taken for preventing the public loſs, and relieving their particular diſtreſs. The houſe would not lend a deaf ear to a remonſtrance in which the revenue was concerned. The members appointed to prepare the bill immediately received inſtructions to make proviſion in it to reſtrain, for a limited time, the diſtilling of barley, malt, and all grain whatſoever. The bill was framed accordingly, but did not paſs without ſtrenuous oppoſition. To this prohibition it was objected, that there are always large quantities of wheat and barley in the kingdom ſo damaged, as to be unfit for any uſe but the diſtillery, conſequently a reſtriction of this nature would ruin many farmers, and others employed in the trade of malting. Particular intereſts, however, muſt often be ſacrificed to the welfare of the community; and the preſent diſtreſs prevailed over the proſpect of this diſadvantage. If he had allowed any ſort of grain to be diſtilled, it would have been impoſſible to prevent the diſtilling of every kind. The prohibition was limited to two months; but at the expiration of that term, the ſcarcity ſtill continuing, it was protracted by a new bill to the 11th day of December, with a proviſo, empowering his majeſty to put an end to it at any time after the 11th day of May, if ſuch a ſtep ſhould be judged for the advantage of the kingdom.

The next bill that engaged the attention of the commons was a meaſure of the utmoſt national importance, though ſecretly diſliked by many individuals of the legiſlature, who nevertheleſs did not venture to avow their diſapprobation. The eſtabliſhment of a militia was a very popular and deſirable object, but attended with numberleſs difficulties, and a competition of intereſts which it was impoſſible to reconcile. It had formerly been an inexhauſtible ſource of contention between the crown and the commons; but now both apparently concurred in rendering it ſerviceable to the common-wealth; though ſome acquieſced in the ſcheme, who were not at all hearty in its favour. On the fourth day of December, a motion was made for the bill, by colonel George Townſhend, eldeſt ſon of lord viſcount Townſhend, a gentleman of courage, ſenſe, and probity; endued with penetration to diſcern, and honeſty to purſue the real intereſt of his country, in defiance of power, in contempt of private advantages. Leave being given to bring in a bill for the better ordering of the militia forces in the ſeveral counties of England, the taſk of preparing it was allotted to mr. Townſhend, and a conſiderable number of the moſt able members in the houſe, comprehending his own brother, mr. Charles Townſhend, whoſe genius ſhone with diſtinguiſhed luſtre: he was keen, diſcerning, eloquent, and accurate; poſſeſſed a remarkable vivacity of parts, with a ſurpriſing ſolidity of underſtanding: was a wit without arrogance, a patriot without prejudice, and a courtier without dependence.

While the militia bill remained under conſideration of the houſe, a petition for a conſtitutional and well regulated militia was preſented by the mayor, jurats, and commonality of the King's-town and pariſh of Maidſtone, in Kent, in common-council aſſembled. At the ſame time remonſtances were offered by the proteſtant diſſenting miniſters of the three denominations in and about the cities of London and Weſtminſter; by the proteſtant diſſenters of Shrewſbury; the diſſenting miniſters of Devonſhire; the proteſtant diſſenters, being freeholders and burgeſſes of the town, and county of the town of Nottingham, joined with other inhabitants of the church of England, expreſſing their apprehenſion, that in the bill then depending, it might be propoſed to enact, that the ſaid militia ſhould be exerciſed on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, and praying that no clauſe for ſuch purpoſe might paſs into a law. Though nothing could be more ridiculouſly fanatic

and impertinent than the declaration of ſuch a ſcruple againſt a practice ſo laudable and neceſſary, in a country where that day of the week is generally ſpent in merry-making, riot, and debauchery, the houſe paid ſo much regard to the ſqueamiſh conſciences of thoſe puritanical petitioners, that Monday was pitched upon for the day of exerciſe to the militia, though on ſuch working days they might be much more profitable employed, both for themſelves and their country; and that no religious pretence ſhould be left for oppoſing the progreſs and execution of the bill, proper clauſes were inſerted for the relief of the quakers. Another petition and counter-petition were delivered by the magiſtrates, freeholders, and burgeſſes of the town of Nottingham, in relation to their particular franchiſes, which were accordingly conſidered in framing the bill.

After mature deliberation, and divers alterations, it paſſed the lower-houſe, and was ſent to the lords for their concurrence: here it underwent ſeveral amendments, one of which was the reduction of the number of militia-men to one-half of what the commons had propoſed; namely, to 32,340 men for the whole kingdom of England and Wales. The amendments being canvaſed in the lower-houſe, met with ſome oppoſition, and divers conferences with their lordſhips enſued: at length, however, the two houſes agreed to every article, and the bill ſoon received the royal ſanction. No proviſion, however, was made for clothes, arms, accoutrements, and pay: had regulations been made for theſe purpoſes, the act would have become a money-bill, in which the lords could have made no amendment: in order, therefore, to prevent any difference between the two houſes, on a diſpute of privileges not yet determined, and that the houſe of peers might make what amendments they ſhould think expedient, the commons left the expence of the militia to be regulated in a ſubſequent bill, during the following ſeſſion, when they could with more certainty compute what ſum would be neceſſary for theſe purpoſes. After all, the bill ſeemed to be crude, imperfect, and ineffectual, and the promoters of it were well aware of its defects; that they were apprehenſive that it would have been dropped altogether, had they inſiſted upon the ſcheme's being executed in its full extent. They were eager to ſeize this opportunity of trying an experiment, which might afterwards be improved to a greater national advantage; and, therefore, they acquieſced in many reſtrictions and alterations, which otherwiſe would not have been adobted.

The next meaſure that fell under conſideration of the houſe was rendered neceſſary by the inhoſpital perſeverance of the publicans and inn-holders, who conceived themſelves not obliged by law to receive or give quarters in their houſes to any foreign troops, and accordingly refuſed admittance to the Heſſian auxiliaries, who began to be dreadfully incommoded by the ſeverity of the weather. This objection implying an attac upon the prerogative, the government did not think fit, at this juncture, to diſpute any other way, than by procuring a new law in favour of thoſe foreigners. It was intituled, 'a bill to make proviſion for quartering the foreign troops now in this kingdom,' prepared by lord Barrington, the chancellor of the exchequer, and the ſollicitor-general, and immediately paſſed without oppoſition. This ſtep being taken, another bill was brought in, for the regulation of the marine-forces while on ſhore. This was almoſt a tranſcript of the mutiny act, with this material difference: it empowered the admiralty to grant commiſſions for holding general courts-martial, and to do every thing, and in the ſame manner, as his majeſty is empowered to do by the uſual mutiny-bill; conſequently, every clauſe was adopted without queſtion.

The ſame favourable reception was given to a bill for the more ſpeedy and effectual recruiting his majeſty's land forces and marines; a law which threw into the hands of many worthleſs magiſtrates an additional power of oppreſſing their fellow-creatures: all juſtices of the peace, commiſſioners of the land-tax, magiſtrates of corporations and boroughs, were empowered to meet by direction of the ſecretary at war, communicated in precepts iſſued by the high-ſheriffs, or their deputies, within their reſpective diviſions, and at their uſual place of meeting, to qualify themſelves for the execution of the act: then they were required to appoint the times and places for their ſucceeding meetings; to iſſue precepts to the proper officers for theſe ſucceeding meetings; and to give notice of the time and place of every meeting to ſuch military officer, as, by notice from the ſecretary at war, ſhould be directed to attend that ſervice. The annual bill for preventing mutiny and deſertion met with no objection, and indeed contained nothing eſſentially differerent from that which had paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion. The next law enacted was for the further preventing embezzlements of goods and apparel by thoſe with whom they are entruſted, and putting a ſtop to the practice of gaming in public houſes. By this bill a penalty was inflicted on pawnbrokers, in a ſummary way, for receiving goods, knowing them not to be the property of the pledger, and pawned without the authority of the owner.[m] With reſpect to gaming, the act ordained, that all publicans ſuffering journeymen, labourers, ſervants, or apprentices to game with cards, dice, ſhuffle-boards, miſſiſippi, or billard-tables, ſkittles, nine-pins, &c. ſhould forfeit 40s. for the firſt offence, and for every ſubſequent offence 10l. ſhall be levied by diſtreſs.

Divers inconveniences having reſulted from the interpoſition of juſtices, who, in purſuance of an act of parliament paſſed in the preſent reign, aſſumed the right of eſtabliſhing rates for the payment of wages to weavers, ſeveral petitions were offered to the houſe of commons, repreſenting the evil conſequences of ſuch an eſtabliſhment; and although theſe arguments were anſwered and oppoſed in counter-petitions, the commons, actuated by a laudable concern for the intereſt of the woolen-manufacture, after due deliberation, removed the grievance by a new bill, repealing ſo much of the former act as empowered juſtices of the peace to make rates for the payment of wages[n].—The commons were not more forward to provide ſupplies for proſecuting the war with vigour, than ready to adopt new regulations for the advantage of trade and manufactures. The ſociety of the free Britiſh fiſhery preſented a petition, alledging, that they had employed the ſum of 130,305l. 8s. 6d. together with the entire produce of their fiſh, and all the monies ariſing from the ſeveral branches allowed on the tonnage of their ſhipping, and on the exportation of their fiſh, in carrying on the ſaid fiſhery; and that from their being obliged, in the infancy of the undertaking to incur a much larger expence than was at that time foreſeen, they now found themſelves ſo far reduced in their capital, as to be utterly incapable of further proſecuting the fiſheries with any hope of ſucceſs, unleſs indulged with the further aſſiſtance of parliament. They prayed, therefore, that, towards enabling them to carry on the ſaid fiſheries, they might have liberty to make uſe of ſuch nets as they ſhould find beſt adapted to the ſaid fiſheries; each buſs, nevertheleſs, carrying to ſea the ſame quantity and depth of netting, which, by the fiſhery acts, they were bound to carry: that the bounty of thirty ſhillings per ton, allowed by the ſaid acts on the veſſels employed in the fiſhery, might be increaſed; and for as much as many of the ſtoc-proprietors were unable to advance any further ſum for proſecuting this branch of commerce, and others unwilling, in the preſent ſituation, and under the preſent reſtraint, to riſque any further ſum in the undertaking, that the ſtoc of the ſociety, by the ſaid acts made unalienable, except in caſe of death or bankruptcy, for a term of years, might forthwith be made transferable; and that the petitioners might be at liberty, between the intervals of the fiſhing ſeaſons, to employ the buſſes in ſuch a manner as they ſhould find for the advantage of the ſociety. While the committee was employed in deliberating on the particulars of this remonſtrance, another was delivered from the free Britiſh fiſhery-chamber of Whitehaven in Cumberland, repreſenting, that as the law then ſtood, they went to Shet-

[m] It was enacted, that perſons pawning, exchanging, or diſpoſing of goods, without leave of the owner, ſhould ſuffer in the penalty of twenty ſhillings; and on non-payment, be committed for 14 days to hard labour; afterwards, if the money could not then be paid, or to be whipped publicly in the houſe of correction, or ſuch other place as the juſtice of the peace ſhould appoint, on publication of the proſecutor: that every pawnbroker ſhould make entry of the perſon's name and place of abode who pledges any goods with him; and the pledger, if he required it, ſhould have a duplicate of that entry: that a pawnbroker, receiving linen and apparel entruſted to others to be waſhed or mended, ſhould forfeit double the ſum lent upon it, and reſtore the goods: that upon oath of any perſon whoſe goods are unlawfully pawned or exchanged, the juſtice ſhould iſſue a warrant to ſearch the ſuſpected perſon's houſe; and upon refuſal of admittance the officer might break open the door: that goods pawned for any ſum not exceeding 10l. might be recovered within two years, the owner making oath of the pawning and tendering the principal, intereſt, and the charges: that goods remaining unredeemed for two years ſhould be forfeited and ſold, the overplus to be accounted for to the owner on demand.

[n] It likewiſe imported, that all contracts or agreements made between clothiers and weavers, in reſpect to wages, ſhould, from and after the firſt of May, in the year 1757, be valid, notwithſtanding any rate eſtabliſhed, or to be eſtabliſhed; but that theſe contracts or agreements ſhould extend only to the actual prices or rates of workmanſhip or wages, and not the payment thereof in any other manner than in money: and that if any clothier ſhould refuſe or neglect to pay the weaver the wages or price agreed on, in money, within two days after the work ſhould be performed or delivered, the ſame being demanded, ſhould forfeit forty ſhillings for every ſuch offence.

land, and returned at a great expence and loſs of time; and while the war continued durſt not ſtay there to fiſh, beſides being obliged to run the moſt imminent riſques, by going and returning without convoy: that, ever ſince the inſtitution of the preſent fiſhery, experience had fully ſhown the fiſhery of Shetland not worth following, as thereby the petitioners had loſt two months of a much better fiſhery in St. George's channel, within one day's ſail of Whitehaven: they took notice, that the free Britiſh fiſhery ſociety had applied to the houſe for further aſſiſtance and relief; and prayed that Campbel-town, in Argyleſhire, might be appointed the place of rendezvous for the buſſes belonging to Whitehaven, for the ſummer as well as the winter fiſhery, that they might be enabled to fiſh with greater advantage. The committee, having conſidered the matter of both petitions, were of opinion that the petitioners ſhould be at liberty to uſe ſuch nets as they ſhould find beſt adapted to the white herring fiſhery: that the bounty of thirty ſhillings per ton ſhould be augmented to fifty: that the petitioners ſhould be allowed, during the intervals of the fiſhing ſeaſons, to employ their veſſels in any other lawful buſineſs, provided they ſhould have been employed in the herring-fiſhery during the proper ſeaſons: that they might uſe ſuch barrels for packing the fiſh, as they then uſed, or might hereafter find beſt adapted for that purpoſe: that they ſhould have liberty to make uſe of any waſte or uncultivated land, one hundred yards at the leaſt above high-water mark, for the purpoſe of drying their nets; and that Campbel-town would be the moſt proper and convenient place for the rendezvous of the buſſes belonging to Whitehaven. This laſt reſolution, however, was not inſerted in the bill which contained the other five, and in a little time received the royal aſſent.

Such are the connexions, dependencies, and relations ſubſiſting between the mechanicle arts, agriculture, and manufactures of Great-Britain, that it requires ſtudy, deliberation, and enquiry in the legiſlature to diſcern and diſtinguiſh the whole ſcope and conſequences of many projects offered for the benefit of the common-wealth. The ſociety of merchant adventurers in the city of Briſtol alledged, in a petition to the houſe of commons, that great quantities of bar-iron were imported into Great-Britain from Sweden, Ruſſia, and other parts, chiefly purchaſed with ready money, ſome of which iron was exported again to Africa and other places; and the reſt wrought up by the manufacturers. They affirmed that bar-iron, imported from North-America, would anſwer the ſame purpoſes; and the importation of it tend not only to the great advantage of the kingdom, by increaſing its ſhipping and navigation; but alſo to the benefit of the Britiſh colonies: that by an act paſſed in the 23d year of his preſent majeſty's reign, the importation of bar-iron from America into the port of London, duty free, was permitted: but its being carried coaſtways, or farther by land than ten miles, had been prohibited; ſo that ſeveral very conſiderable manufacturing towns were deprived of the uſe of American iron, and the out-ports prevented from employing it in their export commerce: they requeſted, therefore, that bar-iron might be imported from North-America into Great-Britain, duty free, by all his majeſty's ſubjects. This requeſt being re-enforced by many other petitions from different parts of the kingdom, other claſſes of men, who thought their ſeveral intereſts would be affected by ſuch a meaſure, took the alarm; and in divers counter-petitions ſpecified many ill conſequences which they alledged would ariſe from its being enacted into a law. Pamphlets were publiſhed on both ſides of the queſtion, and violent diſputes were kindled upon this ſubject, which was juſtly deemed a matter of national importance.

The oppoſers of the bill obſerved, that large quantities of iron were yearly produced at home, and employed multitudes of poor people, there being no leſs than 109 forges in England and Wales, beſides thoſe erected in Scotland, the whole producing 18,000 tons of iron: that as the mines in Great-Britain are inexhauſtible, the produce would of late years have been conſiderably increaſed, had not the people been kept under continual apprehenſion of ſeeing American iron admitted duty free: a ſuppoſition which had prevented the traders from extending their works, and diſcouraged many from engaging in this branch of traffic: they alledged that the iron works already carried on in England occaſioned a conſumption of 190,000 cords of wood, produced in coppices that grow upon barren lands, which could not otherwiſe be turned to any good account: that as the coppices afford ſhade, and preſerve a moiſture in the ground, the paſture is more valuable with the wood, than it would be if the coppices were grubbed up; conſequently, all the eſtates where theſe now grow would ſink in their yearly value: that theſe coppices, now cultivated and preſerved for the uſe of the iron works, are likewiſe abſolutely neceſſary for the manufacture of leather, as they furniſh bark for the tanners; and that, according to the management of theſe coppices, they produced a great number of timber trees, ſo neceſſary for the purpoſes of building. They aſſerted, that neither the American iron, nor any that had yet been found in Great-Britain, was ſo proper for converting into ſteel as that which comes from Sweden, particularly that ſort called ore ground; but as there are mines in the northern parts of Britain, nearly in the ſame latitude with thoſe of Sweden, furniſhed with ſufficient quantities of wood, and rivers for mills and engines, it was hardly to be doubted but that people would find metal of the ſame quality, and, in a few years, be able to prevent the neceſſity of importing iron either from Sweden or Ruſſia. They inferred that American iron could never interfere with that which Great-Britain imported from Sweden, becauſe it was not fit for edge-tools, anchors, chain-plates, and other particulars neceſſary in ſhip-building; nor diminiſh the importation of Ruſſian iron, which was not only harder than the American and Britiſh, but alſo could be afforded cheaper than that brought from our own plantations, even though the duty of this laſt ſhould be removed. The importation of American iron, therefore, duty free, could interfere with no other ſort but that produced in Britain, with which, by means of this advantage, it would claſh ſo much, as to put a ſtop in a little time to all the iron works now carried on in the kingdom, and reduce to beggary a great number of families whom they ſupport. To theſe objections the favourers of the bill ſollicited replied, that when a manufacture is much more valuable than the rough materials, and theſe cannot be produced at home in ſufficient quantities, and at ſuch a price as is conſiſtent with the preſervation of the manufacture, it is the intereſt of the legiſlature to admit a free importation of theſe materials, even from foreign countries, although it ſhould put an end to the production of that material in this iſland: that as the neighbours of Great-Britain are now more attentive than ever to their commercial intereſts, and endeavouring to manufacture their rough materials at home, this nation muſt take every method for lowering the price of materials, otherwiſe in a few years it will loſe the manufacture; and, inſtead of ſupplying other countries, be furniſhed by them with all the fine toys and utenſils made of ſteel and iron: that being in danger of loſing not only the manufacture but the produce of iron, unleſs it can be procured at a cheaper rate than that for which it is ſold at preſent, the only way of attaining this end, is by diminiſhing the duty payable upon the importation of foreign iron, or by rendering it neceſſary for the undertakers of the iron mines in Great-Britain to ſell their produce cheaper than it has been for ſome years afforded: that the moſt effectual method for this purpoſe is to raiſe up a rival, by permitting a free importation of all ſorts of iron from the American plantations: that American iron can never be ſold ſo cheap as that of Britain can be afforded; for, in the colonies, labour of all kinds is much dearer than in England: if a man employs his own ſlaves, he muſt reckon in his charge a great deal more than the common intereſt of their purchaſe money, becauſe when one of them dies, or eſcapes from his maſter, he loſes both intereſt and principal: that the common intereſt of money in the plantations is conſiderably higher than in England, conſequently no man in that country will employ his money in any branch of trade by which he cannot gain conſiderably more per cent. than it is expected in Great-Britain, where the intereſt is low, and profit moderate; a circumſtance which will always give a great advantage to the Britiſh miner, who likewiſe enjoys an exemption from freight and inſurance, which lie heavy upon the American adventurer, eſpecially in time of war. With reſpect to the apprehenſion of the leather tanners, they obſerved, that as the coppices generally grew on barren lands, not fit for tillage, and improved the paſturage, no proprietor would be at the expence of grubbing up the wood to ſpoil the paſture, as he could make no other uſe of the land on which it was produced. The wood muſt be always worth ſomething, eſpecially in counties where there is not plenty of coal, and the timber trees would produce conſiderable advantage: therefore, if there was not one iron mine in Great-Britain, no coppices would be grubbed up, unleſs it grew on a rich ſoil, which would produce corn inſtead of cord wood; conſequently, the tanners have nothing to fear, eſpecially as planting hath become a prevailing taſte among the landholders of the iſland. The committee appointed to prepare the bill ſeriouſly weighed and canvaſſed theſe arguments,

examined diſputed facts, and inſpected papers and accounts relating to the produce, importation and manufactory of iron. At length mr. John Pitt reported to the houſe their opinion, implying that the liberty granted by an act paſſed in the 23d year of his majeſty's reign, of importing bar-iron from the Britiſh colonies in America into the port of London, ſhould be extended to all the other ports of Great-Britain; and that ſo much of that act as related to this clauſe ſhould be appealed. The houſe having agreed to theſe reſolutions, and the bill being brought in accordingly, another petition was preſented by ſeveral noblemen, gentlemen, freeholders, and other proprietors, owners, and poſſeſſors of coppices and woodlands, in the weſt-riding of Yorkſhire, alledging that a permiſſion to import American bar-iron duty free would be attended with numberleſs ill conſequences both of public and private nature; ſpecifying certain hardſhips to which they in particular would be expoſed; and praying, that if the bill ſhould paſs they might be relieved from the preſſure of an act paſſed in the reign of Henry VIII. obliging the owners of coppice-woods to preſerve them, under ſevere penalties; and be permitted to fell and grub up their coppice-woods, in order to a more proper cultivation of the ſoil, without being reſtrained by the fear of malicious and intereſted proſecutions. In conſequence of this remonſtrance, a clauſe was added to the bill, repealing ſo much of the act of Henry VIII. as prohibited the converſion of coppice or under-woods into paſture or tillage; then it paſſed through both houſes, and received the royal ſanction. As there was not time, after this affair came upon the carpet, to obtain any new accounts from America, and as it was thought neceſſary to know the quantities of iron made in that country, the houſe preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, deſiring he would be pleaſed to give directions that there ſhould be laid before them, in the next ſeſſion of parliament, an account of the quantity of iron made in the American colonies, from Chriſtmas, in the year 1749, to the 5th day of January, in the year 1756, each year being diſtinguiſhed.

From this important object, the parliament converted its attention to a regulation of a much more private nature. In conſequence of a petition by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, a bill was brought in, and paſſed into a law without oppoſition, for the more effectual preſervation and improvement of the fry and ſpawn of fiſh in the river Thames and waters of Medway, and for the better regulating the fiſhery in thoſe rivers. The two next meaſures taken for the benefit of the public were, firſt a bill to render more effectual the ſeveral laws then in being, for the amendment and preſervation of the highways and turnpike roads of the kingdom; the other for the more effectually preventing the ſpreading of the contagious diſtemper which at that time raged among the horned cattle. A third aroſe from the diſtreſs of poor ſilk manufacturers, who were deſtitute of employment, and deprived of all means of ſubſiſting, through the interruption of the Levant trade, occaſioned by the war, and the delay of the merchant ſhips from Italy. In order to remedy this inconvenience, a bill was prepared, enacting that any perſons might import from any place, in any ſhip or veſſel whatſoever, till the 1ſt day of December, 1757, organzine thrown ſilk of the growth or production of Italy, to be brought to the Cuſtom-houſe of London, whereſoever landed: but that no Italian thrown ſilk, coarſer than Bologna, nor any tram of the growth of Italy; nor any other thrown ſilk of the growth or production of Turkey, Perſia, Eaſt-India, or China, ſhould be imported by this act, under the penalty of the forfeiture thereof. Notwithſtanding ſeveral petitions preſented by the merchants, owners, and commanders of ſhips, and others trading to Leghorn, and other ports of Italy; as well as by the importers and manufacturers of raw ſilks, repreſenting the evil conſequences that would probably attend the paſſing of ſuch a bill, the parliament agreed to this temporary deviation from the famous act of navigation, for a preſent ſupply to the poor manufacturers.

The next civil regulation eſtabliſhed in this ſeſſion of parliament was in itſelf judicious, and, had it been more eagerly ſuggeſted, might have been much more beneficial to the public. In order to diſcourage the practice of ſmuggling, and prevent the deſperadoes concerned therein from inliſting in the ſervice of the enemy, a law was paſſed, enacting, that every perſon who had been, before the 1ſt of May in the preſent year, guilty of illegal running, concealing, receiving or carrying any wool, or prohibited goods, or any foreign commodities liable to duties, the ſame not having been paid or ſecured; or of aiding therein, or had been found with fire-arms, or weapons, in order to be aiding to ſuch offenders; or had been guilty of receiving ſuch goods after ſeizure; or of any act whatſoever, whereby perſons might be deemed runners of foreign goods; or of hindering, wounding, or beating any officer in the execution of his duty, or aſſiſting therein, ſhould be indemnified from all ſuch offences, concerning which no ſuit ſhould then have been commenced, or compoſition made, on condition that he ſhould, before being apprehended or proſecuted, and before the 1ſt day of December, enter himſelf with ſome commiſſioned officer of his majeſty's fleet, to ſerve as a common ſailor; and ſhould, for three years from ſuch entry, unleſs ſooner duely diſcharged, actually ſerve and do duty in that ſtation, and regiſter his name, &c. with the clerk of the peace of the county where he reſided, as the act preſcribes. An attempt was made in favour of the ſeamen employed in the navy, who had been very irregularly paid, and ſubject to grievous hardſhips in conſequence of this irregularity. Mr Grenville, brother to earl Temple, moved for leave to bring in a bill for the encouragement of ſeamen employed in his majeſty's navy, and for eſtabliſhing a regular method for the punctual, ſpeedy, and certain payment of their wages, as well as for reſcuing them from the arts of fraud and impoſition. The propoſal was corroborated by divers petitions: the bill was prepared, read, printed, and after it had undergone ſome amendment, paſſed into the houſe of lords, where it was encountered with ſeveral objections, and dropped for this ſeſſion of parliament.

The houſe of commons being deſirous of preventing for the future ſuch diſtreſſes as the poor had lately undergone, appointed a committee to conſider of proper proviſions to reſtrain the price of corn and bread within due bounds for the future. For this purpoſe they were empowered to ſend for perſons, papers, and records, and it was reſolved that all who attended the committee ſhould have voices. Having enquired into the cauſes of the late ſcarcity, they agreed to ſeveral reſolutions, and a bill was brought in, to explain and amend the laws againſt regraters, foreſtallers, and engroſſers of corn. The committee alſo received inſtructions to enquire into the abuſes of millers, mealmen, and bakers, with regard to bread, and to conſider of proper methods to prevent them in the ſequel, but no further progreſs was made in this important affair, which was the more intereſting, as the lives of individuals, in a great meaſure, depended upon a ſpeedy reformation; for the millers and bakers were ſaid to have adulterated their flour with common whiting, lime, bone-aſhes, allum, and other ingredients pernicious to the human conſtitution; a conſummation of villainy for which no adequate puniſhment could be inflicted. Among the meaſures propoſed in parliament which did not ſucceed, one of the moſt remarkable was a bill prepared by mr. Roſe Fuller, mr. Charles Townſhend, and mr. Banks, to explain, amend, and render more effectual a law paſſed in the reign of king William III. intituled, 'An act to puniſh governors of plantations, in this kingdom, for crimes committed by them in the plantations.' This bill was propoſed in conſequence of ſome complaints, ſpecifying acts of cruelty, folly and oppreſſion, by which ſome Britiſh governors had lately been diſtinguiſhed; but before the bill could be brought in the parliament was prorogued.

But no ſtep taken by the houſe of commons, in the courſe of this ſeſſion, was more intereſting to the body of the people than the enquiry into the loſs of Minorca, which had excited ſuch loud and univerſal clamour. By addreſſes to the king, unanimouſly voted, the commons requeſted that his majeſty would give directions for laying before them copies of all the letters and papers containing any intelligence received by the ſecretaries of ſtate, the commiſſioners of the admiralty, or any others of his majeſty's miniſters, in relation to the equipment of the French fleet at Toulon, or the deſigns of the French on Minorca, or any other of his majeſty's poſſeſſions in Europe, ſince the firſt day of January 1755, to the firſt day of Auguſt 1756. They likewiſe deſired to peruſe a liſt of the ſhips of war that were equipped and made ready for ſea, from the firſt of Auguſt, in the year 1755, to the 30th of April, in the following year; with the copies of all ſailing orders ſent to the commanders during that period; as alſo the ſtate and condition of his majeſty's ſhips in the ſeveral ports of Great-Britain at the time of admiral Byng's departure, with the ſquadron under his command, for the relief of Fort St. Philip, during the period of the time above-mentioned, according to the monthly returns made by the admiralty, with the number of ſeamen muſtered and bor'n on board the reſpective ſhips. They demanded copies of all orders and inſtructions given to that admiral, and of letters written to and received from

him, during his continuance in that command, either by the ſecretaries of ſtate, or lords of the admiralty, relating to the condition of his ſquadron, and to the execution of his orders. In a word, they required the inſpecton of all papers which could, in any manner, tend to explain the loſs of Minorca, and the miſcarriage of mr. Byng's ſquadron. His majeſty complied with every article of their requeſts: the papers were preſented to the houſe, ordered to lie upon the table for the peruſal of the members, and finally referred to the conſideration of the committee of the whole houſe. In the courſe of their deliberations they addreſſed his majeſty for more information, till at length the truth ſeemed to be ſmothered under ſuch an enormous burthen of papers as the efforts of a whole ſeſſion could not have properly removed. Indeed, many diſcerning perſons without doors began to deſpair of ſeeing the myſtery unfolded, as ſoon as the enquiry was undertaken by a committee of the whole houſe. They obſerved, that an affair of ſuch a dark, intricate, and ſuſpicious nature ought to have been referred to a ſelect and ſecret committee, choſen by ballot, empowered to ſend for perſons, papers, and records, and to examine witneſſes in the moſt ſolemn and deliberate manner: that the names of the committee ought to have been publiſhed, for the ſatisfaction of the people, who could have judged with ſome certainty whether the enquiry would be carried on with ſuch impartiality as the national misfortune required. They ſuſpected that this reference to a committee of the whole houſe was a mal contrivance, to prevent a regular and minute inveſtigation, to introduce confuſion and conteſts, to puzzle, perplex, and obumbrate; to teaſe, fatigue, and diſguſt the enquirers, that the examination might be hurried over in a ſuperficial and perfunctory manner; and the miniſtry, from this anarchy and confuſion of materials, half explored and undigeſted, derive a general parliamentary approbation, to which they might appeal from the accuſations of the people. A ſelect committee would have probably examined ſome of the clerks of the reſpective offices, that they might certainly know whether any letters or papers had been ſuppreſſed, whether the extracts had been faithfully made, and whether there might not be papers of intelligence, which, though proper to be ſubmitted to a ſelect and ſecret committee, could not, conſiſtently with the honour of the nation, be communicated to a committee of the whole houſe. Indeed, it does not appear that the miniſters had any foreign intelligence or correſpondence that could be much depended upon in any matter of national importance, and no evidence was examined on the occaſion; a circumſtance the leſs to be regretted, as in times paſt evil miniſters have generally found means to render ſuch enquiries ineffectual; and the ſame arts would, at any rate, have operated with the ſame efficacy, had a ſecret committee been employed at this juncture. Be that as it may, ſeveral reſolutions were reported from the committee, though ſome of them were not carried by the majority without violent diſpute and ſevere altercation. The firſt and laſt of their reſolutions require particular notice. By the former, it appeared to the committee, that his majeſty, from the 27th day of Auguſt, in the year 1755, to the 20th day of April in the ſucceeding year, received ſuch repeated and concurrent intelligence, as gave juſt reaſon to believe that the French king intended to invade his dominions of Great-Britain or Ireland. In the latter they declared their opinion, that no greater number of ſhips of war could be ſent into the Mediterranean than were actually ſent thither under the command of admiral Byng; nor any greater re-enforcement than the regiment which was ſent, and the detachment equal to a battalion, which was ordered to the relief of Fort St. Philip, conſiſtently with the ſtate of the navy, and the various ſervices eſſential to the ſafety of his majeſty's dominions, and the intereſts of his ſubjects. It muſt have been ſomething more powerful than ordinary conviction that ſuggeſted theſe opinions. Whatever reports might have been circulated by the French miniſtry, in order to amuſe, intimidate, and detach the attention of the Engliſh government from America and the Mediterranean, where they really intended to exert themſelves, yet the circumſtances of the two nations being conſidered, one would think there could have been no juſt grounds to fear an invaſion of Great-Britain or Ireland, eſpecially when other intelligence ſeemed to point out much more probable ſcenes of action. But the laſt reſolution is ſtill more incomprehenſible to thoſe who know not exactly the baſis on which it was raiſed. The number of ſhips of war in actual commiſſion amounted to 250, having on board 50,000 ſeamen and marines. Intelligence and repeated information of the French deſign upon Minorca had been conveyed to the miniſtry of England, about ſix months before it was put in execution. It is credible, that in all this time the nation could not equip or ſpare above 11 ſhips of the line and ſix frigates, to ſave the important iſland of Minorca? It is eaſy to conceive, that from a ſtanding army of 50,000 men one regiment of troops could not have been detached to re-enforce a garriſon, well known to be inſufficient for the works it was deſtined to defend? To perſons of common intellects it appeared, that intelligence of the armament of Toulon was conveyed to the admiralty as early as the month of September, in the year 1755, with expreſs notice that it would conſiſt of 12 ſhips of the line; that the deſign againſt Minorca was communicated as early as the 27th day of Auguſt, by conſul Banks, of Carthagena; confirnmed by letters from conſul Bartes, at Geno, dated on the 17th and 26th of January, and received by mr. Fox, ſecretary of ſtate, on the 4th and 11th of February, as well as by many ſubſequent intimations: that, notwithſtanding theſe repeated adviſes, even after hoſtilities had commenced in Europe, when the garriſon of Minorca amounted to no more than four incomplete regiments, and one company of artillary, 42 officers being abſent, and the place otherwiſe unprovided for a ſiege, when the Mediterranean ſquadron, commanded by mr. Edgecumbe, conſiſted of two ſhips of the line, and five frigates; neither ſtores, ammunition, or proviſion, the abſent officers belonging to the garriſon, recruits for the regiments, though ready raiſed, miners, nor any additional troops, were ſent to the iſland, nor the ſquadron augmented, till admiral Byng ſailed from Spithead on the 6th day of April, with no more ſhips of the line than, by the moſt early and authentic intelligence, the government were informed would ſail from Toulon, even when mr. Byng ſhould have been joined by commodore Edgecumbe; a junction upon which no dependence ought to have been laid; that this ſquadron contained no troops but ſuch as belonged to the four regiments in garriſon, except one battalion to ſerve in the fleet as marines, unleſs we include the order for another to be embarked at Gibraltar, which order was neither obeyed nor underſtood: that, conſidering the danger to which Minorca was expoſed, and the forwardneſs of the enemy's preparations at Toulon, admiral Oſborne, with 13 ſhips of the line and one frigate, who returned on the 16th of February, after having conveyed a fleet of merchant-ſhips, might have been detached to Minorca, without hazarding the coaſt of Great-Britain; for at that time, excluſive of this ſquadron, there were eight ſhips of the line and 32 frigates ready manned, and 32 ſhips of the line and five frigates almoſt equipped: that admiral Hawke was ſent with 14 ſhips of the line and one frigate to cruiſe in the bay of Biſcay, after repeated intelligence had been received that the French fleet had ſailed for the Weſt-Indies, and the eleven ſhips remained at Breſt and Rochefort were in want of hands and cannon, ſo that they could never ſerve to cover any embarkation or deſcent, conſequently mr. Hawke's ſquadron might have been ſpared for the relief of Minorca: that, inſtead of attending to this important object, the admiralty, on the 8th day of March ſent two ſhips of the line and three frigates to intercept a coaſting convoy off Cape Barfleur; on the 11th of the ſame month they detached two ſhips of the line to the Weſt-Indies, and on the 19th two more to North-America, where they could be of little immediate ſervice; on the 23d two of the line and three frigates a convoy off Cherbourg; and on the 1ſt of April five ſhips of the line, including three returned from this laſt ſervice, to re-enforce ſir Edward Hawke, already too ſtrong for the French fleet bound to Canada: that all theſe ſhips might have been added to mr. Byng's ſquadron, without expoſing Great-Britain or Ireland to any hazard of invaſion: that at length mr. Byng was detached with 10 great ſhips only, and even denied a frigate to repeat ſignals, for which he petitioned; although at that very time there were in port, excluſive of his ſquadron, 17 ſhips of the line and 13 frigates ready for ſea, beſides 11 of the line and 19 frigates almoſt equipped. From theſe and other circumſtances, particulariſed and urged with great vivacity, many individuals inferred, that a great number of ſhips might have been detached to the Mediterranean than were actually ſent with admiral Byng: that the not ſending an earlier and ſtronger force was one great cauſe of Minorca's being loſt, and co-operated with the delay of the miniſtry in ſending thither a re-enforcements of troops, their neglect in ſuffering the officers of the garriſon to continue abſent from their duty, and their omitting to give orders for raiſing miners to ſerve in the fortreſs of Mahon.

The next enquiry in which the houſe of commons en-

gaged related to the contracts for victualling the forces in America, which were ſuppoſed by ſome patriots to be fraudulent and unconſcionable. This ſuſpicion aroſe from an ambiguous expreſſion, on which the contractor being interrogated by the committee appointed to examine the particulars, he prudently interpreted it in ſuch a manner as to ſcreen himſelf from the reſentment of the legiſlature. The houſe, therefore, reſolved that the contract entered into on the 26th day of March, in the year 1756, by the commiſſioners of the treaſury, with William Baker, Chriſtopher Kilby, and Richard Baker of London, merchants, for furniſhing proviſions to the forces under the command of the earl of Loudoun was prudent and neceſſary, and properly adapted to the ſecuring a conſtant and effectual ſupply for thoſe forces in America.

The preceding ſeſſion an addreſs had been preſented to the king by the houſe of commons, deſiring his majeſty would give orders for laying before them ſeveral papers relating to diſputes which had lately happened between his excellency Charles Knowles, eſq. and ſome of the principal inhabitants of the iſland of Jamaica. This governor was accuſed of many illegal, cruel, and arbitrary acts, during the courſe of his arbitration: but theſe imputations he incurred by an exertion of power which was in itſelf laudable, and well intended for the commercial intereſt of the iſland. This was his changing the ſeat of government, and procuring an act of aſſembly for removing the ſeveral laws, records, books, papers, and writings belonging to ſeveral offices in that iſland, from Spaniſh-Town to Kingſton; and for obliging the ſeveral officers to keep their offices, and hold a ſupreme court of judicature, at this laſt place, to which he had moved the ſeat of government. Spaniſh-Town, otherwiſe called St. Jago de la Vega, the old capital, was an inconſiderable inland place, of no ſecurity, trade, or importance; whereas, Kingſton was the centre of commerce, ſituated on the ſide of a fine harbour filled with ſhips, well ſecured from the inſults of an enemy, large, wealthy, and flouriſhing. Here the merchants dwell, and ſhip the greateſt part of the ſugars that grow upon the iſland. They found it extremely inconvenient and expenſive to take out their clearances at Spaniſh-Town, which ſtands at a conſiderable diſtance, and the ſame inconvenience and expence being felt by the reſt of the inhabitants, who had occaſion to proſecute ſuits at law, or attend the aſſembly of the iſland, they joined in repreſentations to the governor, requeſting, that, in conſideration of theſe inconveniences, added to that of the weakneſs of Spaniſh-Town and the importance of Kingſton, the ſeat of government might be removed. He complied with their requeſt, and in ſo doing entailed upon himſelf the hatred and reſentment of certain powerful planters, who poſſeſſed eſtates in and about the old town of St. Jago de la Vega, thus deſerted. This ſeems to have been the real ſource of the animoſity and clamour incurred by mr. Knowles, againſt whom a petition, ſigned by 19 members of the aſſembly, had been ſent to England, and preſented to his majeſty. In the two ſeſſions preceding this year the affair had been brought into the houſe of commons, where this governor's character was painted in frightful colours, and divers papers relating to the diſpute were examined. Mr Knowles having by this time returned to England, the ſubject of his adminiſtration was revived, and referred to a committee of the whole houſe.

In the mean time, petitions were preſented by ſeveral merchants of London and Liverpool, concerned in the trade to Jamaica, alledging, that the removal of the public courts, offices, and records of the iſland of Jamaica to Kingſton, and fixing the ſeat of government there, had been productive of many important advantages, by rendering the ſtrength of the iſland more formidable, the property of the traders and inhabitants more ſecure, and the proſecution of all commercial buſineſs more expeditious and leſs expenſive than formerly; therefore, praying that the purpoſes of the act paſſed in Jamaica for that end might be carried into effectual execution, in ſuch manner as the houſe ſhould think proper. The committee having examined a great number of papers, agreed to ſome reſolutions, importing, that a certain reſolution of the aſſembly of Jamaica, dated on the 29th day of October, in the year 1753, implying a claim of right in that aſſembly to raiſe and apply public money without the conſent of the governor and council, was illegal, repugnant to the terms of his majeſty's commiſſion to his governor of the ſaid iſland, and derogatory of the rights of the crown and people of Great-Britain: that the ſix laſt reſolutions taken in the aſſembly of Jamaica, on the 29th day of October, in the year 1753, proceeded on a manifeſt miſapprehenſion of the king's inſtruction to his governor, requiring him not to give his aſſent to any bill of an unuſual or extraordinary nature and importance, wherein his majeſty's prerogative, or the property of his ſubjects, might be prejudiced, or the trade or ſhipping of the kingdom any ways affected, unleſs there ſhould be a clauſe inſerted, ſuſpending the execution of ſuch bill until his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known; that ſuch inſtruction was juſt and neceſſary, and no alteration of the conſtitution of the iſland, nor any way derogatory to the rights of the ſubjects in Jamaica. From theſe reſolutions the reader may perceive the nature of the diſpute which had ariſen between the people of Jamaica and their governor, vice-admiral Knowles, whoſe conduct on this occaſion ſeems to have been juſtified by the legiſlature. The parliament, however, forbore to determine the queſtion, whether the removal of the courts of judicature from Spaniſh-Town to Kingſton was a meaſure calculated for the intereſt of the iſland in general.

The laſt ſubject which we ſhall mention, as having fallen under the cognizance of the commons during this ſeſſion of parliament, was the ſtate of Milford-Haven on the coaſt of Wales, one of the moſt capacious, ſafe, and commodious harbours in Great-Britain. Here the country affords many conveniences for building ſhips of war, and erecting forts, docs, quays, and magazines. It might be fortified at a very ſmall expence, ſo as to be quite ſecure from any attempts of the enemy, and rendered by far the moſt uſeful harbour in the kingdom for fleets, cruiſers, trading ſhips, and packet-boats, bound to and from the weſtward, for from hence they may put to ſea almoſt with any wind, and even at low-water: they may weather Scilly and Cape-Clear when no veſſel can ſtir from the Britiſh channel, or out of the French ports of Breſt and Rochefort, and as a poſt can travel from hence in three days to London, it might become the centre of very uſeful ſea intelligence. A petition from ſeveral merchants in London was preſented, and recommended to the houſe in a meſſage from the king, ſpecifying the advantages of this harbour, and the ſmall expence at which it might be fortified, and praying that the houſe would take this important ſubject into conſideration. Accordingly, a committee was appointed for this purpoſe, with power to ſend for perſons, papers, and records; and every circumſtance relating to it was examined with accuracy and deliberation. At length the report being made to the houſe by mr. Charles Townſhend, they unanimouſly agreed to an addreſs, repreſenting to his majeſty, that many great loſſes had been ſuſtained by the trade of the kingdom, in time of war, from the want of a ſafe harbour on the weſtern coaſt of the iſland, for the reception and protection of merchant ſhips, and ſending out cruiſers; that the harbour of Milford-Haven, in the county of Pembroke, is moſt advantageouſly ſituated, and, if properly defended and ſecured, in every reſpect adapted to the anſwering thoſe important purpoſes: they, therefore, humbly beſought his majeſty, that he would give immediate directions for erecting batteries, with proper cover, on the ſides of the ſaid harbour, in the moſt convenient places for guarding the entrance called Hubberſtone-road, and alſo ſuch other fortifications as might be neceſſary to ſecure the interior parts of the harbour, and that, until ſuch batteries and fortifications could be completed, ſome temporary defence might be provided for the immediate protection of the ſhips and veſſels lying in the ſaid harbour; finally, they aſſured him the houſe would make good to his majeſty all ſuch expences as ſhould be incurred for theſe purpoſes. The addreſs met with a gracious reception, and a promiſe that ſuch directions ſhould be given. The harbour was actually ſurveyed, the places were pitched upon for batteries, and the eſtimates prepared, but no further progreſs had ſince been made.

We have now finiſhed the detail of all the material tranſactions of this ſeſſion, except what relates to the fate of admiral Byng, which now claims our attention. In the mean time, we may obſerve, that on the 4th day of July the ſeſſion was cloſed with his majeſty's harangue, the moſt remarkable and pleaſing paragraph of which turned upon his royal aſſurance, that the ſuccour and preſervation of his dominions in America had been his conſtant care, and, next to the ſecurity of his kingdoms, ſhould continue to be his great and principal object. He told them he had taken ſuch meaſures as, he truſted, by the bleſſing of God, might effectually diſappoint the deſigns of the enemy in thoſe parts; that he had no further view but to vindicate the juſt rights of his crown and ſubjects from the moſt injurious encroachments; to preſerve tranquillity, as far as the circum-

ſtances of things might admit; to prevent the true friends of Britain, and the liberties of Europe from being oppreſſed and endangered by any unprovoked and unnatural conjunction.

Of all the tranſactions that diſtinguiſhed this year, the moſt extraordinary was the ſentence executed on admiral Byng, the ſon of that great officer who had acquired ſuch honour by his naval exploits in the preceeding reign, and was ennobled for his ſervices, by the title of lord viſcount Torrington. His ſecond ſon, John Byng, had from his earlieſt youth been trained to his father's profeſſion; and was generally eſteemed one of the beſt officers in the navy, when he embarked in that expedition to Minorca, which covered his character with diſgrace, and even expoſed him to all the horrors of an ignominious death. On the 28th day of December, his trial began before a court-martial, held on board the ſhip St. George, in the harbour of Portſmouth, to which place mr. Byng had been conveyed from Greenwich by a party of horſe-guards, and inſulted by the populace in every town and village through which he paſſed. The court having proceeded to examine the evidences for the crown and the priſoner, from day to day, in the courſe of a long ſitting, agreed unanimouſly to 37 reſolutions, implying their opinion, that admiral Byng, during the engagement between the Britiſh and French fleets on the 20th day of May laſt, did not do his utmoſt endeavour to take, ſeize, and deſtroy the ſhips of the French king, which it was his duty to have engaged, and to aſſiſt ſuch of his majeſty's ſhips as were engaged, which it was his duty to have aſſiſted; and that he did not exert his utmoſt power for the relief of St. Philip's-caſtle. They, therefore, unanimouſly agreed, that he fell under part of the twelfth article of an act of parliament paſſed in the 22d year of the preſent reign, for amending, explaining, and reducing into one act of parliament the laws relating to the government of his majeſty's ſhips, veſſels, and forces by ſea; and as that article poſitively preſcribed death, without any alternative left to the diſcretion of the court under any variation of circumſtances, they unanimouſly adjudged the ſaid admiral John Byng to be ſhot to death, at ſuch time and on board of ſuch ſhips as the lord-commiſſioners of the admiralty ſhould pleaſe to direct. But as it appeared, by the evidence of the officers who were near the admiral's perſon, that no backwardneſs was perceivable in him during the action, nor any mark of fear or confuſion either in his countenance or behaviour; but that he delivered his orders coolly and diſtinctly, without ſeeming deficient in perſonal courage, and from other circumſtances they believed his miſconduct did not ariſe either from cowardice or diſaffection, they unanimouſly and earneſtly recommended him as a proper object of mercy. The admiral himſelf behaved through the whole trial with the moſt chearful compoſure, ſeemingly the effect of conſcious innocence, upon which, perhaps, he too much relied. Even after he had heard the evidence examined againſt him, and finiſhed his own defence, he laid his account in being honourably acquitted, and ordered his coach to be ready for conveying him directly from the tribunal to London. A gentleman, his friend, by whom he was attended, having received intimation of the ſentence to be pronounced, thought it his duty to prepare him for the occaſion, that he might ſummon all his fortitude to his aſſiſtance, and accordingly made him acquainted with the information he had received. The admiral gave tokens of ſurpriſe and reſentment, but betrayed no marks of fear or diſorder either then or in the court when the ſentence was pronounced. On the contrary, while divers members of the court-martial manifeſted grief, anxiety, and trepidation, ſhedding tears, and ſighing with extraordinary emotion, he heard his doom denounced without undergoing the leaſt alteration of feature, and made a low obeiſance to the preſident and the other members of the court as he retired.

The officers who compoſed this tribunal were ſo ſenſible of the law's ſeverity, that they unanimouſly ſubſcribed a letter to the board of admiralty, containing this remarkable paragraph:—'We cannot help laying the diſtreſſes of our minds before your lordſhips on this occaſion, in finding ourſelves under a neceſſity of condemning a man to death, from the great ſeverity of the 12th article of war, part of which he falls under, which admits of no mitigation if the crime ſhould be committed by an error in judgment; and, therefore, for our own conſciences' ſake, as well as in juſtice to the priſoner, we pray your lordſhips, in the moſt earneſt manner, to recommend him to his majeſty's clemency.' The lords of the admiralty, inſtead of complying with the requeſt of the court-martial, tranſmitted their letter to the king, with copies of their proceedings, and a letter from themſelves to his majeſty, ſpecifying a doubt with regard to the legality of the ſentence, as the crime of negligence, for which the admiral had been condemned, was not expreſſed in any part of the proceedings. At the ſame time, copies of two petitions from George lord viſcount Torrington, in behalf of his kinſman admiral Byng, were ſubmitted to his majeſty's royal wiſdom and determination. All the friends and relations of the unhappy convict employed and exerted their influence and intereſt for his pardon; and as the circumſtances had appeared ſo ſtrong in his favour, it was ſuppoſed that the ſceptre of royal mercy would be extended for his preſervation: but infamous arts were uſed to whet the ſavage appetite of the populace for blood. The cry of vengeance was aloud throughout the land: ſullen clouds of ſuſpicion and malevolence interpoſing, were ſaid to obſtruct the genial beams of the best virtue that adorns the throne; and the ſovereign was given to underſtand that the execution of admiral Byng was a victim abſolutely neceſſary to appeaſe the fury of the people. His majeſty, in conſequence of the repreſentation made by the lords of the admiralty, referred the ſentence to the conſideration of the twelve judges, who were unanimouſly of opinion that the ſentence was legal. This report being tranſmitted from the privy-council to the admiralty, their lordſhips iſſued a warrant for executing the ſentence of death on the 28th day of February. One gentleman at the board, however, refuſed to ſubſcribe the warrant, aſſigning for his refuſal the reaſons which we have inſerted by way of note, for the ſatisfaction of the reader [m].

Though mercy was denied to the criminal, the crown ſeemed to do nothing that ſhould be thought inconſiſtent with law. A member of parliament, who had ſat upon the court-martial at Portſmouth, roſe up in his place, and made application to the houſe of commons in behalf of himſelf and ſeveral other members of that tribunal, praying the aid of the legiſlature, to be releaſed from the oath of ſecrecy impoſed on courts-martial, that they might diſcloſe the grounds on which ſentence of death had paſſed on admiral

[m] Admiral F———s's reaſons for not ſigning the warrant for admiral Byng's execution:

'It may be thought great preſumption in me to differ from ſo great authority as that of the twelve judges; but when a man is called upon to ſign his name to an act which is to give authority to the ſhedding of blood, he ought to be guided by his own conſcience, and not by the opinions of other men.

'In the caſe before us, it is not the merit of admiral Byng that I conſider: whether he deſerves death or not, it is not a queſtion for me to decide; but whether or not his life can be taken away by the ſentence pronounced on him by the court-martial, and after having ſo clearly explained their motive for pronouncing ſuch a ſentence, is the point which alone has employed my moſt ſerious conſideration.

'The 12th article of war, on which admiral Byng's ſentence is grounded, ſays (according to my underſtanding of its meaning) 'That every perſon, who, in time of action, ſhall withdraw, keep back, or not come into fight, or do his utmoſt, &c. through motives of cowardice, negligence, or diſaffection, ſhall ſuffer death.' The court-martial does, in expreſs words, acquit admiral Byng of cowardice and diſaffection, and does not name the word negligence, admiral Byng does not, as I conceive, fall under the letter or deſcription of the 12th article of war. It may be ſaid, that negligence is implied, though the word is not mentioned, otherwiſe the court-martial would not have brought his offence under the 12th article, having acquitted him of cowardice and diſaffection. But it muſt be acknowledged that the negligence implied, cannot be wilful negligence; for wilful negligence, in admiral Byng's ſituation, muſt have proceeded either from cowardice or diſaffection, and he is expreſsly acquitted of both theſe crimes: beſides, theſe crimes, which are implied only, and not named, may indeed juſtify ſuſpicion and private opinion, but cannot ſatisfy the conſcience in caſe of blood.

'Admiral Byng's fate was referred to a court-martial, his life and death were left to their opinions. The court-martial condemn him to death, becauſe, as they expreſsly ſay, they were under a neceſſity of doing ſo by reaſon of the letter of the law, the ſeverity of which they complained of, becauſe it admits of no mitigation. The court-martial expreſsly ſay, that for the ſake of their conſciences, as well as in juſtice to the priſoner, they moſt earneſtly recommend him to his majeſty for mercy; it is evident, then, that, in the opinions and conſciences of the judges, he was not deſerving of death.

'The queſtion then is, ſhall the opinions or neceſſities of the court-martial determine admiral Byng's fate? If it ſhould be the latter, he will be executed contrary to the intentions and meaning of his judges; if the former, his life is not forfeited. His judges declare him not deſerving of death; but, miſtaking either the meaning of the law, or the nature of his offence, they bring him under an article of war, which, according to their own deſcription of his offence, he does not, I conceive, fall under; and then they condemn him to death, becauſe, as they ſay, the law admits of no mitigation. Can a man's life be taken away by ſuch a ſentence! I would not willingly be miſunderſtood, and have it believed that I judge of admiral Byng's deſerts: that was the buſineſs of a court-martial, and it is my duty only to act according to my conſcience: which, after deliberate conſideration, aſſiſted by the beſt light a poor underſtanding can afford it, remains ſtill in doubt, and therefore I cannot conſent to ſign a warrant whereby the ſentence of the court-martial may be carried into execution; for I cannot help thinking, that however criminal admiral Byng may be, his life is not forfeited by that ſentence. I do not mean to find fault with other men's opinions; all I endeavour at, is to give reaſons for my own; and all I deſire or wiſh is that I may not be miſunderſtood; I do not pretend to judge admiral Byng's deſerts, nor give any opinion on the propriety of the act.

'Signed, 6th Feb. 1757, at the Admiralty. 'J. F—s.'

Byng, and, perhaps, diſcover ſuch circumſtances as might ſhow the ſentence to be improper. Although this application produced no reſolution in the houſe, the king, on the 26th day of February, ſent a meſſage to the commons by mr. Secretary Pitt, importing, that though he had determined to let the law take its courſe with relation to admiral Byng, and reſiſted all ſollicitations to the contrary, yet, as a member of the houſe had expreſſed ſome ſcruples about the ſentence, his majeſty had thought fit to reſpite the execution of it, that there might be an opportunity of knowing, by the ſeparate examination of the members of the court-martial, upon oath, what grounds there were for ſuch ſcruples, and that his majeſty was reſolved ſtill to let the ſentence be carried into execution, unleſs it ſhould appear from the ſaid examination, that admiral Byng was unjuſtly condemned. The ſentence might be ſtrictly legal, and, at the ſame time, very ſevere, according to the maxim, ſummum jus ſumma injuria. In ſuch caſes, and perhaps in ſuch caſes only, the rigour of the law ought to be ſoftened by the lenient hand of the royal prerogative. That this was the caſe of admiral Byng appears from the warm and eager interceſſion of his jury, a ſpecies of interceſſion which hath generally, if not always, prevailed at the foot of the throne, when any thing favourable for the criminal had appeared in the courſe of the trial. How much more then might it have been expected to ſucceed, when earneſtly urged as a caſe of conſcience, in behalf of a man whom his judges had expreſsly acquitted of cowardice and treachery, the only two imputations that rendered him criminal in the eyes of the nation! Such an interpoſition of the crown in parliamentary tranſactions was irregular, unneceſſary, and at another juncture might have been productive of violent heats and declamation. At preſent, however, it paſſed without cenſure, as the effect of inattention, rather than a deſign to encroach upon the privileges of the houſe.

The meſſage being communicated, a bill was immediately brought in, to releaſe the members of the court-martial from the obligation of ſecrecy, and paſſed through the lower-houſe without oppoſition: but in the houſe of lords it appeared to be deſtitute of a proper foundation. They ſent a meſſage to the commons, deſiring them to give leave that ſuch of the members of the court-martial as were members of that houſe might attend their lordſhips, in order to be examined on the ſecond reading of the bill; accordingly, they and the reſt of the court-martial attended, and anſwered all queſtions without heſitation. As they did not inſiſt upon any excuſe, nor produce any ſatisfactory reaſon for ſhewing that the man they had condemned was a proper object of mercy, their lordſhips were of opinion that there was no occaſion for paſſing any ſuch bill, which, therefore, they almoſt unanimouſly rejected. It is not eaſy to conceive what ſtronger reaſons could be given for proving mr. Byng an object of mercy than thoſe mentioned in the letter ſent to the board of admiralty by the members of the court-martial, who were empowered to try the imputed offence, conſequently muſt have been deemed well qualified to judge of his conduct.

The unfortunate admiral being thus abandoned to the ſtroke of juſtice, prepared himſelf for death with reſignation and tranquillity. He maintained a ſurpriſing chearfulneſs to the laſt, nor did he, from his condemnation to his execution, exhibit the leaſt ſign of impatience or apprehenſion. During that interval he had remained on board of the Minarque, a third-rate ſhip of war, anchored in the harbour of Portſmouth, under a ſtrong guard, in cuſtody of the marſhal of the admiralty. On the 14th of March, the day fixed for his execution, the boats belonging to the ſquadron at Spithead being manned and armed, containing their captains and officers, with a detachment of marines, attended this ſolemnity in the harbour, which was alſo crowded with an infinite number of other boats and veſſels filled with ſpectators. About noon the admiral having taken leave of a clergyman, and two friends who accompanied him, walked out of the great cabin to the quarter-dec, where two files of marines were ready to execute the ſentence. He advanced with a firm deliberate ſtep, a compoſed and reſolute countenance, and reſolved to ſuffer with his face uncovered, until his friends repreſenting that his looks would poſſibly intimidate the ſolders, and prevent their taking aim properly, he ſubmitted to their requeſt, threw his hat on the dec, kneeled on a cuſhion, tied one white handkerchief over his eyes, and dropped the other as a ſignal for his executioners, who fired a volley ſo deciſive, that five balls paſſed through his body, and he dropped down dead in an inſtant. The time in which this tragedy was acted, from his walking out of the cabin to his being depoſited in the coffin, did not exceed three minutes.

Thus fell, to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe, admiral John Byng, who, whatever his errors and indiſcretions might have been, ſeems to be raſhly condemned, meanly given up, and cruelly ſacrificed to vile conſiderations. The ſentiments of his own fate he avowed on the verge of eternity, when there was no longer any cauſe of diſſimulation, in the following declaration, which, immediately before his death, he delivered to the marſhal of the admiralty. 'A few moments will now deliver me from the virulent perſecution, and fruſtrate the further malice of my enemies. Nor need I envy them a life ſubject to the ſenſations my injuries, and the injuſtice done me muſt create; perſuaded I am that juſtice will be done to my reputation hereafter: the manner and cauſe of raiſing and keeping up the popular clamour and prejudice againſt me will be ſeen through. I ſhall be conſidered (as I now perceive myſelf) a victim deſtined to divert the indignation and reſentment of an injured and deluded people from the proper objects. My enemies themſelves muſt now think me innocent. Happy for me, at this my laſt moment, that I know my own innocence, and am conſcious that no part of my country's misfortunes can be owing to me. I heartily wiſh the ſhedding my blood may contribute to the happineſs and ſervice of my country, but cannot reſign my juſt claim to a faithful diſcharge of my duty according to the beſt of my judgement, and the utmoſt exertion of my ability for his majeſty's honour, and my country's ſervice. I am ſorry my endeavours were not attended with more ſucceſs, and that the armament under my command proved too weak to ſucceed in an expedition of ſuch moment. Truth has prevailed over calumny and falſehood, and juſtice has wiped off the ignominious ſtain of my ſuppoſed want of perſonel courage, and the charge of diſaffection. My heart acquits me of theſe crimes: but who can be preſumptuouſly ſure of his own judgement? If my crime is an error in judgement, or differing in opinion from my judges, and if yet the error in judgement ſhould be on their ſide, God forgive them, as I do, and may the diſtreſs of their minds, and uneaſineſs of their conſciences, which in juſtice to me they have repreſented, be believed, and ſubſide as my reſentment has done. The Supreme Judge ſees all hearts and motives, and to him I muſt ſubmit the juſtice of my cauſe.'

Notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid in his favour, notwithſtanding the infamous arts that were practiſed to keep up the cry againſt him, notwithſtanding this ſolemn appeal to heaven in his laſt moments, and even ſelf-conviction of innocence, the character of admiral Byng, in point of perſonal courage, will ſtill, with many people remain problematical. They will ſtill be of opinion, that if the ſpirit of a Britiſh admiral had been properly exerted the French fleet would have been defeated, and Minorca relieved. A man's opinion of danger varies at different times, in conſequence of an irregular tide of animal ſpirits, and he is actuated by conſiderations which he dares not avow. After an officer, thus influenced, has heſitated or kept aloof in the hour of trial, the mind, eager for its own juſtification, aſſembles, with ſurpriſing induſtry, every favourable circumſtance of excuſe, and broods over them with parental partiality, until it becomes not only ſatisfied, but even enamoured of their beauty and complexion, like a doating mother, blind to the deformity of her own offſpring. Whatever mr. Byng's internal feelings might have been, whatever conſequences might have attended his behaviour on that occaſion; as the tribunal before which he was tried acquitted him expreſsly of cowardice and treachery, he was without all doubt, a proper object for royal clemency, and ſo impartial poſterity will judge him, after all thoſe diſhonourable motives of faction and of fear, by which his fate was influenced, ſhall be loſt in oblivion, or remembered with diſdain. The people of Great-Britain, naturally fierce, impatient, and clamorous, have been too much indulged, upon every petty miſcarriage, with trials, courts-martial, and diſmiſſions, which tend only to render their military commanders raſh and precipitate, the populace more licentious and intractable, and to diſgrace the national character in the opinion of mankind.

Though the parliament of Great-Britain unanimouſly concurred in ſtrengthening the hands of government, for a vigorous proſecution of the war, thoſe liberal ſupplies had like to have proved ineffectual, through a want of harmony in her councils. In the courſe of the laſt year the clamorous voice of diſſatisfaction had been raiſed by a ſeries of diſappointments and miſcarriages, which were imputed to want of intelligence, ſagacity, and vigour in the adminiſ-

tration. The defeat of Braddock, the reduction of Oſwego, and other forts in America, the delay of armamenrs, the neglect of opportunities, ineffectual cruiſes, abſurd diſpoſitions of fleets and ſquadrons, the diſgrace in the Mediterranian, and the loſs of Minorca, were numbered among the misfortunes that flowed from the crude deſigns of a weak diſpirited miniſtry; and the proſpect of their acquieſcing in a continental war brought them ſtill farther in the contempt and deteſtation with the body of the people. In order to conciliate the good-will of thoſe whom their conduct had diſobliged, to acquire a freſh ſtoc of credit with their fellow-ſubjects, and remove from their own ſhoulders part of what future cenſure might enſue, they admitted into a ſhare of the adminiſtration a certain ſet of gentlemen, remarkable for their talents and popularity, headed by mr. Pitt and mr. Legge, eſteemed the two moſt illuſtrious patriots of Great-Britain, alike diſtinguiſhed and admired for their unconquerable ſpirit and untainted integrity. The former of theſe was appointed ſecretary of ſtate, the other chanceller of the exchequer; and their friends were veſted with other honourable though ſubordinate offices.

So far the people were charmed with the promotion of individuals, upon whoſe virtues and abilities they had the moſt perfect reliance: but theſe new ingredients would never thoroughly mix with the old leven. The adminiſtration became an emblem of the image that Nebuchadnezzar ſaw in his dream, the leg was of iron, and the foot was of clay. The old junto found their new aſſociates very unfit for their purpoſes. They could neither perſuade, cajole, nor intimidate them into meaſures which they thought repugnant to the true intereſt of their country. The new miniſters combated in council every ſuch plan, however patroniſed: they openly oppoſed in parliament every deſign which they deemed unworthy of the crown, or prejudicial to the people, even though diſtinguiſhed by the predilection of the ſovereign. Far from bargaining for their places and ſurrendering their principles by capitulation, they maintained in office their independency and candour with the moſt vigilant circumſpection, and ſeemed determined to ſhow, that he is the beſt miniſter to the ſovereign who acts with the greateſt probity towards the ſubject. Thoſe who immediately ſurrounded the throne were ſuppoſed to have concealed the true characters of theſe faithful ſervants from the knowledge of their royal maſter; to have repreſented them as obſtinate, imperious, ignorant, and even lukewarm in their loyalty; and to have declared, that with ſuch colleagues it would be impoſſible to move the machine of the government according to his majeſty's inclination. Theſe ſuggeſtions, artfully inculcated, produced the deſired effect: on the 9th day of April mr. Pitt, by his majeſty's command, reſigned the ſeals of ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department. In the room of mr. Legge, the king was pleaſed to grant the office of chancellor of the exchequer to the right honourable lord Mansfield, chief-juſtice of the court of King's-Bench the ſame perſonage whom we have mentioned before under the name of mr. Murray, ſollicitor-general, now promoted or enobled for his extraordſnary merit and important ſervices. The fate of mr. Pitt was extended to ſome of his principal friends: the board of admiralty was changed, and ſome other removals were made with the ſame intention.

What was intended as a diſgrace to mr. Pitt and mr. Legge turned out one of the moſt ſhining circumſtances of their characters. The whole nation ſeemed to riſe up, as one man, in the vindication of their fame: every mouth was opened in their praiſe; and a great number of reſpectable cities and corporations preſented them with the freedom of their reſpective ſocieties, encloſed in gold boxes of curious workmanſhip, as teſtimonies of their peculiar veneration. What the people highly eſteem, they in a manner idolize. Not content with making offerings ſo flattering and grateful to conſcious virtue, they conceived the moſt violent prejudices againſt thoſe gentlemen who ſucceeded in the adminiſtration; fully convinced, that the ſame perſons who had ſunk the nation in the preſent diſtreſsful circumſtances, who had brought on her diſhonour, and reduced her to the verge of deſtruction, were by no means the fit inſtruments of her delivery and redemption. The whole kingdom catched fire at the late changes; nor could the power, the cunning and the artifice of a faction long ſupport it againſt the united voice of Great-Britain, which ſoon pierced the ears of the ſovereign. It was not poſſible to perſuade the people that ſalutary meaſures could be ſuggeſted or purſued, except by the few, whoſe zeal for the honour of their country, and ſteady adherence to an upright diſintereſted conduct, had ſecured their confidence, and claimed their veneration. A great number of addreſſes, dutifully and loyally expreſſed, ſollicited the king, ever ready to meet half way the wiſhes of his faithful people, to reſtore mr. Pitt and mr. Legge to their former employments. Upon this they reſted the ſecurity and honour of the nation, as well as the public expectation of the ſpeedy and ſucceſsful iſſue of a war, hitherto attended with diſgraces and misfortunes. Accordingly, his majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to redeliver the ſeals to mr. Pitt, appointed him ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department, on the 29th day of June, and five days after the office of chancellor of the exchequer was reſtored to mr. Legge: promotions that afforded univerſal ſatisfaction.

It would not, perhaps, be poſſible to exclude from a ſhare in the adminiſtration all who were not perfectly agreeable to the people: however unpopular the late miniſtry might appear, ſtill they poſſeſſed ſufficient influence in the privy-council, and credit in the houſe of commons, to thwart every meaſure in which they did not themſelves partake. This conſideration, and very recent experience, probably dictated the neceſſity of a coalition, ſalutary in itſelf and prudent, becauſe it was the only means of aſſuaging the rage of faction, and healing thoſe diviſions, more pernicious to the public than the moſt miſtaken and blundering councils. Sir Robert Henley was made lord-keeper of the great ſeal, and ſworn of his majeſty's privy-council, on the 13th day of June; the cuſtody of the privy-ſeal was committed to earl Temple: his grace the duke of Newcaſtle, mr. Legge, mr. Nugent, lord viſcount Duncannon, and mr. Grenville, were appointed commiſſioners for executing the office of treaſurer of his majeſty's exchequer: lord Anſon, admirals Boſcawen and Forbes, dr. Hay, mr. Weſt, mr. Hunter, and mr. Elliot, to preſide at the board of admiralty: mr. Fox was gratified with the office of receiver and paymaſter-general of all his majeſty's guards, garriſons, and land forces; and the earl of Thomond was made treaſurer of the king's houſehold, and ſworn of his majeſty's privy-council. Other promotions likewiſe took place, with a deſign to gratify the adherents of either party; and ſo equally was the royal favour diſtributed, that the utmoſt harmony for a long time ſubſiſted. Ingredients ſeemingly heterogeneous conſolidated into one uniform maſs, ſo as to produce effects far exceeding the moſt ſanguine expectations; and this prudent arrangement proved diſpleaſing only to thoſe whom violent party attachment had inſpired with a narrow and excluſive ſpirit.

The accumulated loſſes and diſappointments of the preceding year made it abſolute neceſſary to retrieve the credit of the Britiſh arms and councils by ſome vigorous and ſpirited enterprize, which ſhould at the ſame time produce ſome change in the circumſtances of his Pruſſian majeſty, already depreſſed by the repulſe of Colin, and in danger of being attacked by the whole power of France, now ready to fall upon him, like a torrent, which had ſo lately ſwept before in the army of obſervation, now on the brink of diſgrace. A well-planned and vigorous defence on the coaſt of France, it was thought would probably give a deciſive blow to the marine of that kingdom, and at the ſame time effect a powerful diverſion in favour of the Pruſſian monarch and the duke of Cumberland, driven from all his poſts in the electorate of Hanover, by drawing a part of the French forces to the defence and protection of their own coaſts. Both were objects of great concern, upon which the ſovereign and miniſtry were ſeduloufly bent. His royal highneſs the duke in a particular manner, urged the neceſſity of ſome enterprize of this nature, as the only expedient to obviate the ſhameful convention now in agitation. The miniſtry foreſaw, that, by deſtroying the enemy's ſhipping, all ſuccours would be cut off from America, whither they were daily tranſporting troops; the Britiſh commerce ſecured, without thoſe convoys ſo inconvenient to the board of admiralty, and to the merchants; and thoſe ideal fears of an invaſion, that had in ſome meaſure affected the public credit, wholly diſpelled.

From theſe conſiderations a powerful fleet was ordered to be got in readineſs to put to ſea on the ſhorteſt notice, and ten regiments of foot were marched to the Iſle of Wight. The naval armament, conſiſting of 18 ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips, bomb-ketches, and tranſports, was put under the command of ſir Edward Hawke, an officer whoſe faithful ſervices recommended him, above all others, to this command; and rear-admiral Knowles was appointed his ſubaltern. Sir John Mordaunt was preferred to take the command of the land forces; and both ſtrictly enjoined to act with the utmoſt unanimity and harmony. Europe beheld with aſtoniſhment theſe mighty prepara-

tions. The deſtination of the armament was wrapped in the moſt profound ſecrecy: it exerciſed the penetration of politicians, and filled France with very ſerious alarms. Various were the impediments which obſtructed the embarkation of the troops for ſeveral weeks, while mr. Pitt expreſſed the greateſt uneaſineſs at the delay, and repeatedly urged the commander in chief to expedite his departure; but a ſufficient number of tranſports, owing to ſome blunder in the contractors had not yet arrived. The troops expreſſed an eager impatience to ſignalize themſelves againſt the enemies of the liberties of Europe; but the ſuperſtitious drew unfavourable preſages from the dilatorineſs of the embarkation. At laſt the tranſports arrived, the troops were put on board with all expedition, and the fleet got under ſail on the 8th day of September, attended with the prayers of every man warmed with the love of his country, and ſollicitous for her honour. The public, big with expectation, dubious where the ſtroke would fall, but confident of its ſucceſs, were impatient for tidings from the fleet; but it was not till the 14th that even the troops on board began to conjecture that a deſcent was meditated on the coaſt of France near Rochefort or Rochelle.

On the 20th the fleet made the iſle of Oleron, and then ſir Edward Hawke ſent an order to vice-admiral Knowles, requiring him, if the wind permitted the fleet, to proceed to Baſque road, to ſtand in as near to the Iſle of Aix as the pilot would carry him, with ſuch ſhips of his diviſion as he thought neceſſary for the ſervice, and to batter the fort till the garriſon ſhould either abandon or ſurrender it. But the immediate execution of this order was fruſtrated by a French ſhip of war's ſtanding into the very middle of the fleet, and continuing in that ſtation for ſome time before ſhe diſcovered her miſtake, or any of the captains had a ſignal thrown out to give chaſe. Admiral Knowles, when too late, ordered the Magnanime, captain Howe, and Torbay, captain Keppel, on that ſervice, and thereby retarded the attac upon which he was immediately ſent. A ſtroke of policy greatly to be admired, as from hence he gained time to aſſure himſelf of the ſtrength of the fortifications of Aix, before he ran his majeſty's ſhips into danger.

While the above ſhips, with the addition of the Royal William, were attending the French ſhip of war ſafe into the river Garonne, the remainder of the fleet was beating to windward off the Iſle of Oleron; and the commander in chief publiſhing orders and regulations which did credit to his judgment, and would have been highly uſeful had there ever been occaſion to put them in execution. On the 23d the van of the fleet, led by captain Howe in the Magnanime, ſtood towards Aix, a ſmall iſland ſituated in the mouth of the river Charente, leading up to Rochefort, the fortifications half finiſhed, and mounted with about 30 cannon and mortars, the garriſon compoſed of 600 men, and the whole iſland about five miles in circumference. As the Magnanime approached, the enemy fired briſkly upon her; but captain Howe, regardleſs of their faint endeavours, kept on his courſe without flinching, dropped his anchors cloſe to the walls, and poured in ſo inceſſant a fire as ſoon ſilenced their artillery. It was however, near an hour before the fort ſtruc, when ſome forces were landed to take poſſeſſion of ſo important a conqueſt, with orders to demoliſh the fortifications, the care of which was intruſted to vice-admiral Knowles.

Inconſiderable as this ſucceſs might appear, it greatly elated the troops, and was deemed an happy omen of further advantages; but, inſtead of embarking the troops that night, as was univerſally expected, ſeveral ſucceſſive days were ſpent in councils of war, ſoundings of the coaſt, and deliberations whether the king's expreſs orders were practicable, or to be complied with. Eight days were elapſed ſince the firſt appearance of the fleet on the coaſt, and the alarm was given to the enemy. Sir Edward Hawke, indeed, propoſed laying a 60 gun ſhip againſt Fouras, and battering that fort, which it was thought would help to ſecure the landing of the troops, and falicitate the enterprize on Rochefort. This a French pilot on board (Thierry) undertook; but after a ſhip had been lighted for the purpoſe, vice-admiral Knowles reported that a bomb-ketch had run a-ground at above the diſtance of two miles from the fort; upon which the project of battering or bombarding the fort was abandoned. The admiral likewiſe propoſed to bombard Rochelle; but this overture was over-ruled, for reaſons which we need not mention. It was at length determined, in a council of war held on the 8th, to make a deſcent, and attac the forts leading to and upon the mouth of the river Charente. An order, in conſequence of this reſolution, was immediately iſſued for the troops to be ready to embark from the tranſports in the boats preciſely at 12 o'clock at night. Accordingly, the boats were prepared, and filled with the men at the time appointed, and now they remained beating againſt each other, and the ſides of the ſhips, for the ſpace of four hours, while the council were determining whether, after all the trouble given, they ſhould land; when at length an order was publiſhed for the troops to return to their reſpective tranſports, and all thoughts of a deſcent, to appearance, were wholly abandoned. The ſucceeding days were employed in blowing up and demoliſhing the fortifications of Aix; after which, the land officers in a council of war, took the final reſolution of returning to England without any further attempts, fully ſatisfied they had done all in their power to execute the deſigns of the miniſtry, and chooſing rather to oppoſe the frowns of an angry ſovereign, the murmurs of an incenſed nation, and the contempt of mankind, than fight a handful of daſtardy militia. Such was the iſſue of an expedition that raiſed the expectation of all Europe, threw the coaſts of France into the utmoſt confuſion, and coſt the people of England little leſs than a million of money.

The fleet was no ſooner returned than the whole nation was in a ferment. The public expectation had been wound up to the higheſt pitch, and now the diſappointment was proportioned to the ſanguine hopes conceived that the pride of France would have been humbled by ſo formidable an armament. The miniſtry, and with them the national voice, exclaimed againſt the commanding officers, and the military men retorted the calumny, by laying the blame on the projectors of the enterprize, who had put the nation to great expence before they had obtained the neceſſary information. Certain it was, that blame muſt fall ſomewhere, and the miniſtry reſolved to acquit themſelves and fix the accuſation, by requeſting his majeſty to appoint a board of officers of character and ability to enquire into the cauſes of the late miſcarriage. This alone it was that could appeaſe the public clamours, and afford general ſatisfaction. The enemies of mr. Pitt endeavoured to wreſt the miſcarriage of the expedition to his prejudice, but the wiſpers of faction was ſoon drowned in the voice of the whole people of England, who never could perſuade themſelves that a gentlemen, raiſed to the height of power and popularity by mere dint of ſuperior merit, integrity, and diſintereſtedneſs, would now ſacrifice his reputation by a moc armament, or hazard incurring the deriſion of Europe, by neglecting to obtain all the neceſſary previous information, or doing whatever might contribute to the ſucceſs of the expedition. It was aſked whether reaſon or juſtice dictated, that a late unfortunate admiral ſhould be capitally puniſhed for not trying and exerting his utmoſt ability to relieve Fort St. Philip's, inveſted by a powerful army and ſurrounded with a numerous fleet, while no charge of negligence or cowardice was brought againſt thoſe who occaſioned the miſcarriage of a well-concerted and well-appointed expedition? The people, they ſaid, were not to be quieted with the reſolutions of a council of war, compoſed of men, whoſe inactivity might frame excuſes for declining to expoſe themſelves to danger. It was publicly mentioned, that ſuch bacwardneſs appeared among the general officers before the fleet reached the iſle of Oleron as occaſioned the admiral to declare with warmth, that he would comply with his orders, and go into Baſque road, whatever might be the conſequence. It was aſked why the army did not land on the night of the 23d or 24th, and whether the officers ſent out to reconnoitre had returned with ſuch intelligence as ſeemed to render a deſcent impracticable? It was aſked, whether the commander in chief had complied with his majeſty's orders, 'to attempt, as far as ſhould be found practicable, a deſcent on the coaſt of France, at or near Rochefort, in order to attac, and, by a vigorous impreſſion, force that place; and to burn and deſtroy, to the utmoſt of his power, all docs, magazines, arſenals, and ſhipping, as ſhall be found there?' Such rumours as theſe, every where propogated, rendered an enquiry no leſs neceſſary to the reputation of the officers on the expedition than to the miniſter who had projected it. Accordingly, a board, conſiſting of three officers of rank, reputation, and ability, was appointed by his majeſty, to enquire into the reaſons why the fleet returned without having executed his majeſty's orders.

The three general officers, who met on the 21ſt of the ſame month, were Charles, duke of Marlborough, lieutenant-general, major-generals lord George Sackville and John Waldegrave. To judge of the practicability of executing his majeſty's orders, it was neceſſary to enquire into the nature of the intelligence upon which the expedition was

projected. The firſt and moſt important was a letter ſent to ſir John, afterwards lord Ligonier, by lieutenant-colonel Clark. This letter had been frequently examined in the privy-council, and contained in ſubſtance, that colonel Clark, in returning from Gibraltar, in the year 1754, had travelled along the weſtern coaſt of France to obſerve the conditions of the fortifications, and judge how far a deſcent would be practicable, in caſe of a rupture between Great-Britain and France. On his coming to Rochefort, where he was attended by an engineer, he was ſurpriſed to find the greateſt part of a good rampart, with a revetement, flanked only with redans: no outworks, no covered-way, and in many places no ditch, ſo that the bottom of the wall was ſeen at a diſtance. He remembered, that in other places, where the earth had been taken out to form the rampart, there was left round them a conſiderable height of ground, whence an enemy might draw a great advantage: that for above the length of a front, or two or three hundred yards, there was no rampart, or even entrenchment, but only ſmall ditches, in the low and marſhy grounds next the river, which however were dry at low-water; yet the bottom remained muddy and ſlimy. Towards the river no rampart, no batteries, no parapet, on either ſide appeared, and on the land ſide he obſerved ſome high ground within the diſtance of 150 or 200 yards of the town, in which condition the colonel was told by the engineer the place had remained for above 70 years. To prevent giving umbrage, he drew no plan of the place, and even burnt the few ſketches he had by him: however, as to utility, the colonel declared himſelf as much ſatisfied as if he had taken a plan. He could not aſcertain the direct height of the rampart, but thought it could not exceed 25 feet, including the parapet. The river might be about 130 feet broad, and the entrance defended by two or three ſmall redoubts. As to forces, none are ever garriſoned at Rochefort, except marines, which, at the time the colonel was on the ſpot, amounted to about 1000. This was the firſt intelligence the miniſtry received of the ſtate of Rochefort, which afforded ſufficient room to believe that an attac by ſurpriſe might be attended with happy conſequences. It was true, that colonel Clark made his obſervations in time of peace, but it was likewiſe probable, that no great alterations were made on account of the war, as the place had remained in the ſame condition during the two or three laſt wars with France, when they had the ſame reaſons as now to expect their coaſts would be inſulted. The next information was obtained from Joſeph Thierry, a French pilot, of the proteſtant religion, who paſſed ſeveral examinations before the privy-council. This perſon declared that he had followed the buſineſs of a pilot on the coaſt of France for the ſpace of 20 years, and ſerved as firſt pilot in ſeveral of the king's ſhips: that he had, in particular, piloted the Magnanime, before ſhe was taken by the Engliſh, for about 22 months, and had often conducted her into the road of the Iſle of Aix; and that he was perfectly acquainted with the entrance, which, indeed, is ſo eaſy as to render a pilot almoſt unneceſſary. The road, he ſaid, afforded good anchorage in 12 or 14 fathom water, as far as Bayonne; the channel between the iſlands of Oleron and Rhé was three leagues broad, and the banks neceſſary to be avoided lay near the land, except one called the Boiard, which is eaſily diſcerned by the breakers. He affirmed that the largeſt veſſels might draw up cloſe to the fort of Aix, which he would undertake the Magnanime alone ſhould deſtroy; that the largeſt ſhips might come up to the Vigerot, two miles diſtant from the mouth of the river, with all their cannon and ſtores: that men might be landed to the north of fort Fouras, out of ſight of the fort, upon a meadow where the ground is firm and level, under cover of the cannon of the fleet. This landing place is reckoned at about five miles from Rochefort, the way dry, and no way intercepted by ditches and moraſſes. He ſaid great part of the city was encompaſſed by a wall; but towards the river, on both ſides, for about ſixty paces, it was encloſed only with palliſades, without a foſſé. To the intelligence of col. Clark and Thierry the miniſtry added a ſecret account obtained of the ſtrength and diſtribution of the French forces, whence it appeared highly probable that no more than 10,000 men could be allowed for the defence of the whole coaſt, from St. Valery to Bourdeaux. In conſequence of the above information the ſecret expedition was planned; inſtructions were given to ſir John Mordaunt and admiral Hawke to make a vigorous impreſſion on the French coaſt, and all the other meaſures projected, which it was imagined would make an effectual diverſion, by obliging the enemy to employ a great part of their forces at home, diſturb and ſhake the credit of their public loans, impair the ſtrength and reſources of their navy, diſconcert their extenſive and dangerous operations of war, and, finally, give life, ſtrength, and luſtre to the common cauſe and his majeſty's arms. The board of enquiry took next into conſideration the ſeveral letters and explanatory inſtructions ſent to ſir John Mordaunt, in conſequence of ſome difficulties which might poſſibly incur, ſtated by that general in letters to the miniſter, previous to his ſailing. Then they examined the report made to ſir Edward Hawke by admiral Broderick, and the captains of men of war ſent to ſound the French ſhore from Rochelle to fort Fouras, dated September the twenty-ninth; the reſult of the councils of war on the twenty-fifth and twenty-eighth; ſir Edward Hawke's letter to ſir John Mordaunt on the twenty-ſeventh, and the general's anſwer on the twenty-ninth: after which ſir John Mordaunt was called upon to give his reaſons for not putting his majeſty's inſtructions and orders in execution. This he did in ſubſtance as follows: The attempt on Rochefort he underſtood was to have been on the footing of a coup de main or ſurpriſe, which it would be impoſſible to execute if the deſign was diſcovered or the alarm taken. He alſo underſtood that an attempt could not be made, nay, that his majeſty did not require it ſhould, unleſs a proper place for debarking, and a ſafe retreat for the troops was diſcovered; particularly where the ſhips could protect them, and a ſafe communication with the fleet, and conveyance of ſupplies from it, were found. His ſentiments, he ſaid, were confirmed by a paper to this purpoſe, delivered to him by ſir John Ligonier, on his firſt being appointed to command the expedition. It was likewiſe probable, he thought, that although Rochefort ſhould have remained in the ſituation in which colonel Clark and the pilot Thierry had ſeen it three years before, yet that a few days preparation could make it ſufficiently defenſible againſt a coup de main. Judging, therefore, the dependence on ſuch an operation alone improper, he applied to the miniſtry for two more old battalions, and artillery for a regular attac to force the place, which, from its conſtruction, appeared as difficult to be made defenſible againſt the latter, as eaſily ſecured againſt the former. But this requeſt being refuſed, he ſtill thought it his duty to obey his orders on the footing on which the expedition was planned, eſpecially as he underſtood his inſtructions were diſcretionary, regarding the circumſtances of the time, the condition of the place, and the nature of the ſervice. He recited the poſitive and credible intelligence received, as well before the embarkation as during the voyage, of the alarm given to France, and the preparations made along the French coaſts from Breſt and St. Maloes to Rochefort: the accidents that kept the fleet hovering along the coaſts, and prevented the poſſibility of an attempt by ſurpriſe; the reports of all the gentlemen employed in ſounding the coaſts, ſo contrary to the intelligence given by Thierry the pilot: the opinion of the council of war, by which he was enjoined to act, and with which his own judgement concurred: the endeavours uſed, after the 26th, to find out ſome expedient for annoying the enemy and executing his majeſty's inſtructions: the attempt made to land, in conſequence of the reſolution of the ſecond council of war, which was prevented by boiſterous and ſtormy weather, and, laſtly, the reaſons that determined him, in concert with the other land officers, return to England.

Having conſidered all theſe circumſtances, and examined ſeveral officers who ſerved in the expedition, the court of enquiry gave in the following report to his majeſty:—"It appears to us, that one cauſe of the expedition having failed is the not attacking fort Fouras by ſea, at the ſame time that it could have been attacked by land, agreeably to the firſt deſign, which certainly muſt have been of the greateſt utility towards carrying his majeſty's inſtructions into execution. It was at firſt reſolved by admiral Hawke (Thierry, the pilot, having undertaken the ſafe conduct of a ſhip to fort Fouras for that purpoſe) but afterwards laid aſide, upon the repreſentation of vice-admiral Knowles, that the Barfleur, the ſhip deſigned for that ſervice, was a-ground, at the diſtance of between four or five miles from the ſhore: but as neither ſir Edward Hawke or the pilot could attend to give any information upon that head, we cannot preſume to offer any certain opinion thereupon. We conceive another cauſe of the failure of the expedition to have been, that, inſtead of attempting to land when the report was received on the 24th of September, from rear-admiral Broderick, and the captains who had been out to ſound and recognoitre, a council of war was ſummoned, and held on the 25th, in which it was unanimouſly reſolved not to land, as the attempt on Rochefort was neither adviſeable

or practicable: but it does not appear to us that there were then, or at any time afterwards, either a body of troops or batteries on ſhore ſufficient to have prevented the attempting a deſcent, in purſuance of his inſtructions ſigned by your majeſty: neither does it appear to us that there were any reaſons ſufficient to induce the council of war to believe that Rochefort was ſo changed in reſpect to its ſtrength, or poſture of defence, ſince the expedition was firſt reſolved on in England, as to prevent all attempts of an attac upon the place, in order to burn and deſtroy the docs, magazines, arſenals. and ſhipping, in obedience to your majeſty's command. And we think ourſelves obliged to remark, in the council of war on the 28th of September, that no reaſon could have exiſted ſufficient to prevent the attempt of landing the troops, as the council then unanimouſly reſolved to land with all poſſible diſpatch. We beg leave alſo to remark, that after it being unanimouſly reſolved to land, in the council of war of the 28th of September, the reſolution was taken of returning to England, without any regular or general meeting of the ſaid council: but as the whole operation was of ſo inconſiderable a nature, we do not offer this to your majeſty as a cauſe of the failure of the expedition, ſince we cannot but look upon the expedition to have failed from the time the great object of it was laid aſide in the council of war of the 25th.'

The report, ſigned by the general officers Marlborough, Sackville, and Waldgrave, probably laid the foundation for the court-martial which ſat ſoon after upon the conduct of the commander in chief on the expedition. The enemies of the miniſter made a handle of the miſcarriage to leſſen him in the eſteem of the public, by laying the whole blame on his forming a project ſo expenſive to the nation, on intelligence not only ſlight at the firſt view, but falſe upon further examination. But the people were ſtill his advocates, they diſcerned ſomething myſterious in the whole conduct of the commander in chief. They plainly perceived that caution took place of vigour, and that the hours for action were ſpent in deliberations and councils of war. Had he debarked the troops, and made ſuch an attac as would have diſtinguiſhed his courage, the voice of the people would have acquitted him, however unſucceſsful, though prudence, perhaps, might have condemned him. Even Braddock's raſhneſs they deemed preferable to Mordaunt's inactivity: the loſs of ſo many brave lives was thought leſs injurious and diſgraceful to the nation than the too ſafe return of the preſent armament. The one demonſtrated that the Britiſh ſpirit ſtill exiſted; the other ſeemed to indicate the too powerful influence of wealth, luxury, and thoſe manners which tend to debauch and enaſculate the mind. A public trial of the commander in chief was expected by the people, and it was graciouſly granted by his majeſty. It is even thought that ſir John Mordaunt himſelf demanded to have his conduct ſcrutinized, by which method alone he was ſenſible his character could be reeſtabliſhed. His majeſty's warrant for holding a court-martial was accordingly ſigned on the 3d day of December. The court was compoſed of nine lieutenant-generals, nine major-generals, and three colonels, who ſat on the 14th, and continued by ſeveral adjournments to the 20th. Lieutenant-general ſir John Mordaunt came priſoner before the court, and the following charge was exhibited againſt him: namely, That he being appointed by the king commander in chief of his majeſty's forces ſent on an expedition to the coaſt of France, and having received orders and inſtructions relative thereto from his majeſty, under his royal ſign-manuel, and alſo by one of his principal ſecretaries of ſtate, had diſobeyed his majeſty's ſaid orders and inſtructions. The proceedings of this court were nearly ſimilar to thoſe of the court of enquiry. The ſame evidences were examined, with the addition of ſir Edward Hawke's depoſition; and a defence differing in no eſſential point from the former, made by the priſoner, but the judgement given was clear and explicit. Sir John Mordaunt was unanimouſly found not guilty, and therefore acquitted, while the public opinion remained unaltered, and many perſons inveighed as bitterly againſt the lenity of the preſent court-martial as they had formerly againſt the ſeverity of the ſentence paſſed upon a late unfortunate admiral. The evidence of one gentleman in particular drew attention: he was accuſed of tergiverſation, and of ſhowing that partial indulgence which his own conduct required. He publicly defended his character: his performance was cenſured, and himſelf diſmiſſed the ſervice by his ſovereign.

Beſides the diverſion intended by a deſcent on the coaſt of France, ſeveral other methods were employed to amuſe the enemy, as well as to protect the trade of the kingdom, ſecure our colonies in the Weſt-Indies, and inſure the continuance of the extraordinary ſucceſs which had lately bleſſed his majeſty's arms in the Eaſt-Indies; but theſe we could not mention before without breaking the thread of our narration. On the 9th of February admiral Weſt ſailed with a ſquadron of men of war to the weſtward, as did admiral Coats with the fleet under his convoy to the Weſt-Indies, and commodore Stevens with the trade to the Eaſt-Indies in the month of March. Admiral Holbourn and commodore Holms, with 11 ſhips of the line, a fire-ſhip, bomb-ketch, and 50 tranſports, ſailed from St. Helen's for America in April. The admiral had on board 6200 effective men, excluſive of officers, under the command of general Hopſon, aſſiſted by lord Charles Hay. In May admiral Oſborne, who had been forced bac to Plymouth with his ſquadron by ſtreſs of weather, ſet ſail for the Mediterranean, as did two ſhips of war ſent to convoy the American trade.

In the mean time, the privateers fitted out by private merchants and ſocieties greatly annoyed the French commerce. The Antigallican, a private ſhip of war, equipped by a ſociety of men who aſſumed that name, took the duke de Penthievre Indiaman off the port of Corunna, and carried her into Cadiz. The prize was eſtimated worth 200,000l. and immediate application was made by France to the court of Spain for reſtitution, while the proprietors of the Antigallican were ſquandering in mirth, feſtivity, and riot, the imaginary wealth ſo eaſily and unexpectedly acquired. Such were the remonſtrances made to his catholick majeſty with reſpect to the illegality of the prize, which the French Eaſt-India company aſſerted was taken within ſhot of a neutral port, that the Penthievre was firſt violently wreſted out of the hands of the captors, then detained as a depoſit, with ſealed hatches, and a Spaniſh guard on board, till the claims of both parties could be examined, and at laſt adjudged to be an illegal capture, and conſequently reſtored to the French, to the great diſappointment of the owners of the privateer. Beſides the ſucceſs which attended a great number of other privateers, the lords of the admiralty publiſhed a liſt of above 30 ſhips of war and privateers taken from the enemy, in the ſpace of four months, by the Engliſh ſloops and ſhips of war, excluſive of the duke d'Aquitaine Indiaman, now fitted out as a ſhip of war, taken by the Eagle and Medway; the Pondicherry Indiaman, valued at 160,000l. taken by the Dover man of war; and above ſix privateers brought into port by the diligent and brave captain Lockhart, for which he was honoured with a variety of preſents of plate by ſeveral corporations, in teſtimony of their eſteem and regard. This run of good fortune was not, however, without ſome retribution on the ſide of the enemy, who, out of 21 ſhips homeward-bound from Carolina, made prizes of 19, whence the merchants ſuſtained conſiderable damage, and a great quantity of valuable commodities, indigo in particular, was loſt to this country.

Notwithſtanding the large imports of grain from different parts of Europe and America, the artifice of engroſſers ſtill kept up the price of corn. So incenſed were the populace at the iniquitous combinations entered into to fruſtrate the endeavours of the legiſlature, and to oppreſs the poor, that they roſe in a tumultuous manner in ſeveral counties, ſometimes to the number of 5 or 6000, and ſeiſed upon the grain brought to market. Nor was it indeed to be wondered at, conſidering the diſtreſs to which many perſons were reduced. The difficulty of obtaining the neceſſaries of life raiſed the price of labour at the moſt unſeaſonable time, when all manufacturers were overſtocked for want of a proper market, which obliged them to diſmiſs above half the hands before employed. Hence aroſe the moſt pitiable condition of ſeveral thouſands of uſeful induſtrious ſubjects; a calamity attended only with one advantage to the public, namely, the facility with which recruits were raiſed for his majeſty's ſervice. At laſt the plentiful crops with which it pleaſed Providence to bleſs theſe kingdoms, the prodigious quantities of corn imported from foreign countries, and the wiſe meaſures of the legiſlature, broke all the villainous ſchemes ſet on foot by the foreſtallers and engroſſers, and reduced the price of corn to the uſual ſtandard. The public joy on this event was greatly augmented by the ſafe arrival of the fleet from the Leeward iſlands, conſiſting of 92 ſail, and of the Straits fleet, eſteemed worth three millions ſterling, whereby the ſilk manufacturers in particular were again employed, and their diſtreſſes relieved. About the ſame time the India company was highly elated with the joyful account of the ſafe arrival and ſpirited conduct of three of their captains, attacked in their paſſage homeward

by two French men of war, one of 64, the other of 26 guns. After a warm engagement, which continued for three hours, they obliged the French ſhips to ſheer off, with ſcarce any loſs on their own ſide. When the engagement began, the captains had promiſed a reward of 1000l. to the crews, by way of incitement to their valour; and the company doubled the ſum, in recompenſe of their fidelity and courage.

His majeſty having taken into conſideration the incredible damage ſuſtained by the commerce of theſe kingdoms, for want of proper harbours and forts on the weſtern coaſt to receive and protect merchant-men, was graciouſly pleaſed to order that a temporary ſecurity ſhould be provided for the ſhipping which might touch at Milford-Haven, until the fortifications voted in parliament could be erected. How far his majeſty's directions were complied with, the number of merchant-ſhips taken by the enemy's privateers upon that coaſt ſufficiently indicated.

Whatever reaſons the government had to expect the campaign ſhould be vigorouſly puſhed in America, almoſt every circumſtance turned out contrary to expectation. Not all the endeavours of the earl of Loudoun to quiet the diſſentions among the different provinces, and to eſtabliſh unanimity and harmony, could prevail. Circumſtances required that he ſhould act the part of a mediator, in order to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies for proſecuting the war, without which it was impoſſible he could appear in the character of a general. The enemy, in the mean time, were purſuing the blow given at Oſwego, and taking advantage of the diſtraction that appeared in the Britiſh councils. By their ſucceſſes in the preceding campaign, they remained maſters of all the lakes. Hence they were furniſhed with the means of practiſing on the Indians in all the different diſtricts, and obliging them by rewards, promiſes, and menaces to act in their favour. Every acceſſion to their ſtrength was a real dimunition of that of the Britiſh commander; but then the ignorance or puſillanimity of ſome of the inferior officers in our bac ſettlements was, in effect, more beneficial to the enemy than all the vigilance and activity of Montcalm. In conſequence of the ſhameful loſs of Oſwego, they voluntarily abandoned to the mercy of the French general the whole country of the Five Nations, the only body of Indians who had inviolably performed their engagements, or indeed who had preſerved any ſincere regard for the Britiſh government. The communication with theſe faithful allies was now cut off, by the imprudent demolition of the forts we poſſeſſed at the great carrying-place. A ſtrong fort, indeed, was built at Wincheſter, and called Fort Loudoun, after the commander in chief, and 400 Cherokee Indians joined the Engliſh forces at Fort Cumberland: but this re-enforcement by no means counterbalanced the loſſes ſuſtained in conſequence of our having imprudently ſtopped up Wood-creek, and filled it with logs. Every perſon the leaſt acquainted with the country readily perceived the weakneſs of theſe meaſures, by which our whole frontier was left open and expoſed to the irruption of the ſavages in the French intereſt, who would not fail to profit by our blunders, too notorious to eſcape them. By the removal of theſe barriers, a path was opened to our fine ſettlements on thoſe grounds called the German Flats, and along the Mohawk's river, which the enemy deſtroyed with fire and ſword before the end of the campaign.

In the mean time lord Loudoun was taking the moſt effectual ſteps to unite the provinces, and raiſe a force ſufficient to give ſome deciſive blow. The attac on Crown-Point, which had been ſo long meditated, was laid aſide, as of leſs importance than the intended expedition to Louſbourg, now ſubſtituted in its place, and undoubtedly a more conſiderable object in itſelf. Admiral Holbourne arrived at Hallifax, with the ſquadron and tranſports under his command, on the 9th of July; and it was his lordſhip's intention to repair thither with all poſſible diligence, in order to take upon him the command of the expedition; but a variety of accidents interpoſed. It was with the utmoſt difficulty he at length aſſembled a body of 6000 men, with which he inſtantly began his march to join the troops lately arrived from England. When the junction was affected, the whole forces amounted to 12,000 men; an army that raiſed great expectations. Immediately ſome ſmall veſſels were ſent out to examine and reconnoitre the condition of the enemy, and the intermediate time was employed in embarking the troops, as ſoon as the tranſports arrived. The return of the ſcouts totally altered the face of affairs: they brought the unwelcome news, that M. de Bois de la Mothe, who ſailed in the month of May from Breſt with a large fleet of ſhips of war and tranſports, was now ſafe at anchor in the harbour of Louiſbourg. Their intelligence was ſupported by the teſtimony of ſeveral deſerters; yet ſtill it wanted confirmation, and many perſons believed their account of the enemy's ſtrength greatly magnified. Such devices, however, could not but occaſion extraordinary fluctuations in the councils of war at Hallifax. Some were for ſetting aſide all thoughts of the expedition for that ſeaſon; while others more warm in their diſpoſitions, and ſanguine in their expectations, were for proſecuting it with vigour, in ſpite of all dangers and difficulties. Their diſputes were carried on with great vehemence, when a packet bound from Louiſbourg in France was taken by one of the Engliſh ſhips ſtationed at Newfoundland. She had letters on board, which put the enemy's ſuperiority beyond all doubt, at leaſt by ſea. It clearly appeared there were at that time in Louiſbourg 6000 regular troops, 3000 natives, and 1300 Indians, with 17 ſhips of the line, and three frigates moored in the harbour; that the place was well ſupplied with ammunition, proviſion, and every kind of military ſtores; and that the enemy wiſhed for nothing more than an attac, which it was probable would terminate to the diſgrace of the aſſailants, and ruin of the Britiſh affairs in America. The commanders at Hallifax were fully appriſed of the conſequences of an unſucceſsful attempt; it was, therefore, almoſt unanimouſly reſolved to poſtpone the expedition to ſome more convenient opportunity, eſpecially as the ſeaſon was now far advanced, which alone would be ſufficient to fruſtrate their endeavours, and render the enterprize abortive. This reſolution ſeems, indeed, to have been the moſt eligible in their circumſtances, whatever conſtructions might afterwards be given, with intention to prejudice the public againſt the commander in chief.

Lord Loudoun's departure from New-York, with all the forces he was able to collect, afforded the marquis de Montcalm the faireſt occaſion of improving the ſucceſſes of the former campaign. That general had, in the very commencement of the ſeaſon, made three different attacs on Fort William-Henry, in all of which he was repulſed by the vigour and reſolution of the garriſon. But his diſappointment here was balanced by an advantage gained by a party of regulars and Indians at Ticonderoga. Colonel John Parker with a detachment of near 400 men, went by water, in whale and bay-boats, to attac the enemy's advanced guard at that place. Landing at night on an iſland, he ſent before dawn three boats to the main-land, which the enemy way-laid and took. Having procured the neceſſary intelligence from the priſoners of the colonel's deſigns, they contrived their meaſures, placed 300 men in ambuſh behind the point where he propoſed landing, and ſent three batteaux to the place of rendezvous. Colonel Parker miſtaking theſe for his own boats, eagerly put to ſhore, was ſurrounded by the enemy, re-enforced with 400 men, and attacked with ſuch impetuoſity, that, of the whole detachment, only two officers and 70 private men eſcaped. Fluſhed with this advantage, animated by the abſence of the Britiſh commander in chief, then at Hallifax, and fired with a deſire to revenge the diſgrace he had lately ſuſtained before Fort Henry, Montcalm drew together all his forces, with intention to lay ſiege to that place. Fort William-Henry ſtands on the ſouthern coaſt of Lake George: it was built with a view to protect and cover the frontiers of the Engliſh colonies, as well as to command the lake: the fortifications were good, defended by a garriſon of near 3000 men, and covered by an army of 4000, under the conduct of general Webb, poſted at no great diſtance. When the marquis de Montcalm had aſſembled all the forces at Crown-Point, Ticonderoga, and the adjacent poſts, together with a conſiderable body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in the whole to near 10,000 men, he marched directly to the fort, made his approaches, and began to batter it with a numerous train of artillery. On the very day he inveſted the place, he ſent a letter to colonel Monro, the governor, telling him, he thought himſelf obliged, in humanity, to deſire he would ſurrender the fort, and not provoke the great number of ſavages in the French army by a vain reſiſtance. 'A detachment of your garriſon has lately, (ſays he) experienced their cruelty; I have it yet in my power to reſtrain them, and oblige them to obſerve a capitulation, as none of them hitherto are killed. Your perſiſting in the defence of your fort can only retard its fate a few days, and muſt of neceſſity expoſe an unfortunate garriſon, who can poſſibly receive no relief, conſidering the precautions taken to prevent it. I demand a deciſive anſwer, for which purpoſe I have ſent the ſieur Funtbrune one of my aides-du-camp. You may credit what he will inform you of, from Montcalm.' General Webb beheld his preparations with an indif-

ference and ſecurity bordering on infatuation. It is credibly reported, that he had private intelligence of all the French general's deſigns and motions; yet, either deſpiſing his ſtrength, or diſcrediting the information, he neglected collecting the militia in time, which, in conjunction with his own forces, would probably have obliged Montcalm to relinquiſh the attempt, or, at leaſt, have rendered his ſucceſs very doubtful and hazardous. The enemy meeting with no diſturbance from the quarter they moſt dreaded, proſecuted the ſiege with vigour, and were warmly received by the garriſon, who fired with great ſpirit till they had burſt almoſt all their cannon, and expended their ammunition. Neither Montcalm's promiſes or threats could prevail upon them to ſurrender, while they were in a condition to defend themſelves, or could reaſonably expect aſſiſtance from general Webb. They even perſiſted to hold out after prudence dictated they ought to ſurrender. Colonel Monro was ſenſible of the importance of his charge, and imagined that general Webb, though ſlow in his motions, would ſurely make ſome vigorous efforts either to raiſe the ſiege, or force a ſupply of ammunition, proviſion, and other neceſſaries into the garriſon. At length neceſſity obliged him, after ſuſtaining a ſiege from the 3d to the 9th day Auguſt, to hang out a flag of truce, which was immediately anſwered by the French commander. Hoſtages were exchanged, and articles of capitulation ſigned by both parties. It was ſtipulated, that the garriſon of Fort William-Henry, and the troops in the retrenched camp, ſhould march out with their arms, the baggage of the officers and ſoldiers, and all the uſual neceſſaries of war; eſcorted by a detachment of French troops, and interpreters attached to the ſavages: that the gate of the fort ſhould be delivered to the troops of the moſt chriſtian king, immediately after ſigning the capitulation; and the retrenched camp, on the departure of the Britiſh forces: that the artillery, warlike ſtores, proviſion, and in general every thing, except the effects of the ſoldiers and officers, ſhould, upon honour, be delivered to the French troops; for which purpoſe it was agreed there ſhould be delivered, with the capitulation, an exact inventory of the ſtores, and other particulars ſpecified: that the garriſon of the fort, and the troops in the retrenchment and dependencies, ſhould not ſerve for the ſpace of 18 months, from the date of the capitulation, againſt his moſt chriſtian majeſty, or his allies: that with the capitulation there ſhould be delivered an exact ſtate of the troops, ſpecifying the names of the officers, engineers, artillery men, commiſſaries, and all employed: that the officers and ſoldiers, Canadians, women, and ſavages, made priſoners by land ſince the commencement of the war in North-America, ſhould be delivered in the ſpace of three months at Carrilon; in return for whom an equal number of the garriſon of Fort William-Henry ſhould be capacitated to ſerve, agreeably to the return given by the Engliſh officer, and the receipt of the French commanding officers, of the priſoners ſo delivered: that an officer ſhould remain as an hoſtage, till the ſafe return of the eſcort ſent with the troops of his Britannick majeſty: that the ſic and wounded, not in a condition to be tranſported to Fort Edward, ſhould remain under the protection of the marquis de Montcalm; who engaged to uſe them with tenderneſs and humanity, and to return them as ſoon as recovered: that proviſion for two days ſhould be iſſued out for the Britiſh troops: that in teſtimony of his eſteem and reſpect for colonel Monro and his garriſon, on account of their gallant defence, the marquis de Montcalm ſhould return one cannon, a ſix-pounder.—Whether the marquis de Montcalm was really aſſiduous to have theſe articles punctually executed we cannot pretend to determine; but certain it is, they were perfidiouſly broke, in almoſt every inſtance. The ſavages in the French intereſt either paid no regard to the capitulation, or were permitted, from views of policy, to act the moſt treacherous, inhuman, and inſiduous part. They fell upon the Britiſh troops as they marched out, deſpoiled them of their few remaining effects, dragged the Indians in the Engliſh ſervice out of their ranks, and aſſaſſinated them with circumſtances of unheard-of barbarity. Some Britiſh ſoldiers, with their wives and children, are ſaid to have been ſavagely murdered by thoſe brutal Indians, whoſe ferocity the French commander could not effectually reſtrain. The greater part of the Engliſh garriſon, however, arrived at Fort Edward, under protection of the French eſcort. The enemy demoliſhed the fort, carried off the effects, proviſion, artillery, and every thing elſe left by the garriſon, together with the veſſels preſerved in the lake, and departed, without purſuing their ſucceſs by any other attempt. Thus ended the third campaign in America, where, with an evident ſuperiority over the enemy, an army of twenty thouſand regular troops, a great number of provincial forces, and a prodigious naval power, not leſs than twenty ſhips of the line, we abandoned our allies, expoſed our people, ſuffered them to be cruelly maſſacred in ſight of our troops, and relinquiſhed a large and valuable tract of country, to the eternal reproach and diſgrace of the Britiſh name.

As to the naval tranſactions in this country, though leſs infamous, they were not leſs unfortunate. Immediately on lord Loudoun's departure from Hallifax, admiral Holbourn, now freed from the care of the tranſports, ſet ſail for Louiſbourg, with fifteen ſhips of the line one ſhip of fifty guns, three ſmall frigates, and a fire ſhip. What the object of this cruiſe might have been can only be conjectured. Some imagine curioſity was the admiral's ſole motive, and the deſire of informing himſelf with certainty of the enemy's ſtrength, while others perſuaded themſelves that he was in hopes of drawing M. de la Mothe to an engagement, notwithſtanding his ſuperiority in number of ſhips and weight of metal. Be this as it may, the Britiſh ſquadron appeared off Louiſbourg on the 20th day of Auguſt, and approaching within two miles of the batteries, ſaw the French admiral make the ſignal to unmoor. Mr Holbourn was greatly inferior in ſtrength, and it is obvious that his deſign was not to fight the enemy, as he immediately made the beſt of his way to Hallifax. About the middle of September, being reenforced with four ſhips of the line, he again proceeded to Louiſbourg, probably with intention, if poſſible, to draw the enemy to an engagement; but he found de la Mothe too prudent to hazard an unneceſſary battle, the loſs of which would have greatly expoſed all the French colonies. Here the Engliſh ſquadron continued cruiſing until the twenty-fifth, when they were overtaken by a terrible ſtorm from the ſouthward. When the hurrican began, the fleet was about forty leagues diſtant from Louiſbourg: but were driven in twelve hours within two miles of the rocs and breakers on that coaſt, when the wind providentially ſhifted. The ſhip Tilbury was wrecked upon the rocs, and half her crew drowned. Eleven ſhips were diſmaſted, others threw their guns overboard; and all returned in a very ſhattered condition to England, at a very unfavourable ſeaſon of the year. In this manner ended the expedition to Louiſbourg, more unfortunate to the nation than the preceding deſigns upon Rochefort; leſs diſgraceful to the commanders, but equally the occaſion of ridicule and triumph to our enemies. Indeed, the unhappy conſequences of the political diſputes at home, the inſtability of the adminiſtration, and the frequent revolutions in our councils, were ſtrongly manifeſted by that languor infuſed into all our military operations, and general unſteadineſs in our purſuits. Faction in the mother country produced diviſions and miſconduct in the colonies. No ambition to ſignalize themſelves appeared among the officers, from the uncertainty whether their ſervices were to be rewarded or condemned. Their attachment to particular perſons weakened the love they ought to have entertained for their country in general, and deſtroyed that ſpirit of enterpriſe, that firmneſs and reſolution which conſtitutes the commander, and without which the beſt capacity, joined to the moſt uncorruptible integrity, can effect nothing.

The French king not only exerted himſelf againſt the Engliſh in America, but even extended his operations to their ſettlements in Africa, which he ſent one of his naval commanders, with a ſmall ſquadron, to reduce. This gentleman, whoſe name was Kerſin, had ſcoured the coaſt of Guinea, and made prize of ſeveral Engliſh trading ſhips: but his chief aim was to reduce the caſtle at Cape-coaſt, of which had he gained poſſeſſion, the other ſubordinate forts would have ſubmitted without oppoſition. When mr. Bell, the governor of this caſtle, received intelligence that M. de Kerſin was a few leagues to windward, and certainly intended to attac Cape-coaſt, his whole garriſon did not exceed 30 white men, excluſive of a few Mulatto ſoldiers: his ſtoc of ammunition was reduced to half a barrel of gunpowder; and his fortifications were ſo craſy and inconſiderable, that, in the opinion of the beſt engineers, they could not have ſuſtained for 20 minutes the fire of one great ſhip, had it been properly directed and maintained. In theſe circumſtances, few people would have dreamed of making any preparation for defence; but mr. Bell entertained other ſentiments, and acquitted himſelf with equal courage and diſcretion. He forthwith procured a ſupply of gunpowder, and a re-enforcement of about 50 men, from certain trading veſſels that happened to be upon that part of the coaſt. He mounted ſome ſpare cannon upon an occaſional battery, and aſſembling a body of 1200 negroes well armed, under

the command of their chief, on whoſe attachment he could depend, ordered them to take poſt at the place where he apprehended the enemy would attempt a landing. Theſe precautions were hardly taken when the French ſquadron, conſiſting of two ſhips of the line and a large frigate, appeared, and in a little time their attac began, but they met with ſuch a warm reception, that in leſs than two hours they deſiſted, leaving the caſtle very little damaged, and immediately made ſail for the Weſt-Indies, very much to the diſappointment and mortification of the Dutch officers belonging to the fort of Elmina, in the ſame neighbourhood, who made no ſcruple of expreſſing their wiſhes publicly in favour of the French commodore, and at a diſtance viewed the engagement with the moſt partial eagerneſs and impatience. M. de Kerſin was generally blamed for his want of conduct and reſolution in this attempt: but he is ſaid to have been deceived in his opinion of the real ſtate of Cape-coaſt caſtle by the vigorous and reſolute exertions of the governor, and was apprehenſive of loſing a maſt in the engagement; a loſs which he could not have repaired on the whole coaſt of Africa. Had the fort of Cape-coaſt been reduced on this occaſion, in all probability every petty republic of the negroes ſettled under the protection of the forts on the Gold Coaſt would have revolted from the Britiſh intereſt: for while the French ſquadron, in their progreſs along ſhore, hovered in the offing at Anamaboe, an Engliſh ſettlement a few leagues to leeward of Cape-coaſt, John Corrantee, the caboceiro, chief magiſtrate and general of the Blacs, on that part of the coaſt, whoſe adopted ſon had a few years before been careſſed, and even treated as a prince in England, taking it for granted that this enterprize of the French would be attended with ſucceſs, actually ſent ſome of his dependants, with a preſent of refreſhments for their commodore; the delivery of which, however, was prevented by mr. Brew, the Engliſh chief of the fort, who ſhattered in pieces the canoe before it could be launched, and threatened with his cannon to level the blac town with the duſt. The caboceiro, though thus anticipated in his deſign, reſolved to be among the firſt who ſhould compliment M. de Kertin on his victory at Cape-coaſt; and, with this view, prepared an embaſſy or deputation to go there by land; but underſtanding that the French had failed in their attempt, he ſhifted his deſign, without the leaſt heſitation, and diſpatched the ſame embaſſy to mr. Bell, whom he congratulated on his victory, aſſuring him he had kept his men ready armed to march at the firſt ſummons to his aſſiſtance.

In the Eaſt-Indies the ſcene was changed greatly to the honour and advantage of Great-Britain. There the commanders acted with that harmony, ſpirit, and unanimity becoming Britons, zealous for the credit of their king and the intereſt of their country. We left admiral Watſon and colonel Clive advancing to Calcutta, to revenge the cruel tragedy acted upon their countrymen the preceding year. On the 28th of December, the fleet proceeded up the river: next day, colonel Clive landed, and with the aſſiſtance of the ſquadron, in 24 hours made himſelf maſter of Buſbudgia, a place of great ſtrength, though very ill defended. On the 1ſt of January the admiral, with two ſhips, appeared before the town of Calcutta, and was received by a briſk fire from the batteries. This ſalute was returned ſo warmly, that the enemies guns were ſoon ſilenced, and in leſs than two hours the place and fort were abandoned. Colonel Clive, on the other ſide, had inveſted the town, and made his attac with that vigour and intrepedity peculiar to himſelf, which greatly contributed to the ſudden reduction of the ſettlement. As ſoon as the fort was ſurrendered, the brave and active captain Coote, with his majeſty's troops, took poſſeſſion, and found 91 pieces of cannon, four mortars, abundance of ammunition, ſtores, and proviſion, with every requiſite for ſuſtaining an obſtinate ſiege. Thus the Engliſh were re-eſtabliſhed in the two ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in the Ganges, with the inconſiderable loſs of nine ſeamen killed, and three ſoldiers. A few days after, Hughley, a city of great trade, ſituated higher up the river, was reduced with as little difficulty, but infinitely greater prejudice to the nabob, as here his ſtore-houſes of ſalt, and vaſt graneries for the ſupport of his army, were burnt and deſtroyed. Incenſed at the almoſt inſtantaneous loſs of all his conqueſts, and demolition of the city of Hughley, the viceroy of Bengal diſcouraged all advances to an accommodotion which was propoſed by the admiral and chiefs of the company, and aſſembled an army of 20,000 horſe and 15,000 foot, fully reſolved to expel the Engliſh out of his dominions, and take ample vengeance for the diſgrace he had lately ſuſtained. He was ſeen marching by the Engliſh camp in his way to Calcutta on the 2d of February, where he encamped about a mile from the town. Colonel Clive immediately made application to the admiral for a re-enforcement, and 600 men, under the command of captain Warwick, were accordingly drafted from the different ſhips, and ſent to aſſiſt his little army. Clive drew out his forces, advanced in three columns towards the enemy, and began the attac ſo vigorouſly, that the viceroy retreated, after a feeble reſiſtance, with the loſs of 1000 men killed, wounded and taken priſoners, 500 horſes, great number of draft bullocks, and four elephants. Though this advantage was leſs deciſive than could be wiſhed, yet it ſufficiently intimidated the nabob into conceſſions much to the honour and advantage of the company. Admiral Watſon gave him to underſtand in a letter, that this was no more than a ſpecimen of what the Britiſh arms, when provoked, could perform. The ſuba deſired the negotiation might be renewed, and in a few days the treaty was concluded. He promiſed not to diſturb the Engliſh in any of thoſe privilegs or poſſeſſions ſpecified in the firm and granted by the mogul: that all merchandize belonging to the company ſhould paſs and repaſs in every part of the province of Bengal, free of duty: that all the Engliſh factories ſeiſed the preceding year, or ſince, ſhould be reſtored, with the money, goods, and effects appertaining: that all damages ſuſtained by the Engliſh ſhould be repaired, and their loſſes repaid: that the Engliſh ſhould have liberty to fortify Calcutta in whatever manner they thought proper without interruption: that they ſhould have liberty of coining all the gold and bullion they imported, which ſhould paſs current in the province: that he would remain in ſtrict friendſhip and alliance with the Engliſh, uſe his utmoſt endeavours to heal up the late diviſions, and reſtore the former good underſtanding between them. All which ſeveral articles were ſolemnly ſigned and ſealed with the nabob's own hand.

Such were the terms obtained for the company by the ſpirited and gallant conduct of the two Engliſh commanders. They had however, too much diſcernment to rely on the promiſe of a barbarian, who had ſo perfidiouſly broke former engagements; but they prudently diſſembled their ſentiments, until they had thoroughly reinſtated the affairs of the company, and reduced the French power in this province. In order to adjuſt the points that required diſcuſſion, the ſelect committee for the company's affairs appointed mr. Watts, who had been releaſed from his former impriſonment, as their commiſſary at the court of the ſuba, to whom he was perſonally known, as well as to his miniſters, among whom he had acquired a conſiderable influence. Nothing leſs could have balanced the intereſt which the French, by their art of intriguing, had raiſed among the favourites of the viceroy. While mr. Watts was employed at Maxadavad, in counter-working thoſe intrigues, and keeping the ſuba ſteady to his engagements, the admiral and mr. Clive reſolved to avail themſelves of their armament in attacking the French ſettlements in Bengal. The chief object of their deſigns was the reduction of Chandernagore, ſituated higher up the river than Calcutta, of conſiderable ſtrength, and the chief importance of any poſſeſſed by that nation in the bay. Colonel Clive being re-enforced by 300 men from Bombay, began his march to Chandernagore, at the head of 700 Europeans and 1600 Indians, where, on his firſt arrival, he took poſſeſſion of all the out-poſts, except one redoubt mounted with eight pieces of cannon, which he left to be ſilenced by the admiral. On the 18th of March the admirals Watſon and Pococke arrived within two miles of the French ſettlement, with the Kent, Tiger, and Saliſbury men of war, and found their paſſage obſtructed by booms laid acroſs the river, and ſeveral veſſels ſunk in the channel. Theſe difficulties being removed, they advanced early on the 24th, and drew up in a line before the fort, which they battered with great fury for three hours; while colonel Clive was making his approaches on the land ſide, and playing vigorouſly from the batteries he had raiſed. Their united efforts ſoon obliged the enemy to ſubmiſſion. A flag of truce was waved over the walls, and the place ſurrendered by capitulation. The keys were delivered to captain Latham of the Tiger, and in the afternoon colonel Clive, with the king's troops, took poſſeſſion. Thus the reduction of a ſtrong fortreſs, garriſoned by 500 Europeans, and 1200 Indians, defended by 123 pieces of cannon, and three mortars, well provided with all kinds of ſtores and neceſſaries, and of very great importance to the enemy's commerce in India, was accompliſhed with a loſs not exceeding 40 men on the ſide of the conquerors. By the

treaty of capitulation the director, counſellors, and inferior ſervants of the ſettlement were allowed to depart with their wearing apparel: the jeſuits were permitted to take away their church ornaments, and the natives to remain in full exertion of their liberties; but the garriſon were to continue priſoners of war. The goods and money found in the place were conſiderable; but the principal advantage aroſe from the ruin of the head ſettlement of the enemy on the Ganges, which could not but interfere with the Engliſh commerce in theſe parts.

Succeſs had hitherto attended all the operations of the Britiſh commanders, becauſe they were concerted with foreſight and unanimity; and executed with that vigour and ſpirit which deſervedly raiſed them high in the eſteem of their country. They reduced the nabob to reaſonable terms of accommodation before they alarmed the French; and now the power of the latter was deſtroyed they entered upon meaſures to oblige the treacherous viceroy to a ſtrict performance of the treaty he had ſo lately ſigned. However ſpacious his promiſes were, they found him extremely dilatory in the execution of ſeveral articles of the treaty, which, in effect, was the ſame as the Engliſh commerce as if none had been concluded. The company's goods were loaded with high duties, and ſeveral other infractions of the peace committed upon ſuch frivolous pretences as evidently demonſtrated that he ſought to come to an open rupture as ſoon as his projects were ripe for execution. In a word, he diſcovered all along a manifeſt partiality to the French, whoſe emiſſaries cajoled him with promiſes that he ſhould be joined by ſuch a body of their European troops, under M. de Buſſy, as would enable him to cruſh the power of the Engliſh, whom they had taught him to fear and to hate. As recommencing hoſtilities againſt ſo powerful a prince was in itſelf dangerous, and, if poſſible, to be avoided, the affair was laid before the council of Calcutta, and canvaſſed with all the circumſpection and caution that a meaſure required, on which depended the fate of the whole trade of Bengal. Mr Watts from time to time ſent them intelligence of every tranſaction in the ſuba's cabinet, and although that prince publicly declared he would cauſe him to be impeled as ſoon as the Engliſh troops ſhould be put in motion within the kingdom of Bengal, he bravely ſacrificed his own ſafety to the intereſt of the company, and exhorted them to proceed with vigour in their military operations. During theſe deliberations a moſt fortunate incident occurred, that ſoon determined the council to come to an open rupture. The leading perſons in the viceroy's court found themſelves oppreſſed by his haughtineſs and inſolence. The ſame ſpirit of diſcontent appeared among the principal officers of his army: they were well acquainted with his perfidy, ſaw his preparations for war, and were ſenſible that the peace of the country could never be reſtored, unleſs either the Engliſh were expelled or the nabob depoſed. In conſequence, a plan was concerted for diveſting him of all his power; and the conſpiracy was conducted by Jaffier Ali Khan, his prime miniſter and chief commander, a nobleman of great influence and authority in the province. The project was communicated by Ali Khan to mr. Watts, and ſo improved by the addreſs of that gentleman as in a manner to enſure ſucceſs. A treaty was actually concluded between this Meer Jaffier Ali Khan and the Engliſh company; and a plan concerted with this nobleman and other mal-contents for their defection from the viceroy. Theſe previous meaſures being taken, colonel Clive was ordered to take the field with his little army. Admiral Watſon undertook the defence of Chandernagore, and the garriſon was detached to re-enforce the colonel, together with 50 ſeamen to be employed as gunners, and in directing the artillery. Then mr. Watts, deceiving the ſuba's ſpies, by whom he was ſurrounded, withdrew himſelf from Muxadavad, and reached the Engliſh camp in ſafety. On the 19th of June a detachment was ſent to attac Cutwa fort and town, ſituated on that branch of the river forming the iſland of Caſſimbuzar. This place ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons; and here the colonel halted with the army for three days, expecting advices from Ali Khan. Diſappointed of the hoped-for intelligence he croſſed the river, and marched to Plaiſſey, where he encamped. On the 23d, at day-break, the ſuba advanced to attac him, at the head of 15,000 horſe, and near 30,000 infantry, with about 40 pieces of heavy cannon, conducted and managed by French gunners, on whoſe courage and dexterity he placed great dependance. They began to cannonade the Engliſh camp about ſix in the morning, but a ſevere ſhower falling at noon they withdrew their artillery. Colonel Clive ſeiſed this opportunity to take poſſeſſion of a rank and two other poſts of conſequence, which they in vain endeavoured to retake. Then he ſtormed an angle of their camp, covered with a double breaſt-work, together with an eminence which they occupied. At the beginning of this attac, ſome of their chiefs being ſlain, the men were ſo diſpirited that they ſoon gave way; but ſtill Meer Jaffier Ali Khan, who commanded their left wing, forbore declaring himſelf openly. After a ſhort conteſt the enemy were put to flight, the nabob's camp, baggage, and 50 pieces of cannon taken, and a moſt complete victory obtained. The colonel purſuing his advantage, marched to Maxadavad, the capital of the province, and was there joined by Ali Khan and the malcontents. It was before concerted that this nobleman ſhould be inveſted with the dignity of nabob; accordingly, the colonel proceeded ſolemnly to depoſe Surajah Dowlat, and with the ſame ceremony, to ſubſtitute Ali Khan in his room, who was publicly acknowledged by the people as ſuba or viceroy, of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa. Soon after, the late viceroy was taken, and put to death by his ſucceſſor, who readily complied with all the conditions of his elevation. He conferred on his allies very liberal rewards, and granted the company ſuch extraordinary privileges as fully demonſtrated how juſtly he merited their aſſiſtance. By this reliance, and the reduction of Chandernagore, the French were entirely excluded the commerce of Bengal and its dependencies; the trade of the Engliſh company was reſtored, and increaſed beyond their ſanguine hopes: a new ally was acquired, whoſe intereſt obliged him to remain firm to his engagements; a vaſt ſum was paid to the company and the ſufferers at Calcutta, to indemnify them for their loſſes; the ſoldiers and ſeamen were gratified with 6000l. as a reward for the courage and intrepidity they exerted; and a variety of other advantages gained, which it would be unneceſſarily to enumerate. In a word, in the ſpace of 14 days a great revolution was effected, and the government of a vaſt country, ſuperior in wealth, fertility, extent, and number of inhabitants to moſt European kingdoms, transferred by a handful of troops, conducted by an officer untutored in the art of war, and a general rather by intuition than inſtruction and experience. But the public joy at theſe ſignal ſucceſſes was conſiderably diminiſhed by the death of admiral Watſon, and the loſs of Vizagapatum, an Engliſh ſettlement on the Coromandel coaſt. The admiral fell a victim to the unwholſomeneſs of the climate, on the 16th of Auguſt, univerſally eſteemed and regretted; and the factory and fort at Vizagapatam were ſurrendered to the French, a few days after colonel Clive had defeated the nabob.

We now turn our eyes to the continent of Europe, where we ſee the beginning of the year marked with a ſtriking inſtance of the dreadful effects of frantic enthuſiaſm. France had long enjoyed a monarch, eaſy, complying, good-natured, and averſe to all that wore the appearance of buſineſs or of war. Contented with the pleaſure of indolence, he ſaw no greatneſs beyond what he enjoyed, nor purſued any ambitious aim through the dictates of his own diſpoſition. Of all men on earth ſuch a prince had the greateſt reaſon to expect an exemption from plots againſt his perſon, and cabals among his ſubjects; yet was an attempt made upon his life by a man, who, though placed in the loweſt ſphere of fortune, had reſolution to face the greateſt dangers, and enthuſiaſm ſufficient to ſuſtain without ſhrinking, all the tortures which the cruelty of man could invent, or his crimes render neceſſary. The name of this fanatic was Robert Francis Damien, born in the ſuburb of St. Catherine, in the city of Arras. He had lived in the ſervice of ſeveral families, whence he was generally diſmiſſed on account of the impatience, the melancholy, and ſullenneſs of his diſpoſition. So humble was the ſtation of a perſon, who was reſolved to ſtep forth from obſcurity, and, by one deſperate effort, draw upon himſelf the attention of all Europe. On the 5th day of January, as the king was ſtepping into his coach, to return to Trianon, whence he had that day come to Verſailles, Damien, mingling among his attendance, ſtabbed him with a knife on the right ſide, between the fourth and fifth ribs. His majeſty, applying his hand immediately to his ſide, cried out, 'I am wounded! Seize him; but do not hurt him.' Happily, the wound was not dangerous; as the knife, taking an oblique direction, miſſed the vital parts. As for the aſſaſſin, he made no attempts to eſcape; but ſuffering himſelf quietly to be ſeized, was conveyed to the guard-room, where being interrogated if he committed the horrid action, he boldly anſwered in the affirmative. A proceſs againſt him was inſtantly commenced at Verſailles: many perſons, ſuppoſed

acceſſaries to the deſign upon the king's life, were ſent to the Baſtile; the aſſaſſin himſelf was put to the torture, and the moſt excruciating torments were applied, with intention to extort a confeſſion of the reaſons that could induce him to ſo execrable an attempt upon his ſoverign. Inciſions were made into the muſcular parts of his legs, arms and thighs, into which boiling oil was poured. Every refinement on cruelty, that human invention could ſuggeſt, was practiſed without effect: nothing could overcome his obſtinacy; and his ſilence was conſtrued into a preſumption, that he muſt have had accomplices in the plot. To render his puniſhment more public and conſpicuous, he was removed to Paris, there to undergo a repetition of all his former tortures, with ſuch additional circumſtances as the moſt fertile and cruel diſpoſitions could deviſe for increaſing his miſery and torment. Being conducted to the Concergerie, an iron bed, which likewiſe ſerved for a chair, was prepared for him, and to this he was faſtened with chains. The torture was again applied, and a phyſician ordered to attend, to ſee what degree of pain he could ſupport. Nothing, however, material was extorted; for what he one moment confeſſed, he recanted the next. It is not within our province, and we conſider it as a felicity, to relate all the circumſtances of the cruel and tragical event. Sufficient it is, that after ſuffering the moſt exquiſite torments that human nature could invent, or man ſupport, his judges thought proper to terminate his miſery by a death ſhocking to imagination, and ſhameful to humanity. On the 28th day of March he was conducted, amidſt a vaſt concourſe of the populace, to the Greve, the common place of execution, ſtripped naked, and faſtened to the ſcaffold by iron gyves. One of his hands was then burnt in liquid flaming ſulpher; his thighs, legs and arms were torn with red hot ſpincers; boiling oil, melted lead, reſin, and ſulphur were poured into the wounds; tight ligatures tied round his limbs to prepare him for diſmemberment; young and vigorous horſes applied to the draft, and the unhappy criminal pulled with all their force to the utmoſt extenſion of his ſinews for the ſpace of an hour, during all which time he preſerved his ſenſes and conſtancy. At length the phyſician and ſurgeon attending declared it would be impoſſible to accompliſh the diſmemberment, unleſs the tendons were ſeparated; upon which orders were given to the executioner to cut the ſinews at the joints of the arms and legs. The horſes drew afreſh: a thigh and an arm were ſeparated, and after ſeveral pulls, the unfortunate wretch expired under the extremity of pain. His body and limbs were reduced to aſhes under the ſcaffold; his father, wife, daughter, and family baniſhed the kingdom for ever; the name of Damien effaced and obliterated, and the innocent involved in the puniſhment of the guilty. Thus ended the procedure againſt Damien and his family, in a manner not very favourable to the avowed clemency of Louis, or the acknowledged humanity of the French nation. It appeared from undoubted evidence, that the attempt on the king's life was the reſult of inſanity, and a diſturbed imagination. Several inſtances of a diſordered mind had before been obſerved in his conduct, and the deteſtation juſtly due to the enormity of his crime ought now to have been abſorbed in the conſideration of his misfortune, the greateſt that can befal human nature.

Another remarkable event in France, in the beginning of this year, was the change in the miniſtry of that nation, by the removal of M. de Machault, keeper of the ſeals, from the poſt of ſecretary of ſtate for the marine; and of M. d'Argenſon from that of ſecretary at war. Their diſmiſſion was ſudden and unexpected; nor was any particular reaſon aſſigned for this unexpected alteration. The French king, to ſhow the queen of Hungary how judiciouſly ſhe had acted in forming an alliance with the houſe of Bourbon, raiſed two great armies; the firſt of which, compoſed of 80,000 men, the flower of the French troops, with a large train of artillery, was commanded by M. d'Etrées, a general of great reputation; under whom ſerved M. de Contades, M. Chevert, and the count de St. Germain, all officers of high character. This formidable army paſſed the Rhine early in the ſpring, and marched by Weſtphalia, in order to invade the king of Pruſſia's dominions, in quality of allies to the empreſs-queen, and guardians of the liberties of the empire. But their real view was to invade Hanover, a ſcheme which they knew would make a powerful diverſion of the Britiſh force from the proſecution of the war in other parts of the world, where the ſtrength of France could not be fully exerted, and where their moſt valuable intereſts were at ſtake. They flattered themſelves, moreover, that the ſame blow by which they hoped to cruſh the king of Pruſſia might likewiſe force his Britannick majeſty into ſome conceſſions with regard to America. The other army of the French, commanded by the prince de Soubiſe, was deſigned to ſtrengthen the imperial army of execution, conſiſting of 25,000 men, beſides 6000 Bavarians, and 4000 Wirtembergers. But before theſe troops, under Soubiſe, paſſed the Rhine, they made themſelves maſters of ſeveral places belonging to the king of Pruſſia upon the borders of the Low-Countries[n]; whilſt a detachment from d'Etrées's army ſeiſed upon the town of Embden, and whatever belonged to the ſame monarch in Eaſt-Frieſland.

At the cloſe of the laſt campaign, the king of Pruſſia, having gained a pretty advantage over the imperialiſts under the command of Mareſchal Brown, and incorporated into his own troops a great part of the Saxon army taken priſoners at Pirna, as was obſerved before, retired into winter-quarters until the ſeaſon ſhould permit him to improve theſe advantages. His majeſty and Mareſchal Keith wintered in Saxony, having their cantonments between Pirna and the frontier along the Elbe; and Mareſchal Schwerin, returning into Sileſia, took up his quarters in the country of Glatz. In the mean time, the empreſs-queen, finding the force which ſhe had ſent out againſt the king of Pruſſia was not ſufficient to prevent his deſigns, made the neceſſary requiſitions to her allies for the auxiliaries they had engaged to furniſh. In conſequence of theſe requiſitions, the czarina, true to her engagements, diſpatched above 100,000 of her troops, who began their march in the month of November, and proceeded to the borders of Lithuania, with deſign particularly to invade Ducal Pruſſia, whilſt a ſtrong fleet was equipped in the Baltick, to aid the operations of his numerous army. The Auſtrian army aſſembled in Bohemia amounted to upwards of 80,000 men, commanded by prince Charles of Lorraine and Mareſchal Brown. The Swedes had not yet openly declared themſelves; but it was well known, that though their king was allied in blood and inclination to his Pruſſian majeſty, yet the jealouſy which the ſenate of Sweden entertained of their ſovereign, and the hope of recovering their ancient poſſeſſions in Pomerania, by means of the preſent troubles, together with their old attachment to France, newly cemented by intrigues and ſubſides, would certainly induce them to join in the general confederacy. The duke of Mecklenbourg took the ſame party, and agreed to join the Swediſh army, when it ſhould be aſſembled, with 6000 men. Beſides all theſe preparations againſt the king of Pruſſia, he was, in his quality of elector of Brandenbourg, put under the ban of the empire by the aulic council; declared deprived of all his rights, privileges, and prerogatives; his fiefs were eſcheated into the exchequer of the empire; and all the circles accordingly ordered to furniſh their reſpective contigences for putting this ſentence in execution.

In this dangerous ſituation, thus menaced on all ſides, and ſeemingly on the very brink of inevitable deſtruction, the Pruſſian monarch owed his preſervation to his own courage and activity. The Ruſſians, knowing that the country they were to paſs through in their way to Lithuania would not be able to ſubſiſt their prodigious numbers, had taken care to furniſh themſelves with proviſions for their march, depending upon the reſources they expected to find in Lithuania after their arrival in that country. Theſe proviſions were exhauſted by the time they reached the borders of that province, where they found themſelves ſuddenly and unexpectedly deſtitute of ſubſiſtence, either to return back or to proceed forward. The king of Pruſſia had, with great prudence and foreſight, ſecured plenty to himſelf, and diſtreſs and famine to his enemies, by buying up all the corn and forage of the country which theſe laſt were entering. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, his Pruſſian majeſty, to guard as much as could be againſt every poſſible event, ſent a great number of gunners and matroſſes from Pomerania to Memel, with three regiments of troops, to re-enforce the garriſon of that place. He viſited all the poſts which his troops poſſeſſed in Sileſia, and gave the neceſſary orders for their ſecurity. He repaired to Neiſs, where he ſettled with Mareſchal Schwerin the general plan of the operations of the approaching campaign. There it was agreed that the Mareſchal's army in Sileſia, which conſiſted of 50,000 men, ſhould have in conſtant view the

[n] The king of Pruſſia had withdrawn his garriſon from Cleve, not without ſuſpicion of having purpoſely left this door open to the enemy, that their irruption into Germany might haſten the reſolution of the Britiſh miniſtry.

motions of the royal army, by which its own were to be regulated, that they might both act in concert, as circumſtances ſhould require. At the ſame time, other armies were aſſembled by the king of Pruſſia in Luſatia and Voigtland; 20,000 men were collected at Zwickaw, on the frontiers of Bohemia, towards Egra, under the command of prince Maurice of Anhalt-Deſſau; and 60,000 choſen troops began their march towards Great-Zeidlitz, where their head-quarters were ſettled. In the mean while, the Auſtrian troops began to form on the frontiers of Saxony, where ſome of their detachments appeared, to watch the motions of the Pruſſians, who ſtill continued to purſue their operations with great activity and reſolution. All poſſible care was taken by the Pruſſians at Dreſden to ſecure a retreat, in caſe of a defeat. As only one regiment of Pruſſians could be ſpared to remain there in garriſon, the burghers were diſarmed, their arms depoſited in the arſenal, and a detachment was poſted at Konigſtein, to oblige that fortreſs to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality. All correſpondence with the enemy was ſtrictly prohibited; and it having been diſcovered that the counteſs of Ogilvie, one of the queen's maids of honour, had diſobeyed his majeſty's commands, ſhe was arreſted; but, on the queen's interceſſion, afterwards releaſed. The counteſs of Bruhl, lady of the Saxon prime-miniſter, was alſo arreſted by his Pruſſian majeſty's order; and, on making light of her confinement, and reſolving to ſee company, ſhe was ordered to quit the court, and retire from Saxony. M. Henwin, the French miniſter, was told that his preſence was unneceſſary at Dreſden; and on his replying, that his maſter had commanded him to ſtay, he was again deſired to depart; on which he thought proper to obey. The count de Wackerbath, miniſter of the cabinet, and grand-maſter of the houſehold to the prince royal of Poland, was arreſted, and conducted to Cuſtrin, by the expreſs command of his majeſty. The king of Pruſſia, having thrown two bridges over the Elbe early in the ſpring, ordered the ſeveral diſtricts of the electorate of Saxony to ſupply him with a great number of waggons, each drawn by four horſes. The circle of Miſnia and Leipſick were enjoined to furniſh 400 each, and the other circles in proportion.

While the king of Pruſſia was taking theſe meaſures in Saxony, two ſkirmiſhes happened on the frontiers of Bohemia, between his troops and the Auſtrians. On the 20th of February, a body of 6000 Auſtrians ſurrounded the little town of Hirſchfeld in Upper Luſatia, garriſoned by a battalion of Pruſſian foot. The firſt attac was made at four in the morning, on two redoubts without the gates, each of which was defended by two field pieces: and though the Auſtrians were ſeveral times repulſed, they at laſt made themſelves maſters of one of the redoubts, and carried off the two pieces of cannon. In their retreat they were purſued by the Pruſſians, who fell upon their rear, killed ſome, and took many priſoners: this affair coſt the Auſtrians at leaſt 500 men. About a fortnight after, the prince of Bevern marched out of Zittau, with a body of near 9000 men, in order to deſtroy the remaining ſtrong holds poſſeſſed by the Auſtrians on the frontiers. In this expedition he took the Auſtrian magazine at Friedland in Bohemia, conſiſting of 9000 ſacs of meal, and great ſtore of ammunition; and, after making himſelf maſter of Reichenberg, he returned to Zittau. The van of his troops, conſiſting of 150 huſſars of the regiment of Putkammar, met with a body of 600 Croats, ſuſtained by 200 Auſtrian dragoons of Bathiana, at their entering Bohemia; and immediately fell upon them ſword in hand, killed about 50, took 30 horſes, and made 10 dragoons priſoners. The Pruſſians, it is ſaid, did not loſe a ſingle man on this occaſion; and two ſoldiers only were ſlightly wounded, the Auſtrians having made but a ſlight reſiſtance.

Whatever the conduct of the court of Vienna might have been to the allies of Great-Britain, ſtill, however, proper regard was ſhown to this ſubjects of his crown: for an edict was publiſhed at Florence on the 13th of February, wherein his imperial majeſty, as grand-duke of Tuſcany, declared his intention of obſerving the moſt ſcrupulous neutrality in the then ſituation of affairs. All the ports in that duchy were accordingly enjoined to pay a ſtrict regard to this declaration, in all caſes relating to the French or Engliſh ſhips in the Mediterranean. The good effects of this injunction ſoon appeared; for two prizes taken by the Engliſh having put into Port Ferraro, the captains of two French privateers addreſſed themſelves to the governor, alledging, that they were captures of a pirate, and requeſting that they might be obliged to put to ſea: but the governor prudently replied, that as they came in under Engliſh colours he would protect them; and forbad the privateers, at their peril, to commit any violence. They, however, little regarding the governor's orders, prepared for ſailing, and ſent their boats to cut out one of the prizes. The captain firing at their boats, killed one of their men, which alarming the centinels, notice was ſent to the governor; and he, in conſequence, ordered the two privateers immediately to depart.—The conduct of the Dutch was rather cautious than ſpirited. Whilſt his Pruſſian majeſty was employed on the ſide of Bohemia and Saxony, the French auxilliaries began their march to harraſs his defenceleſs territories in the neighbourhood of the Low-Countries. A free paſſage was demanded of the ſtates-general through Namur and Maeſtricht, for the proviſions, ammunition, and artillery belonging to this new army; and though the Engliſh embaſſador remonſtrated againſt their compliance, and repreſented it as a breach of the neutrality their high-mightineſſes declared they would obſerve, yet, after ſome heſitation, the demand was granted; and their inability to 'prevent the paſſage of the French troops, ſhould it be attempted by force, pleaded in excuſe of their conduct.

Scarce had the French army, commanded by the prince de Soubiſe, ſet foot in the territories of Juliers and Cologn, when they found themſelves in poſſeſſion of the duchy of Cleves and the county of Mark, where all things were left open to them, the Pruſſians, who evacuated their poſts, taking their rout along the river Lippe, in order to join ſome regiments from Magdebourg, who were ſent to facilitate their retreat. The diſtreſſed inhabitants, thus expoſed to the calamities of war from an unprovoked enemy, were inſtantly ordered to furniſh contributions, forage, and proviſions, for the uſe of their invaders; and, what was ſtill more terrifying to them, the partizan Fiſcher, whoſe cruelties, the laſt war, they ſtill remembered with horror, was again let looſe upon them by the inhumanity of the empreſs-queen. Weſel was immediately occupied by the French: Emmerick and Maſeyk ſoon ſhared the ſame fate: and the city of Gueldres was beſieged, the Pruſſians ſeeming reſolved to defend this laſt place; to which end they opened the ſluices, and laid the country under water. Thoſe who retreated, filing off to the north-weſt of Paderborn, entered the county of Ritberg, the property of count Kaunitz Ritberg, great chancellor to the empreſs-queen. After taking his caſtle, in which they found 30 pieces of cannon, they raiſed contributions in the diſtrict, to the amount of 40,000 crowns. As the Pruſſians retired, the French took poſſeſſion of the country they quitted in the name of the empreſs-queen, whoſe commiſſary attended them for that purpoſe. The general rendezvous of theſe troops, under prince Soubiſe, was appointed at Neuſs, in the electorate of Cologn, where a large body of French was aſſembled by the 1ſt of April. The Auſtrians, in their turn, were not idle. Marſhal Brown viſited the fortifications of Brinn and Koninſgratz; reviewed the army of the late prince Picolomini, now under the command of general Serbelloni; and put his own army in march for Koſtlitz on the Elbe, where he propoſed to eſtabliſh his head-quarters.

During the receſs of the armies, while the rigours of winter forced them to ſuſpend their hoſtile operations, and the greateſt preparations were making to open the campaign with all poſſible vigour, count Beſtucheff, great chancellor of Ruſſia, wrote a circular letter to the primate, ſenators, and miniſters of the republic of Poland, ſetting forth, 'that the empreſs of Ruſſia was extremely affected with the king of Poland's diſtreſs, which ſhe thought could not but excite the compaſſion of all other powers, but more eſpecially of his allies: that the fatal conſequences which might reſult from the raſh ſtep taken by the king of Pruſſia, not only with reſpect to the tranquillity of Europe in general, but of each power in particular, and more eſpecially of the neighbouring countries, were ſo evident, that the intereſt and ſafety of the ſeveral princes rendered it abſolutely neceſſary they ſhould make it a common cauſe: not only to obtain proper ſatisfaction for thoſe courts whoſe dominions had been ſo unjuſtly attacked, but likewiſe to preſcribe ſuch bounds to the king of Pruſſia as might ſecure them from any future apprehenſions from ſo enterpriſing and reſtleſs a neighbour: that with this view, the empreſs was determined to aſſiſt the king of Poland with a conſiderable body of troops, which were actually upon their march °, under the command of general Apraxin; and that, as there would be an abſolute neceſſity for their marching through part of the

° This letter was written in December; and the Ruſſians, as we obſerved before, began their march in November.

territories of Poland, her imperial majeſty hoped the republic would not fail to facilitate their march as much as poſſible.' She further recommended to the republic, to take ſome ſalutary meaſures for fruſtrating the deſigns of the king of Pruſſia, and reſtoring harmony among themſelves, as the moſt conducive meaſure to theſe good purpoſes. In this, however, the Poles were ſo far from following her advice, that, though ſure of being ſacrificed in this conteſt, which ſide ſoever prevailed, they divided into parties with no leſs zeal than if they had as much to hope from the prevalence of one ſide, as to fear from that of the other. Some of the Palatines were for denying a paſſage to the Ruſſians, and others were for affording them the utmoſt aſſiſtance in their power. With this cauſe of contention others of a more private nature fatally concurred, by means of a miſunderſtanding between the prince Czartoriſki and count Mniſnec. Almoſt every inhabitant of Warſaw was involved in the quarrel; and the violence of theſe factions was ſo great, that ſcarce a night paſſed without bloodſhed, many dead bodies, chiefly Saxons, being found in the ſtreets every morning.

In the mean time, Great-Britain, unſettled in her miniſtry and councils at home, unſucceſsful in her attempts abroad, judging peace, if it could be obtained on juſt and honourable terms, more eligible than a continental war, propoſed ſeveral expedients to the empreſs-queen for reſtoring the tranquillity of Germany; but her anſwer was, 'that, whenever ſhe perceived that the expedients propoſed would indemnify her for the extraordinary expences ſhe had incurred in her own defence, repair the heavy loſſes ſuſtained by her ally the king of Poland, and afford a proper ſecurity for their future ſafety, ſhe would be ready to give the ſame proofs ſhe had always given of her deſire to reſtore peace; but it could not be expected ſhe ſhould liſten to expedients of which the king of Pruſſia was to reap the whole advantage, after having begun the war, and waſted the dominions of a prince, who relied for his ſecurity upon the faith of treaties, and the appearance of a harmony between them.' Upon the receipt of this anſwer, the court of London made ſeveral propoſals to the Czarina, to interpoſe as mediatrix between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, but they were rejected with marks of diſpleaſure and reſentment. When ſir Charles Hanbury Williams, the Britiſh embaſſador, continued to urge his ſollicitations very ſtrongly, and even with ſome hints of menaces, an anſwer was delivered to him by order of the empreſs, purporting, 'that her imperial majeſty was aſtoniſhed at his demand, after he had already been made acquainted with the meaſures ſhe had taken to effect a reconciliation between the courts of Vienna and Berlin. He might eaſily conceive, as matters were then ſituated, that the earneſtneſs with which he now urged the ſame propoſition muſt neceſſarily ſurpriſe her imperial majeſty, as it ſhowed but little regard to her former declaration. The empreſs, therefore, commanded his excellency to be told, that as her intentions contained in her firſt anſwer remained abſolutely invariable, no ulterior propoſitions for a mediation would be liſtened to; and that as for the menaces made uſe of by his excellency, and particularly that the king of Pruſſia himſelf would ſoon attac the Ruſſian army, ſuch threats ſerved only to weaken the embaſſador's propoſals; to confirm ſtill more, were it poſſible, the empreſs in her reſolutions; to juſtify them to the whole world, and to render the king of Pruſſia more blameable.'

The ſeaſon now drawing on in which the troops of the contending powers would be able to take the field, and the alarming progreſs of the Ruſſians being happily ſtopped, his Pruſſian majeſty, whoſe maxim it has always been to keep the ſeat of war as far as poſſible from his own dominions, reſolved to carry it into Bohemia, and there to attac the Auſtrians on all ſides. To this end he ordered his armies in Saxony, Miſnia, Luſatia, and Sileſia to enter Bohemia in four different and oppoſite places, nearly at the ſame time. The firſt of theſe he commanded in perſon, aſſiſted by mareſchal Keith; the ſecond was led by prince Maurice of Anhalt-Deſſau, the third by prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick-Bevern, and the fourth by mareſchal Schwerin. In conſequence of this plan, mareſchal Schwerin's army entered Bohemia on the 18th of April, in five columns, at as many different places. The deſign was ſo well concerted, that the Auſtrians had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of their approach till they were paſt the frontiers, and then they filled the dangerous defile of Gulder-Oelſe with Pandours, to diſpute that paſſage; but they were no ſooner diſcovered than two battalions of Pruſſian grenadiers attacked them with their bayonets fixed, and routed them. The prince of Anhault paſſed the frontiers from Miſnia, and penetrated into Bohemia on the 21ſt of April without any reſiſtance. The prince of Bevern, on the 20th of the ſame month, having marched at the head of a body of the army, which was in Luſatia, from the quarters of cantonment near Zittau, poſſeſſed himſelf immediately of the firſt poſt on the frontier of Bohemia, at Krottau and Graſenſtein, without the loſs of a ſingle man: drove away the enemy the ſame day from Kratzen, and proceeded to Machendorf, near Reichenberg. The ſame morning Putkammer's huſſars, who formed part of a corps, commanded by a colonel and major, routed ſome hundreds of the enemy's cuiraſſiers, poſted before Cohlin, under the conduct of prince Lichtenſtein, took three officers and upwards of 60 horſe priſoners, and ſo diſperſed the reſt, that they were ſcarcely able to rally near Kratzen. Night coming on obliged the troops to remain in the open air till next morning, when, at break of day, the Pruſſians marched in two columns by Habendorf, towards the enemy's army, amounting to 28,000 men, commanded by count Konigſeg, and poſted near Reichenberg. As ſoon as the troops were formed they advanced towards the enemy's cavalry, drawn up in three lines of about 30 ſquadrons. The two wings were ſuſtained by the infantry, which was poſted among felled trees and entrenchments. The Pruſſians immediately cannonaded the enemy's cavalry, who received it with reſolution, having on their right hand a village, and on their left a wood, where they had entrenched themſelves. But the prince of Bevern having cauſed 15 ſquadrons of dragoons of the ſecond line to advance, and the wood on his right to be attacked at the ſame time by the battalions of grenadiers of Kahlden and of Moellendorf, and by the regiment of the prince of Pruſſia, his dragoons, who, by clearing the ground, and poſſeſſing the entrenchment, had their flanks covered, entirely routed the enemy's cavalry. In the mean time colonel Putkammer and major Schenfeld, with their huſſars, though flanked by the enemy's artillery, gave the Auſtrian horſe-grenadiers a very warm reception, whilſt general Leſtewitz, with the left wing of the Pruſſians, attacked the redoubts that covered Reichenberg. Though there were many defiles and riſing grounds to paſs, all occupied by the Auſtrians, yet the regiment of Darmſtadt forced the redoubt, and put to flight and purſued the enemy, after ſome diſcharge of their artillery and ſmall arms, from one eminence to another, for the diſtance of a mile, when they left off the purſuit. The action began at half an hour after ſix, and continued till eleven. About 1000 of the Auſtrians were killed and wounded, among the former were general Porporati and count Hohenfelds, and among the latter prince Lichtenſtein and count Mansfeld. Twenty of their officers, and 400 ſoldiers were taken priſoners, and they alſo loſt three ſtandards. On the ſide of the Pruſſians ſeven ſubalterns and about 100 men were killed, and 16 officers and 150 men wounded. After this battle mareſchal Schwerin joined the prince of Bevern, made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of the circle of Buntzlau, and took a conſiderable magazine from the Auſtrians, whom he diſlodged. The prince of Anhault-Deſſau, with his corps, drew near the king of Pruſſia's army, then the latter advanced as far as Budin, from whence the Auſtrians, who had an advantageous camp there, retired to Weſtwarn, half way between Budin and Prague; and his Pruſſian majeſty having paſſed the Egra, his army, and that of mareſchal Schwerin, were ſo ſituated as to be able to act jointly.

Theſe advantages were but a prelude to a much more deciſive victory, which the king himſelf gained a few days after. Preparing to enter Bohemia, at a diſtance from any of the corps commanded by his generals, he made a movement as if he intended to march towards Egra. The enemy, deceived by this feint, and imagining he was going to execute ſome deſign, diſtinct from the object of his other armies, detached a body of 20,000 men to obſerve his motions; then he made a ſudden and maſterly movement to the left, by which he cut off all communication between that detachment and the main army of the Auſtrians, which, having been re-enforced by the army of Moravia, by the remains of the corps lately defeated by the duke of Bevern, and by ſeveral regiments of the garriſon of Prague, amounted to near 100,000 men. They were ſtrongly entrenched on the banks of the Moldaw, to the north of Prague, in a camp ſo fortified by every advantage of nature, and every contrivance of art, as to be deemed almoſt impregnable. The left wing of the Auſtrians, thus ſituated, was guarded by the mountains of Ziſcka, and the right extended as far as Herboholi: prince Charles of Lorraine, and mareſchal Brown, who commanded them, ſeemed determined to

maintain this advantageous poſt; but the king of Pruſſia overlooked all difficulties. Having thrown ſeveral bridges over the Moldaw on the 5th of May, he paſſed that river in the morning of the 6th, with 30,000 men, leaving the reſt of the army under the command of the prince of Anhault-Deſſau; and being immediately joined by the troops under mareſchal Schwerin and the prince of Bevern, reſolved to attac the enemy on the ſame day. In conſequence of this reſolution, his army filed off on the left by Potſchernitz, and at the ſame time count Brown wheeled to the right, to avoid being flanked. The Pruſſians continued their march to Bichwitz, traverſing ſeveral defiles and moraſſes, which for a little time ſeparated the infantry from the reſt of the army. The foot began the attac too precipitately, and were at firſt repulſed, but they ſoon recovered themſelves. While the king of Pruſſia took the enemy in flank, mareſchal Schwerin advanced to a marſhy ground, which ſuddenly ſtopping his army, threatened to diſconcert the whole plan of operation. In this emergency, he immediately diſmounted, and taking the ſtandard of the regiment in his hand, boldly entered the moraſs, crying out, 'let all brave Pruſſians follow me.' Inſpired by the example of this great commander, now 82 years of age, all the troops preſſed forward, and though he was unfortunately killed by the firſt fire, their ardour abated not till they had totally defeated the enemy. Thus fell mareſchal Schwerin, loaded with years and glory, an officer whoſe ſuperior talents in the military art had been diſplayed in a long courſe of faithful ſervice. In the mean time, the Pruſſian infantry, which had been ſeparated in the march, forming themſelves afreſh, renewed the attac on the enemy's right, and entirely broke it, while their cavalry, after three charges, obliged that of the Auſtrians to retire in great confuſion, the centre being at the ſame time totally routed. The left wing of the Pruſſians then marched immediately towards Michely, and being there joined by the horſe, renewed their attac, while the enemy were retreating haſtily towards Saſzawar. Mean while the troops on the right of the Pruſſian army attacked the remains of the left wing of the Auſtrians, and made themſelves maſters of three batteries. But the behaviour of the infantry in the laſt attac was ſo ſucceſsful, as to leave little room for this part of the cavalry to act. Prince Henry of Pruſſia, and the prince of Bevern, ſignaliſed themſelves on this occaſion in ſtorming two batteries; prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick took the left wing of the Auſtrians in flank, while the king with his left, and a body of cavalry, ſecured the paſſage of the Moldaw. In ſhort, after a very long and obſtinate engagement, and many ſignal examples of valour on both ſides, the Auſtrians were forced to abandon the field of battle, leaving behind 60 pieces of cannon, all their tents, baggage, military cheſt, and, in a word, their whole camp. The weight of the battle fell upon the right wing of the Auſtrians, the remains of which, to the amount of 10 or 12,000 men, fled towards Beneſchau, where they afterwards aſſembled under M. Pretlach, general of horſe. The infantry retired towards Prague, and threw themſelves into that city, with their commanders, prince Charles of Lorraine, and mareſchal Brown, but they were much harraſſed in their retreat by a detachment of the Pruſſians under mareſchal Keith. The Pruſſians took, on this occaſion, 10 ſtandards, and upwards of 4000 priſoners, 30 of whom were officers of rank. Their loſs amounted to about 2500 killed, and about 3000 wounded. Among the former were general d'Amſtel, the prince of Holſtein-Beck, the colonels Goltze and Manſtein, and lieutenant-colonel Roke. Among the latter, the generals Wenterfield, De la Mothe, Feuque, Hautcharmoy, Blankenſee, and Plettenberg. The number of the killed and wounded on the ſide of the Auſtrians was much greater. Among theſe laſt was mareſchal Brown, who received a wound, which, from the chagrin he ſuffered, rather than from its own nature, proved mortal. The day after the battle, colonel Meyer was detached with a battalion of Pruſſian Pandours, and 400 huſſars, to deſtroy a very conſiderable and valuable magazine of the Auſtrians at Pilſen, and this ſervice he performed. He alſo completed the deſtruction of ſeveral others of leſs importance, by the loſs of which, however, all poſſibility of ſubſiſtence was cut off from any ſuccours the Auſtrians might have expected from the empire.

The Pruſſians, following their blow, immediately inveſted Prague on both ſides of the river, the king commanding on one ſide, and mareſchal Keith on the other. In four days the whole city was ſurrounded with lines and entrenchments, by which all communication from without was entirely cut off: prince Charles of Lorraine and mareſchal Brown, the two princes of Saxony, the prince of Modena, the duke d'Aremberg, Count Lacy, and ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction, were ſhut within the walls, together with above 20,000 of the Auſtrian army, who had taken refuge in Prague after their defeat. Every thing continued quiet on both ſides, ſcarce a cannon ſhot being fired by either for ſome time after this blockade was formed; and in the mean while the Pruſſians made themſelves maſters of Cziſcaberg, an eminence which commands the town, where the Auſtrians had a ſtrong redoubt, continuing likewiſe to ſtrengthen their works. Already they had made a ſally, and taken ſome other ineffectual ſteps to recover this poſt, but a more deciſive ſtroke was neceſſary. Accordingly, a deſign was formed of attacking the Pruſſian army in the night with a body of 12,000 men, to be ſuſtained by all the grenadiers, volunteers, Pandours, and Hungarian infantry. In caſe an impreſſion could be made on the king's lines, it was intended to open a way, ſword in hand, through the camp of the beſiegers, and to eaſe Prague of the multitude of forces locked up uſeleſs within the walls, ſerved only to conſume the proviſions of the garriſon, and haſten the ſurrender of the place. Happily a deſerter gave the prince of Pruſſia intelligence of the enemy's deſign about 11 o'clock at night. Proper meaſures were immediately taken for their reception, and in leſs than a quarter of an hour the whole army was under arms. The deſign was conducted with ſo much ſilence, that though the Pruſſians were warned of it they could diſcover nothing before the enemy had charged their advanced poſts. The attac was begun on the ſide of the little town, againſt mareſchal Keith's camp, and the left wing of the Pruſſian army encamped on the Moldaw. From hence it is probable the Auſtrians propoſed not only to deſtroy the batteries that were raiſing, but to attac the bridges of communication which the Pruſſians threw over the Moldaw, at about a quarter of a German mile above and below Prague, at Branig and Podbaba. The greateſt alarm began about two o'clock, when the enemy hoped to have come ſilently and unexpectedly upon the miners, but they had left work about a quarter of an hour before. At the report of the firſt piece which they fired, the piquet of the third battalion of Pruſſian guards, to the number of 100 men, who marched out of the camp to ſuſtain the body which covered the works, was thrown into ſome confuſion, from the darkneſs of the night, which prevented their diſtinguiſhing the Auſtrian troops from their own. Leutenant Jorke, detached with two platoons to reconniotre the enemy, attempted to diſcover their diſpoſition by kindling a fire, captain Rodig, by the light of this fire, perceived the enemy's ſituation, immediately formed the deſign of falling upon them in the flank, and gave orders to his men to fire in platoons, which they performed, mutually repeating the ſignal given by their commander. The enemy fled with the greater precipitation, as they were ignorant of the weakneſs of the piquet, and as the ſhooting of the Pruſſian ſoldiers made them miſtake it for a numerous body. Many of them deſerted, many took ſhelter in Prague, and many more were driven into the river and drowned. At the ſame time this attac began, a regiment of horſe-grenadiers fell upon a redoubt which the Pruſſians had thrown up, ſupported by the Hungarian infantry: they returned three times to the aſſault, and were as often beat bac by the Pruſſians, whom they found it impoſſible to diſlodge; though prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick's battalion, which guarded this poſt, ſuffered extremely. During this attac the enemy kept an inceſſant fire with their muſquetry upon the whole front of the Pruſſians, from the convent of St. Margaret to the river. At three in the morning the Pruſſians quitted their camp to engage the enemy. The battalion of Pannewitz attacked a building called the Red-houſe, ſituated at the bottom of a declivity before Wellaſtowitz. The Pandours, who had taken poſſeſſion of this houſh, fired upon them inceſſently from all the doors and windows, until they were diſlodged; and the Pruſſian battalions were obliged to ſuſtain the fire both of cannon and muſquetry for above two hours, when the enemy retired to the city, except the Pandours, who again took poſſeſſion of the Red-houſe, which the Pruſſians were forced to abandon, becauſe the artillery of Prague kept a continual fire upon it from the moment it was known to be in their hands. The Auſtrians left behind them many dead and wounded, beſides deſerters, and the Pruſſians, notwithſtanding the loſs of ſeveral officers and private men, made ſome priſoners. Prince Ferdinand, the king of Pruſſia's youngeſt brother had a horſe killed under him, and was ſlightly wounded in the face.

The Pruſſian works being completed, and heavy artille-

ry arrived, four batteries, erected on the banks of the Moldaw, began to play with great fury. Near 300 bombs, beſides an infinity of ignited balls, were thrown into the city in the ſpace of 24 hours. The ſcene was lamentable, houſes, men and horſes wrapped in flames, and reduced to aſhes. The confuſion within, together with the want of proper artillery and ammunition, obliged the Auſtrians to ceaſe firing, and furniſhed his Pruſſian majeſty with all the opportunity he could wiſh of pouring deſtruction upon this unfortunate city. The horrors of war ſeemed to have extinguiſhed the principles of humanity. No regard was paid to the diſtreſs of the inhabitants, the Auſtrians obſtinately maintained poſſeſſion, and the Pruſſians practiſed every ſtratagem, every barbarous refinement that conſtitutes the military art, to oblige them to capitulate. After the conſternation had laſted three days, and conſumed a prodigious number of buildings, the principal inhabitants, burghers, and clergy, perceiving their city on the point of being reduced to a heap of rubbiſh, beſought the commander, in a body, to hearken to terms, but he was deaf to the voice of pity, and, inſtead of being moved with their ſupplications, drove out 12,000 perſons, the leaſt uſeful in defending the city. Theſe, by order of his Pruſſian majeſty, were again forced bac, which ſoon produced ſo great a ſcarcity of proviſion within the walls, that the Auſtrians were reduced to the neceſſity of eating horſe-fleſh, 40 horſes being daily diſtributed to the troops, and the ſame food ſold for 4d. a pound to the inhabitants. However, as there ſtill remained great abundance of corn, they were far from being brought to the laſt extremety. Two vigorous and well-conducted ſallies were made, but they proved unſucceſsful. The only advantage reſulting from them was the perpetual alarm in which they kept the Pruſſian camp, and the vigilance required to guard againſt the attacs of a numerous, reſolute, and deſperate garriſon.

Whatever difficulties might have attended the conqueſt of Prague, certain it is that the affairs of the empreſs-queen were in the moſt critical and deſperate ſituation. Her grand army diſperſed in parties, and flying for ſubſiſtence in ſmall corps; their princes and commanders cooped up in Prague; that capital in imminent danger of being taken, the flouriſhing kingdom of Bohemia ready to fall into the hands of the conqueror, a conſiderable army on the point of ſurrendering priſoners of war; all the queen's hereditary dominions open and expoſed, the whole fertile tract of country from Egra to the Moldaw in actual poſſeſſion of the Pruſſians, the diſtance of the archduchy of Auſtria not very conſiderable, and ſecured only by the Danube; Vienna under the utmoſt apprehenſions of a ſiege, and the imperial family ready to take refuge in Hungary: the Pruſſian forces deemed invincible, and the ſanguine friends of that monarch already ſharing with him, in imagination, the ſpoils of the ancient and illuſtrious houſe of Auſtria. Such was the aſpect of affairs, and ſuch the difficulties to be combated, when Leopold, count Daun, was appointed to the command of the Auſtrian forces, to ſtem the torrent of diſgrace, and turn the fortune of the war. This general, tutored by long experience under the beſt officers of Europe, and the particular favourite of the great Kevenhuller was now, for the firſt time, raiſed to act in chief, at the head of an army, on which depended the fate of Auſtria and the empire. Born of a noble family, he relied ſolely upon his own merit, without ſolliciting court favour; he aſpired after the higheſt preferment, and ſucceeded by mere dint of ſuperior worth. His progreſs from the ſtation of a ſubaltern was ſlow and ſilent: his promotion to the chief command was received with univerſal eſteem and applauſe. Cautious, ſteady, penetrating and ſagacious, he was oppoſed as another Fabius to the mordern Hannibal, to chec the fire and vigour of that monarch by prudent foreſight and wary circumſpection. Arriving at Boemiſchbrod, within a few miles of Prague, the day after the late defeat, he halted to collect the fugitive corps and broken remains of the Auſtrian army, and ſoon drew together a force ſo conſiderable as to attract the notice of his Pruſſian majeſty, who detached the prince of Bevern, with 20 battalions and 30 ſquadrons, to attac him before numbers ſhould render him formidable. Daun was too prudent to give battle with diſpirited troops to an army fluſhed with victory. He retired on the firſt advice that the Pruſſians were advancing, and took poſt at Kolin, where he entrenched himſelf ſtrongly, opened the way for the daily ſupply of recruits ſent to his army, and inſpired the garriſon of Prague with freſh courage, in expectation of being ſoon relieved. Here he kept cloſe within his camp, divided the Pruſſian force, by obliging the king to employ near half his army in watching his deſigns, weakened his efforts againſt Prague, harraſſed the enemy by cutting off their convoys, and reſtored, by degrees, the languiſhing and almoſt deſponding ſpirits of his troops. Perfectly acquainted with the ardour and diſcipline of the Pruſſian forces, with the enterprizing and impetuous diſpoſition of that monarch, and ſenſible that his ſituation would prove irkſome and embarraſſing to the enemy, he improved it to the beſt advantage, ſeemed to foreſee all the conſequences, and directed every meaſure to produce them. Thus he retarded the enemy's operations, and aſſiduouſly avoided precipitating an action until the Pruſſian vigour ſhould be exhauſted, their ſtrength impaired by loſſes and deſertion, the firſt fire and ardour of their genius extinguiſhed by continual fatigue and inceſſant alarms, and until the impreſſion made on his own men, by the late defeat, ſhould, in ſome degree, be effaced. The event juſtified Daun's conduct. His army grew every day more numerous, while his Pruſſian majeſty began to expreſs the utmoſt impatience at the length of the ſiege. When that monarch firſt inveſted Prague, it was on the preſumption that the numerous forces within the walls would, by conſuming all the proviſion, oblige it to ſurrender in a few days, but perceiving that the Auſtrians had ſtill a conſiderable quantity of corn, that count Daun's army was daily increaſing, and would ſoon be powerful enough not only to cope with the detachment under the prince of Bevern, but in a condition to raiſe the ſiege, he determined to give the count battle with one part of his army, while he kept Prague blocked up with the other. The Auſtrians, amounting now to 60,000 men, were deeply entrenched, and defended by a numerous train of artillery, placed on redoubts and batteries erected on the moſt advantageous poſts. Every acceſſible part of the camp was fortified with lines and heavy pieces of battering cannon, and the foot of the hills ſecured by difficult defiles. Yet, ſtrong as this ſituation might appear, formidable as the Auſtrian forces certainly were, his Pruſſian majeſty undertook to diſlodge them with a body of horſe and foot not exceeding 32,000 men.

On the 13th day of June, the king of Pruſſia quitted the camp before Prague, eſcorted by a few battalions and ſquadrons, with which he joined the prince of Bevern at Milkowitz. Mareſchal Keith, it is ſaid, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this meaſure, and adviſed either raiſing the ſiege entirely, and attacking the Auſtrians, with the united forces of Pruſſia, or poſtponing the attac on the camp at Kolin until his majeſty ſhould either gain poſſeſſion of the city, or ſome attempts ſhould be made to oblige him to quit his poſts. From either meaſure an advantage would have reſulted. With his whole army he might probably have defeated count Daun, or at leaſt have obliged him to retreat. Had he continued within his lines at Prague, the Auſtrian general could not have conſtrained him to raiſe the ſiege without loſing his own advantageous ſituation, and giving battle upon terms nearly equal. But the king elated with ſucceſs, impetuous in his valour, and confident of the ſuperiority of his own troops in point of diſcipline, thought all reſiſtance muſt ſink under the weight of his victorious arm, and yield to that courage which had already ſurmounted ſuch difficulties, diſregarded the mareſchal's ſage counſel, and marched up to the attac undaunted, and even aſſured of ſucceſs. By the eighteenth the two armies were in ſight, and his majeſty found that count Daun had not only fortified his camp with all the heavy cannon of Olmutz, but was ſtrongly re-enforced with troops from Moravia and Auſtria, which had joined him after the king's departure from Prague. He found the Auſtrians drawn up in three lines upon the high grounds between Genlitz and St. John the Baptiſt. Difficult as it was to approach their ſituation, the Pruſſian infantry marched up with firmneſs, while ſhot was poured like hail from the enemy's batteries, and began the attac about three in the afternoon. They drove the Auſtrians with irreſiſtible intrepidity from two eminences ſecured with heavy cannon, and two villages defended by ſeveral battalions; but, in attacking the third eminence, were flanked by the Auſtrian cavalry, by grape-ſhot poured from the batteries; and, after a violent conflict, and prodigious loſs of men, thrown into diſorder. Animated with the king's preſence, they rallied, and returned with double ardour to the charge, but were a ſecond time repulſed. Seven times ſucceſſively did prince Ferdinand renew the attac, performing every duty of a great general and valiant ſoldier, though always with the ſame fortune. The inferiority of the Pruſſian infantry, the diſadvantages of ground, where the cavalry could not act, the advantageous ſituation of the enemy, their numerous artillery, their entrenchments, numbers, and obſtinacy, joined to the ſkill and

conduct of their general, all conſpired to defeat the hopes of the Pruſſians, to ſurmount their valour, and oblige them to treat. The king then made a laſt and furious effort, at the head of the cavalry on the enemy's left wing, but with as little ſucceſs as all the former attacs. Every effort was made, and every attempt was productive only of greater loſſes and misfortunes. At laſt, after expoſing his perſon in the moſt perilous ſituations, his Pruſſian majeſty drew off his forces from the field of battle, retiring in ſuch good order, in ſight of the enemy, as prevented a purſuit, or the loſs of his artillery and baggage. Almoſt all the officers on either ſide diſtinguiſhed themſelves; and count Daun, whoſe conduct emulated that of his Pruſſian majeſty, received two ſlight wounds, and had a horſe killed under him. The loſſes of both armies were very conſiderable; on that of the Pruſſians, the killed and wounded amounted to 8000; leſs pernicious, however, to his majeſty's cauſe than the frequent deſertions, and other innumerable ill conſequences that enſued.

When the Pruſſian army arrived at Nimburg, his majeſty, leaving the command with the prince of Bevern, took horſe, and, eſcorted by 12 or 14 huſſars, ſet out for Prague, where he arrived next morning without halting, after having been the whole preceding day on horſebac. Immediately he gave orders for ſending off all his artillery, ammunition, and baggage; theſe were executed with ſo much expedition, that the tents were ſtruc, and the army on their march, before the garriſon were informed of the king's defeat. Thus terminated the battle of Kolin and ſiege of Prague, in which the acknowledged errors of his Pruſſian majeſty were in ſome meaſure atoned by the candour with which he owned his miſtake, both in a letter to the earl Mareſchal [p], and in converſation with ſeveral of his general officers. Moſt people, indeed, imagined the king highly blameable for checking the ardour of his troops to ſtop and lay ſiege to Prague. They thought he ſhould have purſued his conqueſts, over-run Auſtria, Moravia, and all the hereditary dominions, from whom alone the empreſs-queen could draw ſpeedy ſuccours. A body of 20 or 30,000 men would have blocked up Prague, while the remainder of the Pruſſian forces might have obliged the imperial family to retire from Vienna, and effectually prevented count Daun from aſſembling another army. It was univerſally expected he would have bent his march ſtraight to this capital, but he dreaded leaving the numerous army in Prague behind, and it was of great importance to complete the conqueſt of Bohemia. The prince of Pruſſia marched all night with his corps to Nimburg, where he joined the prince of Bevern, and mareſchal Keith retreated next day. Count Brown having died before, of the wounds he received on the 6th of May, prince Charles of Lorraine ſallied out with a large body of the Auſtrians, and attacked the rear of the Pruſſians; but did no further miſchief than killing about 200 of their men. The ſiege of Prague being thus raiſed, the impriſoned Auſtrians received their deliverer, count Daun, with inexpreſſible joy, and their united forces became greatly ſuperior to thoſe of the king of Pruſſia, who was in a ſhort time obliged to evacuate Bohemia, and take refuge in Saxony. The Auſtrians harraſſed him as much as poſſible in his retreat; but their armies, though ſuperior in numbers, were not in a condition, from their late ſufferings, to make any deciſive attempt upon him, as the frontiers of Saxony abound with ſituations eaſily defended.

Having thus deſcribed the progreſs of the Pruſſians in Bohemia, we muſt caſt our eyes on the tranſactions which diſtinguiſhed the campaign in Weſtphalia. To guard againſt the ſtorm which menaced Hanover in particular, orders were tranſmitted thither to recruit the troops that had been ſent bac from England, to augment each company, to remount the cavalry with the utmoſt expedition; not to ſuffer any horſes to be conveyed out of the electorate; to furniſh the magazines in that country with all things neceſſary for 50,000 men. Of theſe 26,000 were to be Hanoverians, and, in conſequence of engagements entered into for that purpoſe, 12,000 Heſſians, 6000 Brunſwickers, 2000 Saxe-Gothans, and 1000 Lunenburghers, to be joined by a conſiderable body of Pruſſians, the whole commanded by his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland. The king of England having publiſhed a manifeſto, dated at Hanover, ſpecifying his motives for taking the field in Weſtphalia, the troops of the confederated ſtates that were to compoſe the allied army, under the name of an army of obſervation, began to aſſemble with all poſſible diligence near Bielefeldt. Thither the generals appointed to command the ſeveral diviſions repaired, to ſettle the plan of operations with their commander, the duke of Cumberland, who, having left London on the 9th of April, arrived on the 16th at Hanover, and from thence repaired to the army, which, having been joined by three Pruſſian regiments that retired from Weſel, conſiſted of 37 battalions and 34 ſquadrons. Of theſe, ſix battalions and ſix ſquadrons were poſted at Bielefeldt, under the command of lieutenant-general baron de Sporcken; ſix battalions, under lieutenant-general de Block, at Hervorden; ſix battalions and four ſquadrons, under major-general Ledebour, between Hervorden and Minden; ſeven battalions and 10 ſquadrons, under lieutenant-general d'Oberg in the neighbourhood of Hamelen; and five battalions and four ſquadrons, under major-general de Hauſs, near Nienburgh. The head-quarters of his royal highneſs were at Bielefeldt.

In the mean time, the French on the Lower Rhine continued filing off inceſſantly. The ſiege of Gueldres was converted into a blockade, occaſioned by the difficulties the enemy found in raiſing batteries; and a party of Hanoverians having paſſed the Weſer, as well to ravage the country of Paderbourn as to reconnoitre the French, carried off ſeveral waggons loaded with wheat and oats, deſtined for the territories of the elector of Cologn. On the other hand, colonel Fiſcher having had an engagement with a ſmall body of Hanoverians, in the county of Tecklenburgh, routed them, and made ſome priſoners. After ſeveral other petty ſkirmiſhes between the French and the Hanoverians, the duke of Cumberland, altered the poſition of his camp, by placing it between Bielefeldt and Hervorden, in hopes of fruſtrating the deſign of the enemy; who, declining to attac him on the ſide of Bracwede, after having reconnoitred his ſituation ſeveral days, made a motion on their left, as if they meant to get between him and the Weſer. This ſtep was no ſooner taken, than, on the 13th of June in the afternoon, having received advice that the enemy had cauſed a large body of troops, followed by a ſecond, to march on his right to Burghotte, he ordered his army to march that evening towards Hervorden; and at the ſame time major-general Hardenberg marched with four battalions of grenadiers, and a regiment of horſe, to re-enforce that poſt. Count Schulenberg covered the left of the march with a battalion of grenadiers, a regiment of horſe, and the light troops of Buckeburgh. The whole army marched in two columns. The right, compoſed of horſe, and followed by two battalions, to cover their paſſage through the encloſures and defiles, paſſed by the right of Bielefeldt; and the left, conſiſting of infantry, marched by the left of the ſame town. The van-guard of the French army attacked the rear-guard of the allies, commanded by major-general Einſiedel, very briſkly, and at firſt put them into ſome confuſion, but they immediately recovered themſelves. This was in the beginning of the night. At break of day the enemy's re-enforcements returned to the charge, but were again repulſed, nor could they once break through lieutenant-colonel Alfeldt's Hanoverian guards, which cloſed the army's march with a detachment of regular troops, and a new-raiſed corps of hunters.

The allies encamped at Cofeldt the 14th, and remained there all the next day, when the enemy's detachments advanced to the gates of Hervorden, and made a feint as if they would attac the town, after having ſummoned it to ſurrender; but they retired without attempting any thing further; and, in the mean time, the troops that were

[p] "The imperial grenadiers, (ſays he), are an admirable corps; 100 companies defended a riſing ground, which my beſt infantry could not carry. Ferdinand, who commanded them, returned ſeven times to the charge; but to no purpoſe. At firſt he maſtered a battery, but could not hold it. The enemy had the advantage of a numerous and well-ſerved artillery. It did honour to Lichtenſtein, who had the direction. Only the Pruſſian army can diſpute it with him. My infantry were too few. All my cavalry were preſent, and idle ſpectators, excepting a bold puſh by my houſehold troops, and ſome dragoons. Ferdinand attacked without powder; the enemy, in return, were not ſparing of their's. They had the advantage of a riſing ground, of entrenchments, and of a prodigious artillery. Several of my regiments were repulſed by their muſquetry. Henry performed wonders. I tremble for my worthy brothers: they are too brave. Fortune turned her bac on me this day. I ought to have expected it: ſhe is a female, and I am no gallant. In fact, I ought to have had more infantry.—Succeſs, my dear lord, often occaſions a deſtructive confidence. Twenty-four battalions were not ſufficient to diſlodge 60,000 men from an advantageous poſt. Another time we will do better.——What ſay you of this league, which has only the marquis of Brandenbourg for its object? The great elector would be ſurpriſed to ſee his grandſon at war with the Ruſſians, the Auſtrians, almoſt all Germany and 100,000 French auxiliaries—I know not whether it would be diſgrace in me to ſubmit, but I am ſure there will be no glory in vanquiſhing me."

poſted at Hervorden, and formed the rear-guard, paſſed the Weſer on the ſide of Remen, without any moleſtation, and encamped at Holtzuſen. A body of troops which had been left at Bielefeldt, to cover the duke's retreat, after ſome ſkirmiſhes with the French, rejoined the army in the neighbourhood of Herfort; and a few days after his royal highneſs drew near his bridges on the Weſer, and ſent over his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. At the ſame time ſome detachments paſſed the river on the right, between Minden and Oldendorp, and marked out a new camp advantageouſly ſituated, having the Weſer in front, and the right and left covered with eminences and marſhes. There the army under his royal highneſs re-aſſembled, and the French fixed their head-quarters at Bielefeldt, which the Hanoverians had quitted, leaving in it only part of the magazine, which had been ſet on fire. By this time the French were in ſuch want of forage, that M. d'Etrées himſelf, the princes of the blood, and all the officers without exception, were obliged to ſend bac part of their horſes. However, on the 10th of June their whole army, conſiſting 70 battalions and 40 ſquadrons, with 52 pieces of cannon, beſides a body of cavalry left at Ruremonde for the conveniency of forage, was put in motion. In ſpite of almoſt impaſſable foreſts, famine, and every other obſtacle that could be thrown in their way by a vigilant and experienced general, they at length ſurmounted all difficulties, and advanced into a country abounding with plenty, and unuſed to the ravages of war. It was imagined that the paſſage of the Weſer, which defends Hanover from foreign attacs, would have been vigorouſly oppoſed by the army of the allies: but whether, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, it was thought adviſeable to act only upon the defenſive, and not to begin the attac in a country that was not concerned as a principal in the war, or the duke of Cumberland found himſelf too weak to make head againſt the enemy, is a queſtion we ſhall not pretend to determine. However that may have been, the whole French army paſſed the Weſer on the 10th and 11th of July, without the loſs of a man. The manner of effecting this paſſage is thus related:—— Mareſchal d'Etrées, being informed that his magazines of proviſions were well furniſhed, his ovens eſtabliſhed, and the artillery and pontoons arrived at the deſtined places ordered lieutenant-general Broglio, with 10 battalions, 12 ſquadrons, and 10 pieces of cannon, to march to Enghereu; lieutenant-general M. de Chevert, with 16 battalions, three brigades of carabineers, the royal hunters, and 600 huſſars, to march to Hervorden, and lieutenant-general marquis d'Armentieres, with 12 battalions and 10 ſquadrons, to march to Ulrickhauſen. All theſe troops being arrived in their camp on the 4th of July, halted the 5th. On the 6th, 22 battalions, and 32 ſquadrons, under the command of the duke of Orleans, who was now arrived at the army, marched to Ulrickhauſen, from whence M. d'Armentieres had ſent out early in the morning, with the troops under his command, and by haſty marches got on the 7th, by 11 at night, to Blankenhoven, where he found the boats which had gone from Ahrenſberg. The bridges were built, the connon planted, and the entrenchments at the head of the bridges completed in the night between the 7th and 8th. The mareſchal having ſent away part of his baggage from Bielefeldt on the 6th, went in perſon on the ſeventh at 11 o'clock to Horn, and on the 8th to Braket. On advice that M. d'Armentieres had thrown his bridges acroſs without oppoſition, and was at work on his entrenchments, he went on the 9th to Blankenhoven, to ſee the bridges and entrenchments; and afterwards advanced to examine the firſt poſition he intended for his army, and came down the right ſide of the Weſer to the abbey of Corvey, where he forded the river, with the princes of the blood, and their attendants. On the 10th in the morning he got on horſebac by four o'clock, to ſee the duke of Orlean's diviſion file off, which arrived at Corvey at 10 o'clock; as alſo that of M. d'Armentieres, which arrived at 11, and that of M. Souvré, which arrived at noon. The mareſchal having examined the courſe of the river, cauſed the bridges of pontoons to be laid within gun-ſhot of the abbey, where the viſcount de Turenne paſſed that river in 1673, and where the diviſions under Broglio and Chevert now paſſed it on the 12th and 13th. Theſe two generals being informed of what was to be done upon the Upper-Weſer, attacked Minden, and carried it, whilſt a detachment of French entered the country of Eaſt Frieſland, under the command of marquis d'Auvel: and, after taking poſſeſſion of Lier, marched on the right of the Ems to Embden, the only ſea-port the king of Pruſſia had, which at firſt ſeemed determined to make the defence, but the inhabitants were not agreed upon the methods to be taken for that purpoſe. They, therefore, met to deliberate, but in the mean time, their gates being ſhut, M. d'Auvel cauſed ſome cannon to be brought to beat them down; and the garriſon, compoſed of 400 Pruſſians, not being ſtrong enough to defend the town, the ſoldiers mutinied againſt their officers, whereupon a capitulation was agreed on, and the gates were opened to the French commander, who made his troops enter with a great deal of order, aſſured the magiſtrates that care ſhould be taken to make them obſerve a good diſcipline, and publiſh two ordinances, one for the ſecurity of the religion and commerce of the city, and the other for prohibiting the exportation of corn and forage out of that principality. The inhabitants were, however, obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the French king.

On Sunday the 24th of July, the French, after having laid part of the electorate of Hanover under contribution, marched in three columns, with their artillery, towards the village of Latford, when major-general Fuſtenburg, who commanded the out-poſts in the village, ſent an officer to inform the duke of Cumberland of their approach. His royal highneſs immediately re-enforced thoſe poſts with a body of troops, under the command of lieutenant-general Sporcken: but finding it impoſſible to ſupport the village, as it was commanded by the heights oppoſite to it, which were poſſeſſed by the enemy, and being ſenſible that it would be always in his power to retake it, from its ſituation in a bottom between two hills, he withdrew his poſt from Latford. The French then made two attacs, one at the point of the wood and the other higher up in the ſame wood, oppoſite to the grenadiers commanded by major-general Hardenberg, but they failed in both; and though the fire of their artillery was very hot, they were obliged to retire. The French army encamping on the heights oppoſite to the duke of Cumberland's poſts, the intelligence received, that M. d'Etrées had aſſembled all his troops, and was furniſhed with a very conſiderable train of artillery, left his royal highneſs no doubt of his intending to attac him. He, therefore, reſolved to change his camp for a more advantageous ſituation, by drawing up his army on the eminence between the Weſer and the woods, leaving the Hamelen river on his right, the village of Haſtenbeck in his front, and his left cloſe to the wood, at the point of which his royal highneſs had a battery of 12 pounders and haubitzers. There was a hollow way from the left of the village to the battery, and a moraſs on the other ſide of Haſtenbeck to his right. Major-general Schulenberg, with the hunters, and two battalions of grenadiers, was poſted in the corner of the woods upon the the left of the battery; his royal highneſs ordered the village of Haſtenbeck to be cleared to his front, to prevent its being in the power of the enemy to keep poſſeſſion of it, and the ways by which the allies had a communication with that village during their encampment to be rendered impaſſable. In the evening he withdrew all his out-poſts, and in this poſition the army lay upon their arms all night. On the 25th in the morning the French army marched forward in columns, and began to cannonade the allies very ſeverely, marching and counter-marching continually, and ſeeming to intend three attacs, on the right, the left, and the centre. In the evening their artillery appeared much ſuperior to that of the allies. The army was again ordered to lie all night on their arms; his royal highneſs cauſed a battery at the end of the wood to be repaired, count Schulenberg to be re-enforced with a battalion of grenadiers, and two field pieces of cannon, and that battery to be alſo ſupported by four more battalions of grenadiers, under the command of major-general Hardenberg. He likewiſe cauſed a battery to be erected of twelve and ſix pounders, behind the village of Haſtenbeck, and took all the precautions he could think of to give the enemy a warm reception. As ſoon as it was day-light he mounted on horſebac to reconnoitre the poſition of the enemy, whom he found in the ſame ſituation as the day before. At a little after five a very ſmart cannonading began againſt the battery behind the village, which was ſupported by the Heſſian infantry and cavalry, who ſtood a moſt ſevere fire with ſurpriſing ſteadineſs and reſolution. Between ſeven and eight the firing of ſmall arms began on the left of the allies, when his royal highneſs ordered major-general Behr, with three battalions of Brunſwick, to ſuſtain the grenadiers in the wood, if their aſſiſtance ſhould be wanted. The cannonading continued above ſix hours, during which the troops that were expoſed to it never once abated of their firmneſs. The fire of the ſmall arms on the left increaſing, and the French ſeeming to gain ground, his royal highneſs detached the colonels Darkenhauſen and Bradenbach, with

three Hanoverian battalions and ſix ſquadrons, round the wood by Afferde, who, towards the cloſe of the day, drove ſeveral ſquadrons of the enemy bac to their army, without giving them any opportunity to charge. At length the grenadiers in the wood, apprehenſive of being ſurrounded, from the great numbers of the enemy that appeared there, and were marching round on that ſide, though they repulſed every thing that appeared in their front, thought it adviſeable to retire nearer the left of the army, a motion which gave the enemy an opportunity of poſſeſſing themſelves of that battery without oppoſition. Here the hereditary prince of Brunſwick diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the head of a battalion of Wolfenbuttel guards, and another of Hanoverians, who attacked and repulſed, with their bayonets a ſuperior force of the enemy, and retook the battery. But the French being in poſſeſſion of an eminence which commanded and flanked both the lines of the infantry and the battery of the allies, and where they were able to ſupport their attac under the cover of a hill, his royal highneſs, conſidering the ſuperior numbers of the enemy, near double to his, and the impoſſibility of diſlodging them from their poſt, without expoſing his troops too much, ordered a retreat; in conſequence of which his army retired, firſt to Hamelen, where he left a garriſon, then to Nienburg, and afterwards to Hoya; in the neighbourhood of which town, after ſending away all the magazines, ſic, and wounded, he encamped, in order to cover Bremen and Verden, and to preſerve a communication with Stade, to which place the archives, and moſt valuable effects of Hanover had been removed. In this engagement, colonel Bredenback attacked four brigades very ſtrongly poſted, with a battery of 14 pieces of cannon, repulſed and drove them down a precipice, and took all the artillery and ammunition; but preferring the care of his wounded to the glory of carrying away the cannon, he brought off only ſix, nailing up and deſtroying the reſt. The loſs of the allies, in all the ſkirmiſhes, which laſted three days, was 327 men killed 907 wounded, and 220 miſſing or taken priſoners; whilſt that of the French, according to their own accounts, amounted to 1500 men.

The French, being left maſters of the field, ſoon reduced Hamelen, which was far from being well fortified, obliged the garriſon to capitulate, and took out of the town 60 braſs cannon, ſeveral mortars, 40 ovens, part of the equipage of the duke's army, and large quantities of proviſions and ammunition, which they found in it, together with a great many ſic and wounded, who not being included in the capitulation, were made priſoners of war. Whether the court of France had any reaſon to find fault with the conduct of mareſchal d'Etrées, or whether its monarch was blindly guided by the councils of his favourite, the marquiſe de Pompadour, who, deſirous to teſtify her gratitude to the man who had been one of the chief inſtruments of her high promotion, was glad of an opportunity to retrieve his ſhattered fortunes, and at the ſame time to add to her own already immenſe treaſures, we ſhall not pretend to determine; though the event ſeems plainly to ſpeak the laſt. Even at the time no compariſon was made between the military ſkill of the mareſchal d'Etrées, and that of the duke de Richelieu; but, however that may have been, this laſt, who, if he had not ſhone in the character of a ſoldier, excelled all, or at leaſt moſt of his contemporaries in the more refined arts of a courtier, was juſt before the battle we have been ſpeaking of, appointed to ſuperſede the former in the command of the French army in Lower-Saxony, where he arrived on the 6th of Auguſt, with the title of mareſchal of France; and M. d'Etrées immediately reſigned the command.

Immediately after the battle of Haſtenbeck, the French ſent a detachment of 4000 men to lay under contribution the counties of Hanover and Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle, as well as the duchies of Bremen and Verden; and two days after the arrival of this new commander, the duke de Chevreuſe was detached with 2000 men to take poſſeſſion of Hanover itſelf, with the title of governor of that city. He accordingly marched thither; and upon his arrival the Hanoverian garriſon was diſarmed and left at liberty to retire where they pleaſed. About the ſame time M. de Contades, with a detachment from the French army, was ſent to make himſelf maſter of the territories of Heſſe-Caſſel, where he found no oppoſition. He was met at Warberg by that prince's maſter of the horſe, who declared that they were ready to furniſh the French army with all the ſuccours the country could afford; and accordingly the magiſtrates of Caſſel preſented him with the keys as ſoon as he entered their city. Gottingen was ordered by M. d'Armentieres to prepare for him within a limitted time, upon pain of military execution, 4000 pounds of white bread, 2000 buſhels of oats, a greater quantity than could be found in the whole country, 100 loads of hay, and other proviſions.

The duke of Cumberland remained encamped in the neighbourhood of Hoya till the 24th of Auguſt, when, upon advice that the enemy had laid two bridges over the Aller in the night, and had paſſed the river with a large body of troops, he ordered his army to march, to ſecure the important poſt and paſſage of Rotenburg, leſt they ſhould attempt to march round on his left. He encamped that night at Hauſen, having detached lieutenant-general Oberg, with eight battalions and ſix ſquadrons, to Otterſberg, to which place he marched next day, and encamped behind the Wummer, in a very ſtrong ſituation, between Otterſberg and Rothenburg. The French took poſſeſſion of Verden on the 26th of Auguſt, and one of their detachments went on the 29th to Bremen, where the gates were immediately opened to them. The duke of Cumberland, now cloſely preſſed on all ſides, and in danger of having his communication with Stade cut off, which the enemy was endeavouring to effect, by ſeizing upon all the poſts round him, found it neceſſary to decamp again; to abandon Rothenburg, of which the French immediately took poſſeſſion; to retreat to Selſingen, where his head-quarters were, on the 1ſt of September; and from thence on the 3d of the ſame month, to retire under the cannon of Stade. Here it was imagined that his army would have been able to maintain their ground between the Aller and the Elbe, till the ſeverity of the ſeaſon ſhould put an end to the campaign. Accordingly, his royal highneſs, upon his taking this poſition, ſent a detachment of his forces to Buck-Schantz, with ſome artillery, and orders to defend that place to the utmoſt: but as it could not poſſibly have held out many days, and as the French, who now hemmed him in on all ſides, by making themſelves maſters of a little fort at the mouth of the river Zwinga, would have cut off his communication with the Elbe, ſo that four Engliſh men of war then in that river could have been of no ſervice to him, he was forced to accept of a mediation offered by the king of Denmark, by his miniſter the count de Lynar, and to ſign the famous convention of Cloſter-Seven [q], by which 38,000 Hanoverians had laid down their arms, and were diſperſed into different quarters of cantonment.

[q] This remarkable capitulation, which we ſhall give here at full length, on account of diſputes which aroſe ſhortly after concerning what the French called an infraction of it, was to the following effect:

'HIS majeſty the king of Denmark, touched with the diſtreſſes of the countries of Bremen and Verden, to which he has always granted his ſpecial protection; and being deſirous, by preventing thoſe countries from being any longer the theatre of war, to ſpare alſo the effuſion of blood in the armies which are ready to diſpute the poſſeſſion thereof, hath employed his mediation by the miniſtry of the count de Lynar. His royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, general of the army of the allies, on the one part, and his excellency the mareſchal duke de Richelieu, general of the king of France's forces in Germany, on the other, have, in conſideration of the intervention of his Daniſh majeſty, reſpectivly engaged their word of honour to the count de Lynar, to abide by the convention hereafter ſtipulated; and he, the count de Lynar, correſpondently to the magnanimity of the king his maſter's intention, obliges himſelf to procure the guarantee mentioned in the preſent convention; ſo that it ſhall be ſent to him, with his full powers, which there was no time to make out, in the circumſtances which hurried his departure.

Article I. Hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe on both ſides within 24 hours, or ſooner, if poſſible. Orders for this purpoſe ſhall be immediately ſent to the detached corps.

II. The auxiliary troops of the army of the duke of Cumberland, namely thoſe of Heſſe, Brunſwick, Saxe-Gotha, and even thoſe of the count de la Lippe-Buckbourg, ſhall be ſent home: and as it is neceſſary to ſettle particularly their march to their reſpective countries, a general officer of each nation ſhall be ſent from the armies of the allies, with whom all ſhall be ſettled the route of thoſe troops, the diviſions they ſhall march in, the ſubſiſtence on their march, and their paſſports to be granted them by his excellency the duke de Richelieu to go to their own countries, where they ſhall be placed and diſtributed as ſhall be agreed upon between the court of France and their reſpective ſovereigns.

III. His royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland obliges himſelf to paſs the Elbe, with ſuch part of the army as he ſhall not be able to place in the city of Stade: that the part of his forces which ſhall enter into garriſon in the ſaid city, and which it is ſuppoſed may amount to between 4 and 6000 men, ſhall remain there under the guarantee of his majeſty the king of Denmark, without committing any act of hoſtility: nor, on the other hand, ſhall they be expoſed to any from the French troops. In conſequence thereof, commiſſaries, named on each ſide, ſhall agree upon the limits to be fixed round that place, for the conveniency of the garriſon; which limits ſhall not extend beyond half a league or a league from the place, according to the nature of the ground or circumſtances, which ſhall be fairly ſettled by the commiſſaries. The reſt of the Hanoverian army ſhall go and take quarters in the country beyond the Elbe; and to facilitate the march of thoſe troops, his excellency the duke de Richelieu ſhall concert with a general officer ſent from the Hanoverian army the route they ſhall take; obliging himſelf to give the neceſſary paſſports and ſecurity for the free paſſage of them and their baggage to the places of their deſtination; his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland reſerving to himſelf the liberty of negotiating between the

The Hanoverians being now quite ſubdued, and the whole force of the French let looſe againſt the king of Pruſſia by this treaty, mareſchal Richelieu immediately ordered lieutenant-general Berchini to march with all poſſible expedition, with the troops under his command, to join the prince de Soubiſe: the gens-d'armes, and other troops that were in the landgraviate of Heſſe-Caſſel, received the ſame order; and 60 battalions of foot, and the greateſt part of the horſe belonging to the French army, were directed to attac the Pruſſian territories. Mareſchal Richelieu himſelf arrived at Brunſwick on the 15th of September; and having, in a few days after, aſſembled 110 battalions, and 150 ſquadrons, with 100 pieces of cannon, near Wolfenbuttel, he entered the king of Pruſſia's dominions with his army on the 27th, 28th, and 29th of the ſame month, in three columns, which penetrated into Halberſtadt and Bradenburg, plundering the towns, exacting contributions, and committing many enormities, at which their general is ſaid to have connived. In the mean time, the duke of Cumberland returned to England, where he arrived on the 11th of October, and ſhortly after reſigned all his military commands.

Had the allied army, after the battle of Haſtenbeck marched directly to the Leine, as it might eaſily have done, and then taken poſt on the other ſide of Wolfenbuttel, Halberſtadt, and Magdeburg, it might have waited ſecurely under the cannon of the latter place for the junction of the Pruſſian forces; inſtead of which, they injudiciouſly turned off to the Lower Weſer, retiring ſucceſſively from Hamelen to Nienburg, Verden, Rothenburgh, Buxtchude, and laſtly to Stade, where, for want of ſubſiſtence and elbow-room, the troops were all made priſoners of war at large. They made a march of 150 miles to be cooped up in a nook, inſtead of taking the other route, which was only about 100 miles, and would have led them to a place of ſafety. By this unaccountable conduct, the king of Pruſſia was not only deprived of the aſſiſtance of near 40,000 good troops, which, in the cloſe of the compaign, might have put him upon an equality with the French and the army of the empire; but alſo expoſed to, and actually invaded by his numerous enemies on all ſides, inſomuch that his ſituation became now more dangerous than ever; and the fate which ſeemed to have threatened the empreſs a few months before, through his means, was, to all appearance, turned againſt himſelf. His ruin was predicted, nor could human prudence foreſee how he might be extricated from his complicated diſtreſs; for, beſides the invaſion of his territories by the French under the duke de Richelieu, the Ruſſians, who had made for a long time a dilatory march, and ſeemed uncertain of their own reſolutions, all at once quickened their motions, and entered ducal Pruſſia under mareſchal Apraxin and general Fermor, marking their progreſs by every inhumanity that unbridled cruelty, luſt, and rapine can be imagined capable of committing. A large body of Auſtrians entered Sileſia, and penetrated as far as Breſlau: then, turning bac, they laid ſiege to the important fortreſs of Schweidnitz, the key of that country. A ſecond body entered Luſatia, another quarter of the Pruſſian territories, and made themſelves maſters of Zittau. Twenty-two thouſand Swedes penetrated into Pruſſian Pomerania, took the towns of Anclam and Demmin, and laid the whole country under contribution. The army of the empire, re-enforced by that of prince Soubiſe, after many delays, was at laſt in full march to enter Saxony; and this motion left the Auſtrians at liberty to turn the greateſt part of their forces to the reduction of Sileſia. An Auſtrian general, penetrating through Luſatia, paſſed by the Pruſſian armies, and ſuddenly preſenting himſelf before the gates of Berlin, laid the whole country under contribution; and though he retired on the approach of a body of Pruſſians, yet he ſtill found means to interrupt the communication of theſe laſt with Sileſia. The Pruſſians, it is true, exerted themſelves bravely on all ſides, and their enemies fled before them; but whilſt one body was purſuing, another gained upon them in ſome other part. The winter approached, their ſtrength decayed, and their adverſaries multiplied daily. Their king harraſſed, and almoſt ſpent with inceſſant fatigue both of body and of mind, was in a manner excluded from the empire. The greateſt part of his dominions were either taken from him, or laid under contribution, and poſſeſſed by his enemies; who collected the public revenues, fattened on the contributions, and with the riches which they drew from the electorate of Hanover, and other conqueſts, defrayed the expences of the war; and by the convention of Cloſter-Seven he was deprived of his allies, and left without any aſſiſtance whatever, excepting what the Britiſh parliament might think fit to ſupply. How different is this picture from that which the king of Pruſſia exhibited when he took arms to enter Saxony! But, in order to form a clear idea of theſe events, of the ſituation of his Pruſſian majeſty, and of the ſteps he took to defeat the deſigns of his antagoniſts, and extricate himſelf from his great and numerous diſtreſſes, it will be proper now to take a view of the ſeveral tranſactions of his enemies, as well during his ſtay in Bohemia, as from the time of his leaving it, down to that which we are now ſpeaking of.

Whilſt the king of Pruſſia was in Bohemia, the empreſs of Ruſſia ordered notice to be given to all maſters of ſhips, that if any of them were found aſſiſting the Pruſſians, by the tranſportation of troops, artillery, and ammunition, they ſhould be condemned as legal prizes: and her fleet, conſiſting of 15 men of war and frigates, with two bomb ketches, was ſent to bloc up the Pruſſian ports in the Baltic, where it took ſeveral ſhips of that nation, which were employed in carrying proviſions and merchandiſe from one port to another. One of theſe ſhips of war appearing before Memel, a town of Poland, but ſubject to Pruſſia, the commandant ſent an officer to the captain, to know whether he came as a friend or an enemy; to which interrogation the Ruſſian captain replied, that, notwithſtanding the diſpoſitions of the empreſs of both the Ruſſias were ſufficiently known, yet he would further explain them, by declaring that his orders, and thoſe of the other Ruſſian commanders were, in conformity to the laws of war, to ſeize on all the Pruſſian veſſels they met with on their cruiſe. Upon which the commandant of Memel immediately gave orders for pointing the cannon to fire upon all Ruſſian ſhips that ſhould approach that place.

The land-forces of the Ruſſians had now lingered on their march upwards of ſix months; and it was pretty generally doubted, by thoſe who were ſuppoſed to have the beſt intelligence, whether they ever were deſigned really to paſs into the Pruſſian territories, not only on account of their long ſtay on the borders of Lithunia, but alſo becauſe ſeve-

two courts, for an extenſion of thoſe quarters. As to the French troops, they ſhall remain in the reſt of the duchies of Bremen and Verden, till the definitive reconciliation of the two ſovereigns.

IV. As the aforeſaid articles are to be executed as ſoon as poſſible, the Hanoverian army, and the corps which are detached from it, particularly that which is at Buck-Schantz, and the neighbourhood, ſhall retire under Stade in the ſpace of 48 hours. The French army ſhall not paſs the river Oſte, in the duchy of Bremen, till the limits be regulated. It ſhall, beſides, keep all the poſts and countries of which it is in poſſeſſion; and, not to retard the regulation of the limits between the armies, commiſſaries ſhall be nominated and ſent on the 10th inſtant to Bremenworden, by his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, and his excellency the mareſchal duke de Richelieu, to regulate, as well the limits to be aſſigned to the French army, as thoſe that are to be obſerved by the garriſon at Stade, according to Art. III.

V. All the aforeſaid articles ſhall be faithfully executed, according to their form and tenor, and under the faith of his majeſty the king of Denmark's guarantee, which the count de Lynar, his miniſter, engage to procure.

Done at the camp at Cloſter-Seven, Sept. 8, 1757.

Signed WILLIAM.

SEPARATE ARTICLES.

UPON the repreſentation made by the count de Lynar, with a view to explain ſome diſpoſitions made by the preſent covention, the following articles have been added:

I. It is the intention of his excellency the mareſchal duke de Richelieu, that the allied troops of his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland ſhall be ſent bac to their reſpective countries, according to the form mentioned in the 2d article; and that as to their ſeparation and diſtribution in the country, it ſhall be regulated between the courts, thoſe troops not being conſidered as priſoners of war.

II. It having been repreſented that the country of Lunenberg cannot accommodate more than fifteen battalions and ſix ſquadrons, and that the city of Stade cannot abſolutely contain the garriſon of ſix thouſand allotted to it, his excellency the mareſchal duke de Richelieu, being preſſed by M. de Lynar, who ſupported this repreſentation by the guarantee of his Daniſh majeſty, gives his conſent, and his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland engages to cauſe fifteen battalions and ſix ſquadrons to paſs the Elbe; and the whole body of hunters, and the remaining ten battalions, and twenty-eight ſquadrons ſhall be placed in the town of Stade, and the places neareſt to it that are within the line, which ſhall be marked by poſts from the mouth of the Liche in the Elbe, to the mouth of the Elmerbeck in the river Oſte; provided always that the ſaid ten battalions and 28 ſquadrons ſhall be quartered there as they are at the time of ſigning this convention, and ſhall not be recruited under any pretext, or augmented in any caſe; and this clauſe is particularly guaranteed by the count de Lynar in the name of his Daniſh majeſty.

III. Upon the repreſentation of his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, that the army and the detached corps cannot both retire under Stade in 48 hours, agreeable to the convention, his excellency the mareſchal duke de Richelieu hath ſignified, that he will grant them proper time, provided the corps encamped at Buck-Schantz, as well as the army encamped at Bremenworden, begin their march to retire in 24 hours after ſigning the convention. The time neceſſary for other arrangements, and the execution of the articles concerning the reſpective limits, ſhall be ſettled between lieutenant-general Sporcken, and the marquis de Villemar, firſt lieutenant-general of the king's army.

Done, &c.

ral of their Coſſacks had been ſeverely puniſhed for plundering the waggons of ſome Pruſſian peaſants upon the frontiers of Courland, and the damage of the peaſants compenſated with money, though general Apraxin's army was at the ſame time greatly diſtreſſed by the want of proviſions; when, on a ſudden, they quickened their motions, and ſhowed they were in earneſt, determined to accompliſh the ruin of Pruſſia. The firſt act of hoſtility was the attac of Memel, which ſurrendered: and by the articles of capitulation it was agreed, that the garriſon ſhould march out with all the honours of war, after having engaged not to ſerve againſt the empreſs, or any of her allies, for the ſpace of one year.

His Pruſſian majeſty, juſtly forſeeing the great enormities that were to be expected from theſe ſavage enemies, who were unaccuſtomed to make war, except upon nations as barbarous as themſelves, who looked upon war only as an opportunity for plunder, and every country through which they happened to march as their's by right of conqueſt, publiſhed the following declaration:—'It is ſufficiently known, that the king of Pruſſia, after the example of his glorious predeceſſors, has, ever ſince his acceſſion to the crown, laid it down as a maxim to ſeek the friendſhip of the imperial court of Ruſſia, and cultivate it by every method. His Pruſſian majeſty hath had the ſatisfaction to live, for ſeveral ſucceſſive years, in the ſtricteſt harmony with the reigning empreſs; and this happy union would be ſtill ſubſiſting, if evil-minded potentates had not broke it by their ſecret machinations, and carried things to ſuch a height, that the miniſters on both ſides have been recalled, and the correſpondence broken off. However melancholy theſe circumſtances might be for the king, his majeſty was nevertheleſs moſt attentive to prevent any thing that might increaſe the alienation of the Ruſſian court. He hath been particularly careful, during the diſturbances of the war that now unhappily rages, to avoid whatever might involve him in a difference with that court, notwithſtanding the great grievances he hath to alledge againſt it; and that it was publicly known the court of Vienna had at laſt drawn that of Ruſſia into its deſtructive views, and made it ſerve as an inſtrument for favouring the ſchemes of Auſtria. His majeſty hath given the whole world inconteſtible proofs, that he was under an indiſpenſable neceſſity of having recourſe to the meaſures he hath taken againſt the courts of Vienna and Saxony, who forced him by their conduct to take up arms for his defence. Yet, even ſince things have been brought to this extremity, the king hath offered to lay down his arms, if proper ſecurities ſhould be granted to him. His majeſty hath not neglected to expoſe the artifices by which the imperial court of Ruſſia hath been drawn into meaſures ſo oppoſite to the empreſs's ſentiments, and which would excite the utmoſt indignation of that great princeſs, if the truth could be placed before her without diſguiſe. The king did more: he ſuggeſted to her imperial majeſty ſufficient means either to excuſe her not taking any part in the preſent war, or to avoid, upon the juſteſt grounds, the execution of thoſe engagements which the court of Vienna claimed by a manifeſt abuſe of obligations, which they employed to palliate their unlawful views. It wholly depended upon the empreſs of Ruſſia to extinguiſh the flames of the war, without unſheathing the ſword, by purſuing the meaſures ſuggeſted by the king. This conduct would have immortalized her reign throughout all Europe. It would have gained her more laſting glory than can be acquired by the greateſt triumphs. The king finds with regret, that all his precautions and care to maintain peace with the Ruſſian empire are fruitleſs, and that the intrigues of his enemies have prevailed. His majeſty ſees all the conſiderations of friendſhip and good neighbourhood ſet aſide by the imperial court of Ruſſias, a well as the obſervance of its engagements with his majeſty. He ſees that court marching its troops through the territories of a foreign power, and, contrary to the tenor of treaties, in order to attac the king in his dominions: and thus taking part in a war, in which his enemies have involved the Ruſſian empire. In ſuch circumſtances, the king hath no other part to take, but to employ the power which God hath entruſted to him in defending himſelf, protecting his ſubjects, and repelling every unjuſt attac. His majeſty will never loſe ſight of the rules which are obſerved, even in the midſt of war, among civilized nations. But if, contrary to all hope and expectation, theſe rules ſhould be violated by the troops of Ruſſia, if they commit in the king's territories diſorders and exceſſes diſallowed by the laws of arms, his majeſty muſt not be blamed if he makes repriſals in Saxony: and if, inſtead of that good order and rigorous diſcipline which have hitherto been obſerved by his army, avoiding all ſorts of violence, he finds himſelf forced, contrary to his inclination, to ſuffer the provinces and ſubjects of Saxony to be treated in the ſame manner as his own territories ſhall be treated. As to the reſt, the king will ſoon publiſh to the whole world the futility of the reaſons alledged by the imperial court of Ruſſia to juſtify its aggreſſion; and as his majeſty is forced upon making his defence, he has room to hope, with confidence, that the Lord of hoſts will bleſs his righteous arms, that he will diſappoint the unjuſt enterprizes of his enemies, and grant him his powerful aſſiſtance, to enable him to make head againſt them.'

When the king of Pruſſia was put under the ban of the empire, the ſeveral princes who compoſe that body were required, by the decree of the Aulick council, as we obſerved before, to furniſh their reſpective contigences againſt him. Thoſe who feared him looked upon this as a fair opportunity of reducing him; and thoſe who ſtood in awe of the houſe of Auſtria, were, through neceſſity, compelled to ſupport that power which they dreaded. Beſides, they were accuſtomed to the influence of a family, in which the empire had, for a long time, been in a manner hereditary; and were alſo intimidated by the appearance of a confederacy, the moſt formidable, perhaps, that the world had ever ſeen. Yet, notwithſtanding all this, the contingents, both of men and money, were collected ſlowly; the troops were badly compoſed; and many of thoſe, not only of the proteſtant princes, but alſo of the catholicks, ſhowed the utmoſt reluctance to act againſt his Pruſſian majeſty, which, indeed, none of them would have been able to do, had it not been for the aſſiſtance of the French under prince de Soubiſe. The elector-palatine loſt above 1000 men by deſertion. Four thouſand of the troops belonging to the duke of Wertemberg being delivered to the French commiſſary on the 24th of June, were immediately reviewed; but the review was ſcarcely finiſhed, when they began to cry aloud, that they were ſold. Next morning 30 of them deſerted at once, and were ſoon followed by parties of 20 and 30 each, who forced their way through the detachments that guarded the gates of Stutgard, and in the evening the mutiny became general. They fired upon the officers in their barracs, and let the general know, that if he did not immediately withdraw, they would put him to death. Mean while, ſome of the officers having purſued the deſerters, brought bac a part of them priſoners, when the reſt of the ſoldiers declared, that if they were not immediately releaſed, they would ſet fire to the ſtadthouſe and barracs: upon which the priſoners were ſet at liberty late in the evening. Next morning the ſoldiers aſſembled, and having ſeized ſome of the officers, 3 or 400 of them marched out of the town at a time, with the muſic of the regiments playing before them; and in this manner near 3000 of them filed off, and the remainder were afterwards diſcharged.

The king of Pruſſia, upon his leaving Bohemia, after the battle of Kolin, retired towards Saxony, as we obſerved before; and having ſent his heavy artillery and mortars up the Elbe to Dreſden, fixed his camp on the banks of that river, at Leitmeritz, where his main army was ſtrongly entrenched, whilſt mareſchal Keith, with the troops under his command, encamped on the oppoſite ſhore; a free communication being kept open by means of a bridge. At the ſame time detachments were ordered to ſecure the paſſes into Saxony. As this poſition of the king of Pruſſia prevented the Auſtrians from being able to penetrate into Saxony by the way of the Elbe, they moved by ſlow marches, into the circle of Buntzlau, and, at laſt, with a detachment commanded by the duke d'Aremberg and M. Macguire, on the 18th of June fell ſuddenly upon, and took the important poſt at Gabel, ſituated between Boemiſh-Leypa, and Zittau, after an obſtinate defence made by the Pruſſian garriſon, under major-general Putkammar, conſiſting of four battalions, who where obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. The Auſtrians having by this motion gained a march towards Luſatia, upon a corps which had been detached under the command of the prince of Pruſſia to watch them, his Pruſſian majeſty thought proper to leave Leitmeritz on the 20th in the morning, and lay that night at Lickowitz, a village oppoſite to Leitmeritz, of which a battalion of his troops ſtill kept poſſeſſion, while the reſt of his army remained encamped in the plain, before that place. Next morning, at break of day, prince Henry decamped, and made ſo good a diſpoſition for his retreat, that he did not loſe a ſingle man, though he marched in ſight of the whole body of the Auſtrian irregulars. He paſſed the bridge at Leitmeritz, after withdrawing the battalion that was in the

town and having burnt the bridge, the whole army united, and made a ſmall movement towards the paſſes of the mountains; the king then lying at Sulowitz, near the field where the battle of Lowoſchutz was fought on the firſt of October the preceding year. The heavy baggage was ſent on in the afternoon, with a proper eſcorte; and in the morning of the 22d the army marched in two columns, and encamped on the high grounds at Luſechitz, a little beyond Lenai, where it halted the 23d. No attac was made upon the rear-guard, though great numbers of Auſtrian huſſars, and other irregulars, had appeared the evening before within connon-ſhot of the Pruſſian camp. On the 23th the army marched to Nellendorf; on the 25th it encamped near Cotta; on the 26th near Pirna, where it halted the next day; and on the 28th it croſſed the river near that place, and entered Luſatia, where, by the end of the month, it encamped at Bautzen.

The king's army made this retreat with all the ſucceſs that could be wiſhed; but the corpſe under the prince of Pruſſia had not the ſame good fortune: for the Auſtrians, immediately after their taking Gabel, ſent a ſtrong detachment againſt Zittau, a trading town in the circle of Upper-Saxony, where the Pruſſians had large magazines, and a garriſon of ſix battalions, and in his ſight, attacked it with uncommon rage. Paying no regard to the inhabitants as being friends or allies, but determined to reduce the place before the king of Pruſſia could have time to march to its relief, they no ſooner arrived before it, than they bombarded and cannonaded it with ſuch fury, that moſt of the garriſon, finding themſelves unable to reſiſt, made their eſcape, and carried off as much as they could of the magazines, leaving only 3 or 400 men in the town, under colonel Diricke, to hold it out as long as poſſible; which he accordingly did, till the whole place was almoſt deſtroyed. The cannonading began on the 23d of July, at 11 in the morning, and laſted till five in the evening. In this ſpace of time 4000 balls, many of them red-hot, were fired into this unfortunate city, with ſo little intermiſſion, that it was ſoon ſet on fire in ſeveral places. In the confuſion which the conflagration produced, the Auſtrians entered the town, and the inhabitants imagined that they had nothing further to fear; and that their friends, the Auſtrians, would aſſiſt them in extinguiſhing the flames, and ſaving the place: but in this particular their expectations were diſappointed. The Pandours and Sclavonians, who ruſhed in with the regular troops, made no diſtinction between the Pruſſians and the inhabitants of Zittau: inſtead of helping to quench the flames, they began to plunder the warehouſes which the fire had not reached; ſo that all the valuable merchandize they contained was either carried off or reduced to aſhes. Upwards of 600 houſes, and almoſt all the public buildings, the cathedrals of St. John and St. James, the orphan-houſe, eight parſonage-houſes, eight ſchools, the town-houſe, and every thing contained in it, the public weigh-houſe, the priſon, the archieves, and all the other documents of the town-council, the plate and other things of value, preſented to the town from time to time by emperors, kings, and other princes and noblemen, were entirely deſtroyed, and more than 400 citizens were killed in this aſſault. Of the whole town there was left ſtanding only 138 houſes, two churches, the council, library, and the ſalt-work. The queen of Poland was ſo affected by this melancholy account, that ſhe is ſaid to have fainted away upon hearing it. As this city belonging to their friend the king of Poland, the Auſtrians thought proper to publiſh an excuſe for their conduct, aſcribing it entirely to the neceſſity they were under, and the obſtinate defence made by the Pruſſian garriſon. But what excuſes can atone for ſuch barbarity?

The corps under the prince of Pruſſia, which had been witneſſes to the deſtruction of this unhappy place, was, by the king's march to Bautzen, fortunately extricated from the danger of being ſurrounded by the Auſtrians, who, upon his majeſty's approach, retired from their poſts on the right. Soon after this event the prince of Pruſſia, finding his health much impaired by the fatigues of the campaign[r], quitted the army, and returned to Berlin. In the mean time, mareſchal Keith, who had been left upon the frontier, to guard the paſſes of the mountains of Bohemia, arrived at Pirna, having been much harraſſed in his march by the enemy's irregular troops, and loſt ſome waggons of proviſions and baggage. After reſting a day at Pirna, he purſued his march through Dreſden with 26 battalions and 40 ſquadrons, and encamped on the right of the Elbe, before the gate of the new city, from whence he joined the king between Bautzen and Gorlitz. The Pruſſian army now re-aſſembled at this place amounted to about 60,000 men, beſides 12 battalions and 10 ſquadrons which remained in the famous camp at Pirna, under the prince of Anhault-Deſſau, to cover Dreſden, ſecure the gorges of the mountains, and chec the incurſions of the Auſtrian irregulars, with whom, as they were continually flying about the ſkirts of the Pruſſian army, as well in their encampments as on their marches, almoſt daily ſkirmiſhes happened, with various ſucceſs. Though ſome of theſe encounters were very bloody, they coſt the Pruſſians much fewer men than they loſt by deſertion ſince the battle of Kolin. The reaſon ſeems obvious:—The Pruſſian army had been recruited in times of peace, from all parts of Germany; and though this way of recruiting may be very proper in ſuch times, yet it cannot be expected to anſwer in a ſtate of actual war, eſpecially an unfortunate war: becauſe the fidelity of ſuch ſoldiers can never be ſo much depended on as that of natives, who ſerve their natural ſovereign from principle, and not merely for pay, and who muſt deſert their country, their parents, and their friends, at the ſame time that they deſert their prince.

It will be proper here to take notice of ſome events, which could not eaſily be mentioned before without breaking through the order we have propoſed to ourſelves in the writing of this hiſtory.—The empreſs-queen, more embittered than ever againſt the king of Pruſſia and his allies, recalled her miniſters, count Coloredo and Monſ. Zohern, from London, towards the beginning of July; and about the ſame time count Kaunitz, great chancellor of the empire, informed mr. Keith, the Britiſh miniſter at Vienna, that the court of London, by the ſuccours it had given, and ſtill continued to give, the king of Pruſſia, as well as by other circumſtances relating to the preſent ſtate of affairs, having broken the ſolemn engagements which united this crown with the houſe of Auſtria, her majeſty the empreſs-queen had thought proper to recall her miniſter from England, and conſequently to break off all correſpondence. Mr Keith, in purſuance of this notice, ſet out from Vienna on the 29th of July; as did alſo mr. Deſrolles, his Britannick majeſty's miniſter at the court of Bruſſels, from this laſt place, about the ſame time. On the 7th of July, general Piſa, commandant of Oſtend, Nieuport, and the maritime ports of Flanders, ſent his adjutant to the Engliſh vice-conſul at Oſtend, at ſix o'clock in the morning to tell him, that by orders from his court all communication with England was broke off; and deſired the vice-conſul to intimate to the packet-boats and Britiſh ſhipping at Oſtend, Bruges, and Nieuport to depart in 24 hours, and not to return into any of the ports of the empreſs-queen till further diſpoſitions ſhould be made. The reaſons alledged by the court of Vienna for debarring the ſubjects of his Britannick majeſty from the uſe of thoſe ports, obtained for the houſe of Auſtria by the arms and treaſures of Great-Britain, were, 'that her imperial majeſty, the empreſs-queen, could not with indifference, ſee England, inſtead of giving the ſuccours due to her by the moſt ſolemn treaties, enter into an alliance with her enemy the king of Pruſſia, and actually afford him all manner of aſſiſtance, aſſembling armies to oppoſe thoſe which the moſt chriſtian king, her ally, had ſent to her aid, and ſuffering privateers to exercie open violence in her roads, under the cannon of her ports and coaſts without giving the leaſt ſatisfaction or anſwer to the complaints made on that account; and the king of Great-Britain himſelf, at the very time ſhe was offering him a neutrality for Hanover, publiſhing by a meſſage to his parliament, that ſhe had formed with the moſt chriſtian king, dangerous deſigns againſt that electorate: therefore, her majeſty, deſirous of providing for the ſecurity of her ports, judged it expedient to give the forementioned orders; and at the ſame time to declare, that ſhe could no longer permit a free communication between her ſubjects and the Engliſh, which had hitherto been founded upon treaties that Great-Britain had without ſcruple, openly violated.'—Notwithſtanding theſe orders, the Engliſh packet-boats, with letters were allowed to paſs as uſual to and from Oſtend; the miniſters of her imperial majeſty wiſely conſidering how good a revenue the poſtage of the Engliſh let-

[r] This was the reaſon that was publicly aſſigned for his quitting the army: but a much more probable one, which was only whiſpered, ſeems to have been, that this prince, than whom none ever was more remarkable for humanity and the ſocial virtues, diſliking the violent proceedings of the king his brother, could not refrain from expoſtulating with him on that ſubject: upon which his majeſty, with an air of great diſapprobation, told him 'that the air of Berlin would be better for him than that of the camp.' The prince accordingly retired to Berlin, where he died ſoon after; grief and concern for the welfare of his brother, and for the ſteps taken by him, having no ſmall ſhare in his death.

ters brings in to the poſt-office of the Auſtrian Netherlands. Oſtend and Nieuport, by order of her imperial majeſty, received each of them a French garriſon; the former on the 19th of July, and the latter the next day, under the command of M. de la Motte, upon whoſe arrival the Auſtrian troops evacuated thoſe places; though the empreſs-queen ſtill reſerved to herſelf, in both of them, the full and free exerciſe of all her rights and ſovereignty; to which purpoſe an oath was adminiſtered to the French commandant by her majeſty's miniſter-plenipotentiary for the government of the Low Countries. At the ſame time, their imperial and moſt chriſtian majeſties notified to the magiſtracy of Hamburgh, that they muſt not admit any Engliſh men of war, or tranſports, into their port, on pain of having a French garriſon impoſed on them. The city of Gueldres, which had been blocked up by the French ever ſince the beginning of ſummer, was forced by famine to capitulate on the 24th of Auguſt, and the garriſon marched out with all the honours of war, in order to be conducted to Berlin: but ſo many of them deſerted, that when they paſſed by Cologn, the whole garriſon conſiſted only of the commandant, and 47 men. By the ſurrender of this place the whole country lay open to the French and their allies quite up to Magdebourg; and the empreſs-queen immediately received 200,000 crowns from the revenues of Cleves and la Marcke alone.

To return to the affairs more immediately relating to the king of Pruſſia. The advanced poſts of the prince of Anhault-Deſſau at Pirna were attacked on the 10th of Auguſt by a body of huſſars, and other irregular troops of the Auſtrians; but the Pruſſians ſoon obliged them to retire, with the loſs of ſeveral men and two pieces of cannon. On the 19th of the ſame month, early in the morning, a great number of Auſtrian Pandours ſurrounded a little town called Gotliebe, in which a Pruſſian garriſon was quartered, with a deſign to take it by ſurpriſe. The Pandours attacked it on all ſides, and in the beginning killed 23 Pruſſians, and wounded many; but the Pruſſians having rallied, repulſed the aſſailants with great loſs. Theſe, however, were but a ſort of preludes to much more deciſive actions which happened ſoon after. Sileſia, which had hitherto been undiſturbed this year, began now to feel the effects of war. Baron Jahnus, an Auſtrian colonel, entering that country with only an handful of men, made himſelf maſter of Hirſchbergh, Waldenberg, Gotteſburg, Frankenſtein, and Landſhut. They were, indeed, but open places, and he was repulſed in an attempt upon Strigau. On the ſide of Franconia the army of the empire was aſſembling with all ſpeed, under the prince of Saxe-Hildburghauſen; the French were marching a ſecond army from their interior provinces into Alſac, in order to join the imperialiſts: the firſt diviſion of their troops had already entered the empire, and were advanced as far as Hanau. The Swedes were now preparing, with the utmoſt expedition, to ſend a numerous army into Pomerania; and the Ruſſians, who, ſince the taking of Memel, had not done the king of Pruſſia much damage, beſides that of obliging him to keep an army in Pruſſia to oppoſe them, and interrupting the trade of Konigſberg by their ſquadrons, were again advancing with haſty ſtrides towards Pruſſia, marking their ſteps with horrid deſolation. Field-mareſchal Lehwald, who had been left in Pruſſia, with an army of 30,000 men, to guard that kingdom during the abſence of his maſter, was encamped near Velau, when the Ruſſians, to the number of 80,000 after taking Memel, advanced againſt the territories of the Pruſſian king, whoſe ſituation now drew upon him the attention of all Europe. In the night between the 7th and 8th of Auguſt, colonel Malaahowſki, one of mareſchal Lehwald's officers, marched to reconnoitre the poſition of the enemy, when a ſkirmiſh happened. which laſted near two hours, between his advanced ranks and a Ruſſian detachment, three times ſtronger than the Pruſſians. The Ruſſians were repulſed, and fled into the woods, after having 50 men killed, and a great number wounded. The Pruſſians loſt but one man, and had 14 wounded.

Several other little ſkirmiſhes happened between ſtraggling parties of the two armies; and the Ruſſians went on pillaging and laying waſte every thing before them, till at length the two armies having approached one another in Bradenburgh-Pruſſia, mareſchal Lehwald, finding it impoſſible to ſpare detachments from ſo ſmall a number as his was, compared to that of the enemy, to cover the wretched inhabitants from the outrages committed on them by the Ruſſian Coſſacks, and other barbarians belonging to them, judged it abſolutely neceſſary to attac their main army, and accordingly, notwithſtanding his great diſadvantage in almoſt every reſpect, he reſolved to hazard a battle on the 30th of Auguſt. The Ruſſians, conſiſting, as we before obſerved, of 80,000 regulars, under the command of mareſchal Apraxin, avoiding the open field, were entrenched in a moſt advantageous camp near Norkitten, in Pruſſia. Their army was compoſed of four lines, each of which was guarded by an entrenchment, and the whole was defended by 200 pieces of cannon, batteries being placed upon all the eminences. Mareſchal Lehwald's army ſcarcely amounted to 30,000 men. The action began at five in the morning, and was carried on with ſo much vigour, that the Pruſſians entirely broke the whole firſt line of the enemy, and forced all their batteries. The prince of Holſtein-Gottorp, brother to the king of Sweden, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, routed the Ruſſian cavalry, and afterwards fell upon a regiment of grenadiers, which was cut to pieces; but when the Pruſſians came to the ſecond entrenchment, mareſchal Lehwald, ſeeing that he could not attempt to carry it without expoſing his army too much, took the reſolution to retire. The Pruſſians returned to their former camp at Velau, and the Ruſſians remained in their preſent ſituation. The loſs of the Pruſſians little exceeding 2000 killed and wounded, was immediately replaced out of the diſciplined militia. The Ruſſians loſt a much greater number. General Lapuchin was wounded and taken priſoner, with a colonel of the Ruſſian artillery, but the former was ſent bac on his parole. The Pruſſian army had, at firſt, made themſelves maſters of about 80 pieces of cannon, but were afterwards obliged to abandon them, with 11 of their own, for want of carriages. Three Ruſſian generals were killed; but the Pruſſians loſt no general or officer of diſtinction, of which rank count Dohna was the only one that was wounded.

After this engagement, mareſchal Lehwald changed the poſition of his army, by drawing towards Peterſwald, and the Ruſſians, after remaining quite inactive till the 30th of September, on a ſudden, to the great ſurpriſe of every one retreated out of Pruſſia, with ſuch precipitation, that they left all their ſic and wounded behind them, to the amount of 15 or 16,000 men, together with 80 pieces of cannon, and a conſiderable part of their military ſtores. Mareſchal Apraxin maſked his deſign by advancing all his irregulars towards the Pruſſian army; ſo that mareſchal Lehwald was not informed of it till the third day, when he detached prince George of Holſtein with 10,000 horſe to purſue them; but with little hopes of coming up with them, as they made forced marches, in order to be the ſooner in their own country. However, the Pruſſians took ſome of them priſoners, and many ſtragglers were killed by the country people in their flight towards Tilſit, which they abandoned, though they ſtill kept Memel, and ſhortly after added ſome new fortifications to that place. They made their retreat in two columns, one of which directed its courſe towards Memel; whilſt the other took the neareſt way through the bailiwic of Abſternen, and threw bridges over the river Jura. Both columns burnt every village they paſſed through without diſtinction. The Pruſſians were obliged to deſiſt from the purſuit of theſe barbarians, becauſe the bridges thrown over the river Memel had been deſtroyed by the violence of the ſtream. The Ruſſian army ſuffered greatly for want of bread, as all the countries were ruined through which it paſſed, ſo that they could procure no ſort of ſubſiſtence but herbage and rye bread. All the roads were ſtrewed with dead bodies of men and horſes. The real cauſe of this ſudden retreat is as great a myſtery as the reaſon of their ſtopping ſo long the year before on the borders of Lithuania: though the occaſion of it is ſaid to have been the illneſs of the czarina, who was ſeized with a kind of apoplectic fit, and had made ſome new regulation in caſe of a vacancy of the throne, which rendered it expedient that the regular forces ſhould be at hand, to ſupport the meaſures taken by the government.

The king of Pruſſia, after remaining for ſome time encamped between Bautzen and Goerlitz, removed his headquarters to Bernſtedel; and on the 15th of Auguſt his army came in ſight of the Auſtrian camp, and within cannonſhot of it: upon which the Auſtrians ſtruc their tents, and drew up in order of battle before their camp. The king formed his army over againſt them, and immediately went to reconnoitre the ground between the armies; but, as it was then late, he defered the more exact examination of that circumſtance till the next day. The two armies continued under arms all night. Next morning, at break of day, the king found the Auſtrians encamped with their right at the river Weiſle; the reſt of their army extended along a riſing ground, at the foot of a mountain covered

with wood, which protected their left, and before their front, at the bottom of the hill on which they were drawn up, was a ſmall brook, paſſable only in three places, and for no more than four or five men a-breaſt. Towards the left of their army was an opening, where three or four battalions might have marched in front: but behind it they had placed three lines of infantry, and on a hill which flanked this opening, within muſket-ſhot, were placed 4000 foot, with 40 or 50 pieces of cannon; ſo that, in reality, this was the ſtrongeſt part of their camp. The king left nothing undone to bring the Auſtrians to a battle; but finding them abſolutely bent on avoiding it, after lying four days before them, he and his army returned to their camp at Bernſtedel. They were followed by ſome of the enemy's huſſars and pandours, who, however, had not the ſatisfaction to take the ſmalleſt booty in this retreat. The Auſtrian army, which thus declined engaging, was, by their own account, 130,000 ſtrong, more than double the number of the king of Pruſſia, who, the day he returned to Bernſtedel, after he had retired about 2000 yards, again drew up his army in line of battle, and remained ſo upwards of an hour, but not a man ſtirred from the Auſtrian camp. The army of the empire, commanded by the prince of Saxe-Hildburghauſen, and that of the French under the prince de Soubiſe, making together about 50,000 men, half of which were French, had by this time joined, and advanced as far as Erfurth in Saxony; upon which his Pruſſian majeſty, finding that all his endeavours could not bring the Auſtrians to an engagement, ſet out from Luſatia, accompanied by mareſchal Keith, with 16 battalions and 40 ſquadrons of his troops, and arrived at Dreſden on the 29th of Auguſt, leaving the reſt of the army in a ſtrong camp, under the prince of Bevern. With this detachment, which by the junction of ſeveral bodies of troops, amounted about 40,000 men, he made a quic march, by the way of Leipſig, towards Erfurth, to give battle to the united army of the French and the empire. But by the time he arrived at Erfurth, which was on the 14th of September, the enemy had retreated towards Gotha; and upon his further approach, they retired to Eyeſenach, where they entrenched themſelves in a very ſtrong camp. His majeſty's head-quarters were at Kirſchlaben, near Erfurth. While the two armies were thus ſituated, major-general Seydlitz, who occupied the town of Gotha, being informed on the 19th, that a large body of the enemy was coming towards him, and that it conſiſted of two regiments of Auſtrian huſſars, one regiment of French huſſars, and a detachment made up of French grenadiers, troops of the army of the empire, and a great number of Croats and Pandours, retired and poſted himſelf at ſome diſtance. The enemy immediately took poſſeſſion of the town and caſtle; but general Seydelitz, having been re-enforced, attacked the enemy with ſuch vigour, that he ſoon obliged them to obandon their new conqueſt, and to retire with great precipitation; a report having been ſpread, that the Pruſſian army was advancing againſt them, with the king himſelf in perſon. The Pruſſian huſſars took a conſiderable booty on this occaſion, and general Sepdelitz ſent priſoners to the camp one lieutenant-colonel, three majors, four lieutenants, and 62 ſoldiers of the enemy, who had alſo about 130 killed. After this action his Pruſſian majeſty advanced near Eyeſenach, with a deſign to attac the combined army; but they were ſo ſtrongly entrenched that he found it impracticable. His proviſions falling ſhort, he was obliged to retire towards Erfurth, and ſoon after to Numburgh on the river Sala; whereupon the combined army marched, and again took poſſeſſion of Gotha, Erfurth, and Weimar: which laſt place, however, they ſoon after quitted.

Upon the king of Pruſſia's leaving Bernſtedel, the Auſtrians took poſſeſſion of it on the 6th of September, and made priſoners a Pruſſian battalion which had been left there. The next day fifteen thouſand Auſtrians attacked two battalions of general Winterfields's troops, being part of the prince of Bevern's army, who were poſted on a high ground on the other ſide of the Neiſs, near Hennerſdorff, in the neighbourhood of Goerlitz; and, after being repulſed ſeveral times, at laſt made themſelves maſters of the eminence. The loſs, in this action, was conſiderable on both ſides, but greateſt on that of the Pruſſians, not ſo much by the number of their ſlain, which ſcarcely exceeded that of the Auſtrians, as by the death of their brave general Winterfield, who, as he was leading up ſuccours to the battalions that were engaged, received a ſhot from a cannon, of which he died the night following. The generals Nadaſti and Clerici, count d'Arberg, colonel Elrickhauſen, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction, were wounded, and the young count of Groeſbeck and the marquis d'Aſque killed, on the ſide of the Auſtrians, who took ſix pieces of the Pruſſian cannon, ſix pair of their colours, and made general Kemeke, the count d'Anhalt, and ſome other officers, priſoners. After this ſkirmiſh, the prince of Bevern, with the Pruſſian army under his command, retreated from Goerlitz to Rothenberg, then paſſed the Queiſs at Sygerſdoff, from whence he marched to Buntzlau, in Sileſia, and on the firſt of October reached Breſlau, without ſuffering any loſs, though the numerous army of the Auſtrians followed him for ſome days. Upon his arrival there, he choſe a very ſtrong camp on the other ſide of the Oder, in order to cover the city of Breſlau, to the fortifications of which he immediately added ſeveral new works. Though neither ſide had any very ſignal advantage in this engagement, more than that the Auſtrians remained maſters of the field, yet great rejoicings were made at Vienna on account of it. The death of general Winterfield was, indeed, an irreparable loſs to his Pruſſian majeſty, who received at the ſame time the news of this misfortune, and of the Swedes having now actually begun hoſtilities in Pomerania.

A body of the French, who, let looſe againſt the king of Pruſſia by the ever-memorable and ſhameful convention of Cloſter-Seven, had entered the territories of Halberſtadt and Magdeburg, were worſted at Eglen by a party of ſix hundred men, under the command of count Horn, whom prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick had detached from a body of troops with which his Pruſſian majeſty had ſent him to defend thoſe countries. The Pruſſians took priſoners the count of Luſignan, colonel, eighteen other French officers, and four hundred ſoldiers, and made themſelves maſters of a conſiderable booty in baggage, &c. with the loſs of only two men; and, moreover, a French officer and forty men were made priſoners at Halberſtadt. Upon this check the French evacuated the country of Halberſtadt, for a little while, but returning again on the 29th of September, with a conſiderable re-enforcement from mareſchal Richlieu's army, which he now could eaſily ſpare, prince Ferdinand was obliged to retire to Winſleben, near the city of Magleburg. The dangers which had been hitherto kept at a diſtance from the Pruſſian dominions, by the ſurpriſing activity of their king, now drew near and menaced them on all ſides. Mareſchal Richlieu, with eighty battalions and an hundred ſquadrons, entered the country of Halberſtadt, and levied immenſe contributions; whilſt the allied army of the French and Imperialiſts, being joined by 6000 men under general Laudohn, who had juſt defeated a regiment of Pruſſian cavalry near Erfurth, marched to Weiſſenfels, a city in the very centre of Thuringia. The Swedes had actually taken ſome towns in Pomerania, and were advancing to beſiege Stetin, and the Auſtrians, who had made themſelves maſters of Lignitz, and a conſiderable part of Sileſia, had now laid ſiege to Schweidnitz, and were preparing to paſs the Oder, in order to attac the prince of Bevern in his camp near Breſlau. In the mean time, they made frequent, and always deſtructive incurſions into Brandenburgh; to oppoſe which his Pruſſian majeſty ordered detachments from all his regiments in thoſe parts to join the militia of the country, and ſent the prince of Anhalt Deſſau from Leipzig, with a body of 10,000 men, to guard Berlin, whilſt he himſelf marched with the troops under his command to Interbeck, on the frontier of the Lower-Luſatia, to be the more at hand to cover Bradenburgh, and preſerve the communication with Sileſia.

While theſe precautions were taking, general Haddick, with 15 or 16,000 Auſtrians, entered Bradenburgh on the 16th of October, and the next day arrived before Berlin, of which city he demanded a contribution of 600,000 crowns, but contented himſelf with 210,000. The Auſtrians plaged two of the ſuburbs, but before they could do any further miſchief they were obliged to retire in great haſte, at the approach of the prince of Anhalt Deſſau, whoſe vanguard entered the city in the evening of their departure. This alarm, however, obliged the queen and the royal family of Pruſſia to remove to Magdeburgh on the 23d, and the moſt valuable records were ſent to the fort of Spandau, at the conflux of the Havel and the Sphre. On the other hand, the unfortunate inhabitants of Leipzig now felt moſt ſeverely the cruel effects of the power of their new maſter. The Pruſſian commandant in that city had, by order of his king, demanded of them 300,000 crowns, a ſum far greater than it was in their power to raiſe. This truth they repreſented, but in vain. The ſhort time allowed them to furniſh their contigents being expired, and all their efforts to comply with this demand having proved ineffectual, they were ſubjected to the rigours of military

execution; in conſequence of which their houſes were occupied by the ſoldiery, who ſeized upon the beſt apartments, and lived at diſcretion; but the ſum demanded could not be found. Such was the ſituation of this diſtreſſed city, when, on the 15th of October, an expreſs arrived, with advice that his Pruſſian majeſty would ſoon be there; and accordingly he arrived a few minutes after, attended by his life-guards. At the ſame time, a rumour was ſpread that the city would be delivered up to pillage, which threw the inhabitants into the utmoſt conſternation. Their fears, however, in that reſpect were ſoon abated, by his majeſty's declaring that he was willing to ſpare the place, upon condition that half the ſum required ſhould be immediately paid. All that could be done was to collect among the merchants, traders, and others, 50,000 crowns; bills of Exchange were drawn upon Amſterdam and London for 70,000 crowns, and hoſtages were given, by way of ſecurity for the payment of 30,000 more within a time which was agreed on. But ſtill, notwithſtanding this, the military execution was continued, even with greater rigour than before, and all the comfort the wretched inhabitants could obtain was, that it ſhould ceaſe whenever advice ſhould be received that their bills were accepted.

The king of Pruſſia had tried ſeveral times to bring the combined army under the princes of Saxe-Hilburghauſen and Soubiſe to an engagement upon fair ground; but finding them bent on declining it, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of their numbers, he had recourſe to one of thoſe ſtrokes in war, by which a general is better ſeen than by the gaining of a victory. He made a feint, ſoon after the beginning of October, as if he intended nothing more than to ſecure his own dominions, and march his army into winter-quarters bac to Berlin, leaving mareſchal Keith, with only 7 or 8000 men, to defend Leipzig. Upon this the enemy took courage, paſſed the Sala, and having marched up to the city, ſummoned the mareſchal to ſurrender, to which he anſwered, That the king, his maſter, had ordered him to defend the place to the laſt extremity, and he would obey his orders. The enemy thought of beſieging the city; but, before they could prepare any one implement for that purpoſe, they were alarmed by the approach of the king of Pruſſia, who judging that his feint would probably induce them to take the ſtep they did, had, by previous and private orders, collected together all his diſtant detachments, ſome of which were twenty leagues aſunder, and was advancing, by long marches, to Leipzig; upon notice of which the enemy repaſſed the Sala. The Pruſſian army was re-aſſembled on the 27th of October, and remained at Leipzig the 28th and 29th, when every body expected a battle would be fought in the plains of Lutzen. On the 30th the king drew nigh that place, and on the 31ſt, in his way through Weiſſenfels and Mereſbourg, he made 500 men priſoners of war. The combined army had repaſſed the Sala at Weiſſenfels, Mereſbourg, and Halle, where they broke down the bridges, but theſe were ſoon repaired, and the whole Pruſſian army, amounting to no more than 20,000 men, having paſſed that river, through theſe towns, in each of which they left a battalion, joined again on the 3d of November, in the evening, over-againſt the enemy, whoſe forces conſiſted of 40,000 French, and 25,000 imperialiſts. On the 5th about 9 o'clock in the morning, the Pruſſians received intelligence that the enemy were every where in motion. They likewiſe heard the drums beating the march, and ſo near were the two armies to each other, plainly perceived from their camp, that their whole infantry, which had drawn nearer upon the riſing grounds over-againſt them, was filing off towards their right. No certain judgment could, however, yet be formed of the enemy's real deſign, and as they were in want of bread, it was thought probable that they intended to repaſs the Unſtrut; but it was ſoon perceived that their ſeveral motions were contradictory to each other. At the ſame time that ſome of their infantry were filing off towards their right, a large body of cavalry wheeled round towards their left, directing its march all along to the riſing grounds with which the whole Pruſſian camp, that lay in a bottom between the villages of Rederow and Roſbach, was ſurrounded, within the reach of large cannon. Soon after that, the cavalry were ſeen to halt, and afterwards to fall bac to the right; though ſome of them ſtill remained where they were, whilſt the reſt marched bac. About two in the afternoon the doubts of the Pruſſians were cleared up; it plainly appearing then that the enemy intended to attac them, and that their diſpoſitions were made with a view to ſurround them, and to open the action by attacking them in the rear. A body of reſerve was poſted over againſt Rederow, to fall upon their routed troops, in caſe they ſhould be defeated, and to prevent their retiring to Mereſburgh, the only retreat which could then have been left them. In this ſituation the king of Pruſſia reſolved to attac them. His majeſty had determined to make the attac with one wing only, and the diſpoſition of the enemy made it neceſſary that it ſhould be the left wing. The very inſtant the battle was going to begin, his majeſty ordered the general who commanded the right wing to decline engaging, to take a proper poſition in conſequence thereof, and, above all, to prevent his being ſurrounded. All the cavalry of the right wing of the Pruſſians, except two or three ſquadrons, had already marched to the left at full gallop; and being arrived at the place aſſigned them, they formed over-againſt that of the enemy. They then moved on immediately, the enemy's advanced to meet them, and the charge was very fierce, ſeveral regiments of the French coming on with great reſolution. The advantage, however, was entirely on the ſide of the Pruſſians. The enemy's cavalry being routed, were purſued for a conſiderable time with great ſpirit, but having afterwards reached an eminence, which gave them an opportunity of rallying, the Pruſſian cavalry fell upon them afreſh, and gave them ſo total a defeat, that they fled in the utmoſt diſorder. This happened at four in the afternoon. Whilſt the cavalry of the Pruſſians charged, their infantry opened. The enemy cannonaded them briſkly during this interval, and did ſome execution, but the Pruſſian artillery was not idle. After this cannonading had continued on both ſides a full quarter of an hour, without the leaſt intermiſſion, the fire of the infantry began. The enemy could not ſtand it, nor reſiſt the valour of the Pruſſian foot, who gallantly marched up to their batteries. The batteries were carried one after another, and the enemy were forced to give away, which they did in great confuſion. As the left wing of the Pruſſians advanced, the right changed its poſition, and having ſoon met with a ſmall riſing ground, they availed themſelves of it, by planting it with 16 pieces of heavy artillery. The fire from thence was partly pointed at the enemy's right, to increaſe the diſorder there, and took their left wing in front, which was exceſſively galled thereby. At five the victory was decided, the cannonading ceaſed, and the enemy fled on all ſides. They were purſued as long as there was any light to diſtinguiſh them, and it may be ſaid, that night alone was the preſervation of this army, which had been ſo formidable in the morning. They took the benefit of the darkneſs to hurry into Fryburgh, and there to repaſs the Unſtrut, which they did on the morning of the 6th, after a whole night's march. The king of Pruſſia ſet out early in the morning to purſue them with all his cavalry, ſupported by four battalions of grenadiers, the infantry following them in two columns. The enemy paſſed the Unſtrut at Fryburgh, when the Pruſſians arrived on its banks, and as they had burnt the bridge, it became neceſſary to make another, which, however, was ſoon done. The cavalry paſſed firſt, but could not come up with the enemy till five in the evening, upon the hills of Eckerſberg. It was then too late to force them there, for which reaſon the king thought proper to canton his army in the neareſt villages, and to be ſatisfied with the ſucceſs his huſſars had in taking near 300 baggage waggons, and every thing they contained. The whole loſs of the Pruſſians, in this important engagement, did not exceed 500 men killed and wounded. Among the former was general Meincke, and among the latter prince Henry and general Seydelitz. The enemy loſt 64 pieces of cannon, a great many ſtandards and colours, near 3000 men killed on the field of battle, and upwards of 8000 taken priſoners, among whom were ſeveral generals, and other officers of diſtinction. Three hundred waggons were ſent to Leipzig, laden with wounded French and Swiſs. Upon the approach of the Pruſſians towards Eckereſberg, the enemy retreated with great precipitation; and, after marching all night, arrived the next day at Erfurth, in the utmoſt want of every neceſſary of life, not having had a morſel of bread for two days, during which they had been obliged to live upon turnips, radiſhes, and other roots, which they dug out of the earth. The French, under the duke de Richelieu, were preparing to go into winter-quarters; but upon the news of this defeat of the combined army, they again put themſelves in motion, and a large detachment of them advanced as far as Duderſtadt, to favour the retreat of their countrymen under the prince de Soubiſe, who, with great precipitancy, made the beſt of their way from Erfurth to the county of Hohenſtein, and from thence bent their march towards Halberſtadt. Of the remains of the imperial army, which was now almoſt entire-

ly diſperſed, whole bodies deſerted, and went over to the king of Pruſſia, ſoon after this battle.

Whilſt his Pruſſian majeſty was thus ſucceſsful againſt the French and imperialiſts, the Auſtrians, who had carefully avoided coming to an open engagement with him, gained ground a-pace in Sileſia. A detachment of their army, under the command of count Nadaſti, had already inveſted Schweidnitz, and opened the trenches before it on the 26th of October. The Pruſſian garriſon, commanded by general de la Motte Fouquet, determined to defend the place as long as poſſible; and accordingly on the 30th they made a ſally, in which they killed, wounded, and took priſoners, 800 of the beſiegers, and did ſome damage to their works; but on the 6th of November the Auſtrians began to cannonade the city furiouſly, and on the 11th made themſelves maſters of the ramparts by aſſault. The garriſon, however, having taken care, during the ſiege, to throw up a ſtrong entrenchment in the market-place, retreated thither, and held out till the next day, when they ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. After the reduction of this place, general Nadaſti, leaving in it a ſufficient garriſon, marched with the remainder of his troops, and joined the main army of the Auſtrians, under the command of prince Charles of Lorrain and mareſchal Daun, who, whilſt he was buſied in the ſiege of Schweidnitz, had inveſted Breſlau on the left of the Oder; the prince of Bevern defending it on the right, where he was ſtrongly encamped, with his little army, under the cannon of the city. The whole army of the Auſtrians being now re-aſſembled, and intelligence having being brought, not only of the king of Pruſſia's late victory near Leipzig, but alſo that he was advancing to the relief of the prince of Bevern, it was reſolved immediately to attac the laſt in his entrenchments. Accordingly, on the 22d of November, about nine in the morning, the Auſtrians began a moſt furious diſcharge of their cannon, 40 of which were 24 pounders, and this continued without ceaſing till one, when it was ſucceeded by a ſevere fire of their ſmall arms, which laſted till five in the evening. The Pruſſians, with undaunted reſolution, ſtood two of the moſt violent attacs that were ever made, but at the third, overpowered by numbers, and aſſailed on both ſides, they began to loſe ground, and were forced to retire from one entrenchment to another. In this extremity, night coming on, the Pruſſian generals fearing their entrenchments would be intirely forced, and that they ſhould then be totally defeated, thought proper to retreat. The prince of Bevern, with the greateſt part of the army, retired to an eminence on the banks of the Oder, whilſt the reſt of the troops threw themſelves into Breſlau, which they might have defended, in all probability, till the king had come up to its relief. But, on the 24th, their commander in chief, the prince of Bevern, going to reconnoitre the enemy, with only a ſingle groom to attend him, fell in among a party of Croats, who took him priſoner[s]. His army, thus deprived of their general, retreated northward that night, leaving in Breſlau only four battalions, who, the next day, ſurrendered the place by capitulation, one of the articles of which was, that they ſhould not ſerve againſt the empreſs, or her allies, for two years. All the magazines, cheſts, artillery, &c. remained in the hands of the Auſtrians. The garriſon marched out with all military honours, conducted by general Leſwitz, governor of Breſlau. Though the Auſtrians ſung Te Deum for this victory, they owned that ſuch another would put an end to their army, for it coſt them the lives of 12,000 men, a number almoſt equal to the whole of the Pruſſian army before the battle. They had four almoſt inacceſſible entrenchments to force, planted thic with cannon, which fired cartridge-ſhot from nine in the morning till the evening, and the Pruſſians, when attacked, were never once put into the leaſt confuſion. Among the ſlain, on the ſide of the Auſtrians were general Wurben, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction. The loſs of the Pruſſians did not much exceeed 3000 men, in killed, wounded, and priſoners, of which laſt there were about 1600. Their general Kleiſt was found dead on the field of battle.

The king of Pruſſia, who, like Cæſar, thought nothing was done while any thing was left undone, ſtayed no longer at Roſbach than till the routed forces of the French and imperialiſts, whom he had defeated there on the 5th of November, were totally diſperſed. Then he marched directly with the greateſt part of his army for Sileſia, and on the 24th of that month arrived at Naumburgh on the Queiſs, a little river which runs into the Bobber, having in his rout detached mareſchal Keith, with the reſt of his army, to clear Saxony from all the Auſtrian parties, and then to make an irruption into Bohemia, a ſervice which he performed ſo effectually as to raiſe large contributions in the circles of Satz and Leitmeritz, and even to give an alarm to Prague itſelf. His majeſty reſerved for himſelf on 15,000 men, with whom he advanced, with his uſual rapidity, to Barchwitz, where, notwithſtanding all that had happened at Schweidnitz, and at Breſlau, he was joined by 24,000 more; part of them troops which he had ordered from Saxony, part of the remains of the army lately commanded by the prince of Bevern, and part of the late garriſon of Schweidnitz, which had found means to eſcape from the Auſtrians, and accidently joined their king upon his march[t]. With this force, though greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy, he reſolved to attac the Auſtrians, who were entrenched at Liſſa, near Breſlau. On the 4th of December he ſeized upon their ovens at Neumarck, and upon a conſiderable magazine, guarded by two regiments of Croats, who retired to a riſing ground, where his majeſty ordered his huſſars to ſurround them, and ſent a trumpet to ſummon them to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. Upon their refuſal, the huſſars of Ziethen fell upon them ſabre in hand, and ſome hundreds of them having been cut in pieces, the reſt threw down their arms, begging for quarter on their knees. After this ſeizure, and after having diſtributed to his army the bread prepared for his enemies, he began again the next morning his march towards Liſſa. General Ziethen, who led the van-guard of light-horſe, about ſeven in the morning fell in with a body of Auſtrian huſſars, and three regiments of Saxon dragoons, which were the very beſt cavalry the enemy had left after the battle of the 22d. They had been detached by the Auſtrians, in order to retard the king's march, and to conceal their own, till their batteries ſhould be completed; for, as they held the ſmall number of the Pruſſians in contempt, their intention was to have met the king two German miles from their entrenchments. The Auſtrian cavaly having been vigorouſly repulſed to a conſiderable diſtance, general Ziethen perceived that their whole army was forming. He immediately acquainted the king with what he had diſcovered, and his majeſty, after having himſelf obſerved the diſpoſition of the enemy, made his own with that ſagacity and diſpatch for which he has always been remarkable. The action began by attacking a battery of 40 pieces of large cannon, which covered the right wing of the enemy. The two battalions of guards, with the regiments of the Margrave Charles and of Itzenplitz, marched up, amidſt a moſt terrible fire, to the very mouths of the cannon, with their bayonets ſcrewed. In this attac the Pruſſians ſuſtained their greateſt loſs, though the battery was carried as ſoon almoſt as they could reach it: then the enemy's artillery, now turned againſt themſelves, played furiouſly upon them with their own powder. From that inſtant the two wings and the centre of the Pruſſians continued to drive the enemy before them, advancing all the time with that firm and regular pace for which they have always been renowned, without ever halting or giving way. The ground which the Auſtrians occupied was very advantageous, and every circumſtance that could render it more ſo had been improved to the utmoſt by the diligence and ſkill of count Daun, who remembering his former ſucceſs, was emboldened to enter the liſts again with his royal antagoniſt. The Pruſſians, however, no way terrified by the enemy's ſituation,

[s] We are told, that he miſtook theſe Croats for Pruſſian huſſars. But ſome of the circumſtances of this myſterious affair was interpreted into a premeditated deſign in the prince to be taken priſoner. It cannot otherwiſe be ſuppoſed that a man of his rank, a prince, a commander in chief, ſhould officiouſly undertake the always dangerous taſk of reconnoitring the enemy, with ſo ſlight an attendance as only one man, and that but a groom, even if he had judged it neceſſary to ſee things with his own eyes. Some ſecret diſſatisfaction hitherto unknown to us, may poſſibly have been the cauſe of his taking this ſtep; or, which ſeems ſtill more probable, he might be aſhamed, or, perhaps, even afraid, to ſee the king his maſter, after having ſo judiciouſly abandoned the defence of Breſlau, by quitting his lines, which, it is aſſerted his Puſſian majeſty had ſent him expreſs orders not to quit on any account whatever, for that he would certainly be with him by the 5th of December, in which we ſhall find he kept his word.

[t] Whilſt the Auſtrians were conducting them to priſon, on their rout they chanced to hear of the victory their maſter had gained at Roſbach. Animated by theſe tidings, they unanimouſly roſe upon the eſcort that guarded them, which, happening not to be very ſtrong, they entirely diſperſed. Thus freed, they marched on, not very certain of their way, in hopes to join ſome corps of the Pruſſian troops, their countrymen. The ſame fortune which freed them led them directly to the army commanded by the king himſelf, which was haſtening to their relief, as well as to that of the prince of Bevern. This unexpected meeting was equally pleaſing to both, the priſoners not having heard any thing of his majeſty's march; and at the ſame time, this lucky incident, whilſt it added a conſiderable ſtrength to the army, added likewiſe to its confidence, for the ſlighteſt occurrence is conſtrued into an omen, by an army at the eve of an engagement.

nor their numbers, went calmly and dreadfully forward. It was almoſt impoſſible, in the beginning, for the Pruſſian cavalry to act, on account of the impediments of fallen trees, which the enemy had cut down and laid in the field of battle, to retard their approach; but a judicious diſpoſition which the king made overcame that diſadvantage. When he firſt formed his army, he had placed four battalions behind the cavalry of his right wing, foreſeeing that general Nadaſti, who was placed with a corps of reſerve on the enemy's left, deſigned to take him in flank. It happened as he had foreſeen, this general's horſe attacked the king's right wing with great fury: but he was received with ſo ſevere a fire from the four battalions, that he was obliged to retire in diſorder. The enemy gave way on all ſides, but at ſome diſtance recovered themſelves, and rallied three times, animated by their officers, and by the ſuperiority of their numbers. Every time they made a ſtand, the Pruſſians attacked them with redoubled vigour, and with ſucceſs equal to their bravery. Towards night, the enemy ſtill retreating, fell into diſorder. Their two wings fled in confuſion; one of them cloſely preſſed by the king, retired towards Breſlau, and took ſhelter under the cannon of that city; the other, purſued by the greateſt part of the light cavalry, took their flight towards Canth and Schweidnitz. Six thouſand Auſtrians fell in this engagement, and the Pruſſians, who had only 500 men killed, and 2300 wounded, made upwards of 10,000 of the enemy priſoners, among whom were 291 officers. They alſo took 116 cannon, 51 colours and ſtandards, and 4000 waggons of ammunition and baggage. The conſequences that followed this victory declared its importance. Future ages will read with aſtoniſhment, that the ſame prince, who but a few months before ſeemed on the verge of inevitable ruin, merely by dint of his own abilities, without the aſſiſtance of any friend whatever, with troops perpetually harraſſed by long and painful marches, and by continual ſkirmiſhes and battles, not only retrieved his affairs, which almoſt every one except himſelf thought paſt redreſs; but in the midſt of winter, in countries where it was judged next to impoſſible for any troops to keep the field at that ſeaſon, conquered the united force of France and the empire at Roſbach on the 5th of November, and on the ſame day of the very next month, with a great part of the ſame army, was at Liſſa, where he again triumphed over all the power of the houſe of Auſtria. Purſuing his advantage, he immediately inveſted Breſlau, and within two days after this great victory every thing was in readineſs to beſiege it in form. His troops, fluſhed with ſucceſs, were at firſt for ſtorming it, but the king knowing the ſtrength of the garriſon, which conſiſted of upwards of 13,000 men, and conſidering both the fatigues which his own ſoldiers had lately undergone, and the fatal conſequences that might enſue, ſhould they fail of ſucceſs in this attempt, ordered the approaches to be carried on in the uſual form. His commands were obeyed, and Breſlau ſurrendered to him on the 20th of December in the morning. The garriſon, of which 10,000 bore arms, and between 3 and 4000 lay ſic or wounded, were made priſoners of war. Fourteen of theſe priſoners were officers of high rank. The military cheſt, a vaſt treaſure, with 80 pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the victors, who loſt only about 20 men in their approaches. During the ſiege, a magazine of powder was ſet on fire by a bomb, which occaſioned great confuſion among the beſieged, and damaged one of the baſtions. The ſtrong fortreſs of Schweidnitz ſtill remained in the enemy's poſſeſſion, defended by a garriſon ſo numerous, that it might be compared to a ſmall army, and whilſt that continued ſo, the king of Pruſſia's victories in Sileſia were of no deciſive effect. For this reaſon, though it was now the dead of winter, and the ſoldiers ſtood in need of repoſe, his majeſty reſolved, if poſſible, to become maſter of that place before the end of the year; but as a cloſe ſiege was impracticable, a blockade was formed, as ſtrictly as the rigour of the ſeaſon would permit[u]. It was not, however, till the beginning of the enſuing campaign that this place was taken. The Pruſſians opened their trenches before it on the 3d of April, 1758, and erected two large batteries, which kept a continual fire upon the town. The artillery of the beſiegers conſiſted of 300 pieces of cannon, of different dimenſions, and 80 mortars; an amazing artillery, and ſuch as we never heard of in former campaigns. On the night of the 14th, the Pruſſians carried one of the chief works by aſſult, and lodged themſelves therein: the commandant capitulated the next day, with the garriſon, which was now greatly reduced in number, being not half of what it amounted to at the beginning of the blockade. Thus, all the parts of Sileſia which the king of Pruſſia had loſt by one unfortunate blow fell again into his poſſeſſion; and his affairs, which but a few months before ſeemed irretrievable, were now re-eſtabliſhed upon a firmer baſis than ever. The Pruſſian parties not only repoſſeſſed themſelves of thoſe parts of Sileſia which belonged to their king, but penetrated into the Auſtrian diviſion, reduced Jagerndorf, Troppau, Tretchen, and ſeveral other places, and left the empreſs-queen ſcarce any footing in that country, in which, a few days before, ſhe reckoned her dominion perfectly eſtabliſhed.

The Swedes, after many debates between their king and ſenate, had at length reſolved upon an open declaration againſt the king of Pruſſia, and, in conſequence of that reſolution, ſent ſo many troops into Pomerania, that, by the end of Auguſt, their army in that country amounted to 25,000 men. Their firſt act of hoſtility was the ſeizure of Anclam and Demmin, two towns that lay in the way to Stetin, againſt which their principal deſign was levelled. But before they proceeded farther, general Hamilton, their commander, by way of juſtifying the conduct of his maſter, publiſhed a declaration, ſetting forth, 'That the king of Sweden, as guarantee to the treaty of Weſtphalia, could not help ſending his troops into the upper part of the duchy of Pomerania belonging to the king of Pruſſia; and that, therefore, all the officers appointed to receive the public revenue in that country muſt pay what money they had in their hands to him, who was commiſſioned to receive it for his Swediſh majeſty: that, moreover, an exact account was required, within eight days, of the revenues of the country; but that no more than ordinary contributions would be demanded of the inhabitants, who might reſt aſſured that the Swediſh troops ſhould obſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline.' After this declaration they attacked the little fortreſs of Penemunde, upon the river Pene, and on the 23d of September, after a ſiege of nine days, obliged the garriſon, which conſiſted only of militia, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. This alternative the commanding officer choſe, rather than engage not to ſerve for two years, obſerving, that ſuch an engagement was inconſiſtent with his honour, whilſt his prince had ſo much occaſion for his ſervice; and the Swediſh general, touched with this noble way of thinking, was, on his part, ſo generous as to give him his liberty. On the other hand, general Manteuffel, who commanded the Pruſſian forces then in Pomerania, amounting to 12,000 men, with whom he was encamped before Stetin, to cover that place, publiſhed in anſwer to this a declaration, enjoining the inhabitants of Pomerania to remain faithful to the king of Pruſſia, their lawful ſovereign, under pain of incurring his juſt indignation, and abſolutely forbidding them to pay any regard to the Swediſh manifeſto.

In the mean time, mareſchal Lehwald, immediately after the battle of Norkitten, when the Ruſſians began their retreat, detached prince George of Holſtein-Gottorp, with a conſiderable body of forces, to the relief of Pomerania; and, ſhortly after, the Ruſſian forces having totally evacuated every part of Pruſſia, except Memel, and moſt of them being actually gone into winter-quarters, he himſelf followed, with an additional re-enforcement of 16,000 men. Upon his approach, the Swedes, who were then encamped at Ferdinandſhoff, and had begun to fill up the harbour of Swinnemunde, by way of previous preparation for the ſiege of Stetin, retired with ſuch precipitation, that they did not allow themſelves time to draw off a little garriſon they had at Wollin, conſiſting of 210 men, who were made priſoners of war. Demmin was cannonaded by the Pruſſians on the 29th of December; and the Swedes having loſt one officer and 40 men, deſired to capitulate. As, in order to eaſe the troops, it was not thought proper to continue the ſiege in ſo ſharp a ſeaſon, their requeſt was granted, and they had leave to retire with two pieces of cannon. The Pruſſians took poſſeſſion of the town on the 2d day of January, after the Swedes had, on the 30th of December, likewiſe given up Anclam, where the conquerors took 150 priſoners, and found a conſiderable magazine of proviſions and ammunition. Mareſchal Lehwald then paſſed the Pene, entered Swediſh Pomerania, and reduced Gutzkow, Loitz, Tripſus, and Nebringen. At the ſame time, lieutenant-general Schorlemmer paſſed with his corps from the iſle of Wollin into the iſle of Uſedom, and from thence to Wolgaſt, the Swedes having abandoned this town, as well as Schwine-

[u] Such was the rigour of the ſeaſon, that ſome hundreds of the ſentinels dropped down dead on their ſeveral poſts, unable to ſuſtain the ſeverity of the cold. The Germans lie under the general reproach of paying very little regard to the lives of their ſoldiers, and indeed this practice of winter-campaigns in ſuch a cold country beſpeaks very little regard to the dictates of humanity.

munde, and the fort of Pennemunde. The prince of Holſtein advanced as far as Grimm and Grieffswalde, and the Swedes, loſing one town after another, till they had nothing left in Pomerania but the port of Stralſund, continued retreating till they had reached this laſt place. The French party in Sweden, to comfort the people, called this retreat, or rather flight, going into winter-quarters. The Pruſſian huſſars were not idle wherever they penetrated; for, beſides plundering and pillaging, they raiſed a contribution of 160,000 crowns in Swediſh Pomerania. The Mecklenburghers, who had joined the Swedes with 6000 of their troops, now found cauſe to repent of their forwardneſs, being left quite expoſed to the reſentment of the victors, who chaſtiſed them with the moſt ſevere exactions. The army of the Swedes, though they did not fight a battle, was, by ſickneſs, deſertion, and other accidents, reduced to half the number it conſiſted of when they took the field. The landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, ſoon after his territories were invaded by the French, in conſequence of their advantage in the affair of Haſtenbeck, had applied to the king of Sweden, as one of the guarantees of the treaty of Weſtphalia, deſiring him to employ his good offices with the court of France, to obtain a more favourable treatment for his dominions: but his Swediſh majeſty, by the advice of the ſenate, thought proper to refuſe complying with this requeſt, alledging, that as the crown of Sweden was one of the principal guarantees of the treaty of Weſtphalia, it would be highly improper to take ſuch a ſtep, in favour of a prince who had not only broke the laws and conſtitutions of the empire, in refuſing to furniſh his contingent, but had even aſſiſted with his troops a power known to be its declared enemy. The Aulic council too, ſeeing, or pretending to ſee, the behaviour of the landgrave in the ſame light, iſſued a decree againſt his ſerene highneſs towards the end of this year.

The court of Great-Britain, juſtly diſpleaſed with the Dutch, on account of the extreme facility with which they had granted the French a free paſſage through Namur and Maeſtricht for their proviſions, ammunition, and artillery, in the beginning of this campaign, had very properly remonſtrated againſt that ſtep, before it was abſolutely reſolved on, or at leaſt declared to be ſo: but in vain; a puſillanimous anſwer being all the ſatisfaction that was obtained. The tameneſs and indifference with which the ſtates-general had ſince ſeen Oſtend and Nieuport put into the hands of the French drew upon their high mightineſſes a further remonſtrance, which was delivered to them on the 28th of November of this year by colonel Yorke, his Britannic majeſty's plenipotentiary at the Hague, in the following terms, well calculated to awaken in them a due ſenſe of their own danger, as well as to evince the injuſtice of the proceedings of the houſe of Auſtria:—"Conſidering the critical ſituation which Europe has been in during the courſe of this year, in conſequence of meaſures concerted to embroil all Europe, the king of Great-Britain was willing to flatter himſelf that the courts of Vienna and Verſailles, out of regard to the circumſpect conduct obſerved by your high mightineſſes, would have at leaſt informed you of the changes they have thought proper to make in the Auſtrian Netherlands. It was with the utmoſt ſurpriſe the king heard, that, without any previous conſent of your's, and almoſt without giving you any notice, the court of Vienna had thought proper to put the towns of Oſtend and Nieuport into the hands of the French troops, and to withdraw her own, as well as her artillery and ſtores, whilſt France continues to ſend thither a formidable quantity of both. The conduct of the court of Vienna towards his majeſty is indeed ſo unmerited and ſo extraordinary, that it is difficult to find words to expreſs it: but whatever fallacious pretexts ſhe may have made uſe of to palliate her behaviour towards England, it doth not appear that they can be extended ſo far as to excuſe the infringement, in concert with France, of the moſt ſolemn treaties between her and your high mightineſſes. The king never doubted that your high mightineſſes would have made proper repreſentations to the two courts newly allied, to demonſtrate the injuſtice of ſuch a proceeding, and the danger that might afterwards reſult from it. Your high mightineſſes will have perceived that your ſilence on the firſt ſtep encouraged the two courts, newly allied, to attempt others; and who can ſay where they will ſtop? The pretext at firſt was, the need which the empreſs-queen ſtood in of the troops for the war kindled in the empire, and the neceſſity of providing for the ſafety of thoſe important places, and afterwards of their imaginary danger from England. But, high and mighty lords, it is but too evident that the two powers, who have taken theſe meaſures in concert, have other projects in view, and have made new regulations with regard to that country, which cannot but alarm the neighbouring ſtates. The late demand made to your high mightineſſes, of a paſſage for a large train of warlike implements through ſome of the barrier towns, in order to be ſent to Oſtend and Nieuport, could not fail to awaken the king's attention. The ſincere friendſhip, and parity of intereſts, of Great-Britain and Holland require that they ſhould no longer keep ſilence, leſt, in the iſſue, it ſhould be conſidered as a tacit conſent, and as a relinquiſhment of all our rights. The king commands me, therefore, to recall to your high mightineſſes the two-fold right you have acquired to keep the Auſtrian Netherlands under the government of the houſe of Auſtria; and that no other has a title to make the leaſt alteration therein, without the conſent of your high mightineſſes; unleſs the new allies have reſolved to ſet aſide all prior treaties, and to diſpoſe at pleaſure of every thing that may ſuit their private intereſt. In the treaty between your high mightineſſes and the crown of France, ſigned at Utrecht on the 11th of April, 1713, in the fifteenth article, are theſe words: 'It is alſo agreed, that no province, fort, town, or city of the ſaid Netherlands, or of thoſe which are given up by his catholic majeſty, ſhall ever be ceded, transferred, or given, or ſhall ever devolve to the crown of France, or any prince or princeſs of the houſe or line of France, either by virtue of any gift, exchange, marriage-contract, ſucceſſion by will, or by any other title whatever, to the power and authority of the moſt chriſtian king, or of any prince or princeſs of the houſe or line of France.' In the barrier-treaty theſe very ſtipulations are repeated in the firſt article: 'His imperial and catholic majeſty promiſes and engages, that no province, city, town, fortreſs, or territory of the ſaid country ſhall be ceded, transferred, given, or devolve to the crown of France, or to any other but the ſucceſſor of the German dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, either by donation, ſale, exchange, marriage-contract, heritage, teſtamentary ſucceſſion, nor under any other pretext whatſoever; ſo that no province, town, fortreſs, or territory of the ſaid Netherlands ſhall ever be ſubject to any other prince, but to the ſucceſſor of the ſtates of the houſe of Auſtria alone, excepting what has been yielded by the preſent treaty to the ſaid lords the ſtates-general.' A bare reading of theſe two articles is ſufficient to evince all that I have juſt repreſented to your high mightineſſes: and whatever pretext the courts of Vienna and Verſailles may alledge, to cover the infraction of theſe treaties, the thing remains nevertheleſs evident, whilſt theſe two courts are unable to prove that the towns of Oſtend and Nieuport are not actually in the power of France. If their deſigns are juſt, or agreeable to thoſe treaties, they will doubtleſs not ſcruple, in the leaſt, to make your high mightineſſes eaſy on that head, by openly explaining themſelves to a quiet and pacific neighbour, and by giving you indiſputable proofs of their intentions to fulfil the ſtipulations of the ſaid two treaties, with regard to the Netherlands. The king hath ſo much confidence in the good ſenſe, prudence, and friendſhip of your high mightineſſes, that he makes not the leaſt doubt of your taking the moſt efficacious meaſures to clear up an affair of ſuch importance; and of your being pleaſed, in concert with his majeſty, to watch over the fate of a country, whoſe ſituation and independence have, for more than a century, been regarded as one of the principal ſupports of your liberty and commerce." It does not appear that this remonſtrance had the deſired effect upon the ſtates-general, who were apprehenſive of embroiling themſelves with an enemy ſo remarkably alert in taking all advantages. The truth is, they were not only unprepared for a rupture with France, but extremely unwilling to forego the commercial profits which they derived from their neutrality.

The king of Pruſſia, about this period, began to harbour a ſuſpicion that certain other powers longed eagerly to enjoy the ſame reſpite from the dangers and inconveniences of war, and that he ran the riſque of being abandoned by his ſole patron and ally, who ſeemed greatly alarmed at his defeat in Bohemia, and deſirous of detaching himſelf from a connexion which might be productive of the moſt diſagreeable conſequences to his continental intereſt. Stimulated by this opinion, his Pruſſian majeſty is ſaid to have written an expoſtulatory letter[x] to the king of Great-Britain, in which he very plainly taxes that monarch with having inſti-

[x] The letter, which was written in French, we have tranſlated, for the reader's ſatisfaction.

"I am informed that the deſign of a treaty of neutrality for the electorate of Hanover is not yet laid aſide. It is impoſſible that your majeſty can have ſo little fortitude and conſtancy, as to be diſpirited by a ſmall reverſe of fortune? Are affairs ſo ruinous, that they cannot be repaired? I hope your

gated him to commence hoſtilities; and inſiſts upon his remembering the engagements by which he was ſo ſolemnly bound. From the ſtrain of this letter, and the Pruſſian's declaration to the Britiſh miniſter when he firſt ſet out for Saxony, importing, that he was going to fight the king of England's battles, a nation was generally conceived that thoſe two powers had agreed to certain private pacta or conventions, the particulars of which have not yet tranſpired. Certain it is, a declaration was delivered to the Pruſſian reſident at London, which appears to have been calculated as an anſwer to the letter. In that paper the king of Great-Britain declared, that the overtures made by his majeſty's electoral miniſters in Germany, touching the checs received on the continent, ſhould have no influence on his majeſty as king: that he ſaw in the ſame light as before the pernicious effects of the union between the courts of Vienna and Verſailles, threatening a ſubverſion of the whole ſyſtem of public liberty, and of the independence of the European powers: that he conſidered as a fatal conſequence of this dangerous connexion the ceſſion made by the court of Vienna of the ports in the Netherlands to France, in ſuch a critical ſituation, and contrary to the faith of the moſt ſolemn treaties: that, whatever might be the ſucceſs of his arms, his majeſty was determined to act in conſtant concert with the king of Pruſſia in employing the moſt efficacious means to fruſtrate the unjuſt and oppreſſive deſigns of their common enemies. He concluded with aſſuring the king of Pruſſia that the Britiſh crown would continue to fulfil, with the greateſt punctuality, its engagements with his Pruſſian majeſty, and to ſupport him with firmneſs and vigour. Such a repreſentation could not fail of being agreeable to a prince, who, at this juncture, ſtood in need of an extraordinary cordial. He knew he could ſecurely depend not only on the good faith of an Engliſh miniſtry, but alſo on the good plight of the Britiſh nation, which like an indulgent nurſe hath always preſented the nipple to her meagre German allies. Thoſe, however, who pretended to conſider and canvas events without prejudice and prepoſſeſſion, could not help owing their ſurpriſe, at hearing an alliance ſtigmatiſed as pernicious to the ſyſtem of public liberty, and ſubverſive of the independence of the European powers, as they remembered that this alliance was the effect of neceſſity, to which the houſe of Auſtria was reduced, for its own preſervation; reduced, as its friends and partiſans affirm, by thoſe very potentates that now reproached her with theſe connexions,

His Britannick majeſty was reſolved that the king of Pruſſia ſhould have no cauſe to complain of his indifference, whatever reaſons he had to exclaim againſt the convention of Cloſter-Seven, which he did not ſcruple to condemn as a very ſcandalous capitulation, as much as he diſapproved of the conduct, in conſequence of which near 40,000 men were ſo ſhamefully diſarmed, and loſt to his cauſe. Thoſe ſtipulations alſo met with a very unfavourable reception in England, where the motions of the allied army in their retreat before the enemy were very freely cenſured, and ſome great names expoſed to the ridicule and contempt of the public. This event, ſo ſingular in itſelf, and ſo important in its conſequences, attracted the attention of the privy-council, where it is ſaid to have been canvaſſed with great warmth and animoſity of altercation. The general complained that he was reſtricted by peremptory orders from the regency of Hanover; and they were reported to have uſed recriminations in their defence. In all probability, every circumſtance of the diſpute was not explained to the ſatisfaction of all parties, inaſmuch as that great commander quitted the harveſt of military glory, and, like another Cincinnatus, retired to his plough. The convention of Cloſter-Seven was equally diſagreeable to the courts of London and Verſailles. The former ſaw the electorate of Hanover left, by this capitulation, at the mercy of the enemy, who had taken poſſeſſion of the whole country, ſeized the revenues, exacted contributions, and changed the whole form of government, in the name of his moſt chriſtian majeſty: while the French army, which had been employed in oppoſing the Hanoverians, was now at liberty to throw their additional force into the ſcale againſt the king of Pruſſia, who, at that period, ſeemed to totter on the verge of deſtruction. On the other hand, the French miniſtry thought their general had granted too favourable terms to a body of forces, whom he had cooped up in ſuch a manner, that, in a little time, they muſt have ſurrendered at diſcretion. They, therefore, determined either to provoke the Hanoverians by ill-uſage to an infraction of the treaty, or, ſhould that be found impracticable, renounce it as an imperfect convention, eſtabliſhed without proper authority. Both expedients were uſed without reſerve. They were no ſooner informed of the capitulation, than they refuſed to acknowledge its validity, except on condition that the Hanoverian troops ſhould formally engage to deſiſt from all ſervice againſt France and her allies during the preſent war, and be diſarmed on their return to their own country. At the ſame time her general, who commanded in the electorate, exhauſted the country, by levying exorbitant contributions, and connived at ſuch outrages as degraded his own dignity, and reflected diſgrace on the character of his nation. The court of London, to make a merit of neceſſity, affected to conſider the conventional act as a proviſional armiſtice, to pave the way for a negotiation that might terminate in a general peace, and propoſals were offered for that purpoſe: but the French miniſtry kept aloof, and ſeemed reſolved that the electorate of Hanover ſhould be annexed to their king's dominions. At leaſt, they were bent upon keeping it as a precious depoſitum, which, in the plan of a general pacification, they imagined, would counterbalance any advantage that Great-Britain might obtain in other parts of the world. Had they been allowed to keep this depoſit, the kingdom of Great Britain would have ſaved about 20 millions of money, together with the lives of her beſt ſoldiers; and Weſtphalia would have continued to enjoy all the bleſſings of ſecurity and peace. But the king of England's tenderneſs for Hanover was one of the chief ſources of the misfortunes which befell that electorate. He could not bear the thoughts of ſeeing it, even for a ſeaſon, in the hands of the enemy; and his own ſentiments in this particular were re-enforced by the preſſing remonſtrances of the Pruſſian monarch, whom, at this juncture, he thought it dangerous to diſoblige. Actuated by theſe motives, he was pleaſed to ſee the articles of the convention ſo palpably contravened, becauſe the violation unbound his hands, and enabled him, conſiſtently with good faith, to take effectual ſteps for the aſſiſtance of his ally, and the recovery of his own dominions. He therefore, in quality of elector of Brunſwick-Lunenbourg, publiſhed a declaration, obſerving, 'That his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland had, on his part, honeſtly fulfilled all the conditions of the convention, but the duke de Richelieu demanded that the troops ſhould enter into an engagement ſpecified above, and lay down their arms; although it was expreſly ſtipulated in the convention that they ſhould not be regarded as priſoners of war, under which quality alone they could be diſarmed: that the French court pretended to treat the convention as a military regulation only; and, indeed, it was originally nothing more, but as they had expreſly diſowned its validity, and a negotiation had been actually begun for diſarming the auxiliaries, upon certain conditions, though the French general would never anſwer categorically, but waited always for freſh inſtructions from Verſailles, the nature of that act was totally changed, and what was at firſt an agreement between general and general was now become a matter of ſtate between the two courts of London and Verſailles: that, however hard the conditions of the convention appeared to be for the troops of Hanover, his Britannick majeſty would have acquieſced in them, had not the French glaringly diſcovered their deſign of totally ruining his army, and his dominions; and, by the moſt outrageous conduct, freed his Britannick majeſty from every obligation under which he had been laid by the convention: that in the midſt of the armiſtice the moſt open hoſtilities had been committed; the caſtle of Schartzfels had been forcibly ſeized and pillaged, and the garriſon made priſoners of war: the priſoners made by the French before the convention had not been reſtored, according to an expreſs article ſtipulated between the generals, though it had been fulfilled on the part of the electorate, by the immediate releaſe of the French priſoners; the bailies of thoſe diſtricts from which the French troops were excluded by mutual agreement had been ſummoned, on pain of military execution, to appear before the French commiſſary, and compelled to deliver into his hands the public revenue: the French had appropriated to themſelves part of thoſe magazines which, by expreſs agreement, were deſtined for the uſe of the electoral troops; and they had ſeized the houſes, revenue, and corn belonging to the king of Eng-

majeſty will conſider the ſtep you have made me hazard, and remember that you are the ſole cauſe of theſe misfortunes that now impend over my head. I ſhould never have abandoned the alliance of France, but for your flattering aſſurances. I do not now repent of the treaty I have concluded with your majeſty; but I expect you will not ingloriouſly leave me at the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the force of Europe. I depend upon your adhering to your repeated engagements of the twenty-ſixth of laſt month, and that you will liſten to no treaty in which I am not comprehended."

land in the city of Bremen, in violation of their engagement to conſider that city as a place abſolutely free and neutral. He took notice that they had proceeded to menaces unheard of among civilized people, of burning, ſacking, and deſtroying every thing that fell in their way, ſhould the leaſt heſitation be made in executing the convention according to their interpretation.'—Such were the profeſſed conſiderations that determined his Britannick majeſty to renounce the agreement which they had violated, and have recourſe to arms for the relief of his ſubjects and allies. It was in conſequence of this determination that he conferred the command of his electoral army on prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick brother to the duke of that name, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Pruſſian army by his great military talents, and was, by blood and inclination, as well as intereſt, ſuppoſed warmly attached to his Britannick majeſty. The truth is, the king of Pruſſia recommended him to this command, becauſe he knew he could depend upon his concurring with all his meaſures, in conducting the operations of the Britiſh army. The duke de Richelieu was no ſooner informed of theſe particulars, than he ſent a letter to prince Ferdinand, ſpecifying, 'That although for ſome days he had perceived the Hanoverian troops in motion, in order to form themſelves into a body, he could not imagine the object of theſe movements was to infringe the convention of neutrality which had been eſtabliſhed between the duke of Cumberland and himſelf, as French general; that he was blinded ſo far by his confidence in the good faith of the elector of Hanover, who had ſigned that convention, as to believe the troops were aſſembled for no other purpoſe than to be diſtributed into winter-quarters, which had been aſſigned them by the agreement; but his eyes were at laſt opened, by repeated advices which he had received from all quarters, importing, that the Hanoverians intended to infringe thoſe articles which ought to be ſacred and inviolable: he affirmed, the king his maſter was ſtill willing to give freſh proofs of his moderation, and his deſire to ſpare the effuſion of human blood: with that view he declared to his ſerene highneſs, in the name of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, that he perſiſted in his reſolution of fulfilling exactly all the points of the convention, provided they ſhould be equally obſerved by the Hanoverian army; but he could not help appriſing his ſerene highneſs that if this army ſhould take any equivocal ſtep, and, ſtill more, ſhould it commit any act of hoſtility, he would then puſh matters to the laſt extremity, looking upon himſelf as authoriſed ſo to do by the rules of war: that he would ſet fire to all palaces, houſes, and gardens; ſac all the towns and villages, without ſparing the moſt inconſiderable cottage, and ſubject the country to all the horrors of war and devaſtation. He conjured his ſerene highneſs to reflect on theſe particulars, and begged he would not lay him under the neceſſity of taking ſteps ſo contrary to his own perſonal character, as well as to the natural humanity of the French nation.' To this letter, which was ſeconded by the count de Lynar the Daniſh embaſſador, who had meditated the convention, prince Ferdinand returned a very laconic anſwers, intimating, that he would give the duke de Richelieu his anſwer in perſon at the head of his army. At this particular juncture, the French general was diſpoſed to abide by the original articles of the convention, rather than draw upon himſelf the hoſtilities of an army which he knew to be brave, reſolute and well appointed, and which he ſaw at preſent animated with an eager deſire of wiping out the diſgrace they had ſuſtained by the capitulation, as well as of relieving their country from the grievous oppreſſion under which it groaned.

About the latter end of November the Hanoverian army was wholly aſſembled at Stade, under the auſpices of prince Ferdinand, who reſolved, without delay, to drive the French from the electorate, whither they now began their march. Part of the enemy's rear, conſiſting of 2000 men, was, in their march bac to Zell, attacked in the bailiwick of Ebſtorff, and entirely defeated by general Schuylenbourg: and, in a few days after this action, another happened upon the river Aller, between two conſiderable bodies of each army, in which the Hanoverians, commanded by general Zaſtrow, remained maſters of the field. Theſe petty advantages ſerved to encourage the allies, and put themſelves in poſſeſſion of Lunenbourg, Zell, and part of the Brunſwick dominions, which the enemy were obliged to abandon. The operations of prince Ferdinand, however, were retarded by the reſolution and obſtinate perſeverance of the French officer who commanded the garriſon of Harbourg. When the Hanoverian troops made themſelves maſters of the town, he retired into the caſtle, which he held out againſt a conſiderable detachment of the allied army, by whom it was inveſted; at length, however, the fortifications being entirely demoliſhed, he ſurrendered upon capitulation. On the 6th day of December prince Ferdinand began his march towards Zell, where the French army had taken poſt, under the command of the duke de Richelieu, who, at the approach of the Hanoverians, called in his advanced parties, abandoned ſeveral magazines, burned all the farm-houſes and buildings belonging to the ſheep-walks of his Britannick majeſty, without paying the leaſt regard to the repreſentations made by prince Ferdinand on this ſubject; reduced the ſuburbs of Zell to aſhes, after having allowed his men to plunder the houſes, and even ſet fire to the Orphan-hoſpital, in which a great number of helpleſs children are ſaid to have periſhed. One cannot, without horror, reflect upon ſuch brutal acts of inhumanity. The French troops on divers occaſions, and in different parts of the empire, acted tragedies of the ſame nature, which are not eaſily reconcileable to the character of a nation famed for ſentiment and civility. The Hanoverians having advanced within a league of Zell, the two armies began to cannonade each other; the French troops poſted on the right of the Aller burned their magazines, and retired into the town, where they were ſo ſtrongly entrenched, that prince Ferdinand could not attempt the river, the paſſes of which were ſtrongly guarded by the enemy. At the ſame time, his troops were expoſed to great hardſhips from the ſeverity of the weather; he, therefore, retreated to Ultzen and Lunenbourg, where his army was put into winter-quarters, and executed ſeveral ſmall enterprizes by detachment, while the French general fixed his head-quarters in the city of Hanover, his cantonments extending as far as Zell, in the neighbourhood of which many ſharp ſkirmiſhes were fought from the out-parties with various ſucceſs. Their imperial majeſties were no ſooner appriſed of theſe tranſactions, which they conſidered as infractions of the convention, than they ſent an intimation to the baron de Steinberg, miniſter from the king of Great-Britain as elector of Hanover, that he ſhould appear no more at court, or confer with their miniſters; and that his reſiding at Vienna, as he might eaſily conceive, could not be very agreeable: in conſequence of which meſſage he retired, after having obtained the neceſſary paſſports for his departure. The chagrin occaſioned at the court of Vienna by the Hanoverian army's having recourſe to their arms again was, in ſome meaſure, alleviated by the certain tidings received from Peterſburgh, that the czarina had ſigned her acceſſion in form to the treaty between the courts of Vienna, Verſailles, and Stockholm.

In cloſing our account of this year's tranſactions on the continent, we may obſerve, that on the 16th day of November the queen of Poland died at Berlin of an apoplexy, ſuppoſed to be occaſioned by the ſhoc ſhe received on hearing that the French were totally defeated at Roſbach. She was a lady of exemplary virtue and piety, whoſe conſtitution had been broke by grief and anxiety conceived from the diſtreſs of her own family, as well as from the miſery to which ſhe ſaw her people expoſed. With reſpect to the European powers that were not actually engaged as principals in the war, they ſeemed induſtriouſly to avoid every ſtep that might be conſtrued a deviation from the moſt ſcrupulous neutrality. The ſtates-general proceeded with great circumſpection, in the middle courſe between two powerful neighbours, equally jealous and formidable; and the king of Spain was gratified for his forbearance with a convention ſettled between him and the belligerent powers, implying, that his ſubjects ſhould purſue their commerce at ſea without moleſtation, provided they ſhould not tranſport those articles of merchandiſe which were deemed contraband by all nations.—The operations at ſea, during the courſe of this year, either in Europe or America, were far from being deciſive or important. The commerce of Great-Britain ſuſtained conſiderable damage from the activity and ſucceſs of French privateers, of which a great number had been equipped in the iſlands of Martinique and Guadaloupe. The Greenwich ſhip of war, mounted with 50 guns, and a frigate of 20, fell into the hands of the enemy, together with a very conſiderable number of trading veſſels. On the other hand, the Engliſh cruiſers and privateers acquitted themſelves with equal vigilance and valour. The Duc d'Acquitaine, a large ſhip of 50 guns, was taken in the month of June by two Britiſh ſhips of war, after a ſevere engagement; and, about the ſame time, the Aquilon, of nearly the ſame force, was driven on ſhore and deſtroyed near Breſt by the Antelope, one of the Britiſh cruizers. A French frigate

of 26 guns, called the Eumeraude, was taken in the channel, after a warm engagement, by an Engliſh ſhip of inferior force, under the command of captain Gilchriſt, a gallant and alert officer, who, in the ſequel, ſignalized himſelf on divers occaſions, by very extraordinary acts of valour. All the ſea-officers ſeemed to be animated with a noble emulation to diſtinguiſh themſelves in the ſervice of their country, and the ſpirit deſcended even to the captains of privateers, who, inſtead of imitating the former commanders of that claſs, in avoiding ſhips of force, and centering their whole attention in advantageous prizes, now encountered the armed ſhips of the enemy, and fought with the moſt obſtinate valour in the purſuit of national glory.

Perhaps hiſtory cannot afford a more remarkable inſtance of deſperate courage than that which was exerted in December of the preceding year, by the officers and crew of an Engliſh privateer, called the Terrible, under the command of captain William Death, equipped with 26 carriage guns, and manned with two hundred ſailors. On the 23d day of the month he engaged and made prize of a large French ſhip from St. Domingo, after an obſtinate battle, in which he loſt his own brother and 16 ſeamen: then he ſecured with 40 men his prize, which contained a valuable cargo, and directed his courſe to England, but in a few days he had the misfortune to fall in with the Vengeance, a privateer of St. Maloes, carrying 36 large cannon, with a complement of three hundred and ſixty men. Their firſt ſtep was to attac the prize, which was eaſily re-taken; then the two ſhips bore down upon the Terrible, whoſe main-maſt was ſhot away by the firſt broadſide. Notwithſtanding this diſaſter, the Terrible maintained ſuch a furious engagement againſt both as can hardly be paralleled in the annals of Britain. The French commander and his ſecond were killed, with two-thirds of his company; but the gallant captain Death, with the greater part of his officers, and almoſt his whole crew, having met with the ſame fate, his ſhip was boarded by the enemy, who found no more than 26 perſons alive, 16 of whom were mutilated by the loſs of leg or arm, and the other ten grievouſly wounded. The ſhip itſelf was ſo ſhattered, that it could ſcarce be kept above water, and the whole exhibited a ſcene of blood, horror, and deſolation. The victor itſelf lay like a wrec on the ſurface; and in this condition made ſhift, with great difficulty, to tow the Terrible [x] into St. Maloes, where ſhe was not beheld without aſtoniſhment and terror. This adventure was no ſooner known in England, than a liberal ſubſcription was raiſed for the ſupport of Death's widow, and that part of the crew which ſurvived the engagement. In this, and every ſea-rencounter that happened within the preſent year, the ſuperiority in ſkill and reſolution was aſcertained to the Britiſh mariners; for even when they fought againſt great odds, their courage was generally crowned with ſucceſs. In the month of November, captain Lockhart, a young gentleman, who had already rendered himſelf a terror to the enemy as commander of a ſmall frigate, now added conſiderable to his reputation, by reducing the Melampe, a French privateer of Bayonne, greatly ſuperior to his own ſhip in number of men and weight of metal. This exploit was ſeconded by another of the ſame nature, in his conqueſt of another French adventurer, called the Counteſs of Gramont; and a third large privateer of Bayonne was taken by captain Saumarez, commander of the Antelope. In a word, the narrow ſeas were ſo well guarded, that in a little time ſcarce a French ſhip durſt appear in the Engliſh channel, which the Britiſh traders navigated without moleſtation.

On the firſt day of December, the king of Great-Britain opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne, which ſeemed calculated to prepare the nation for the expence of maintaining a new war on the continent of Europe. His majeſty graciouſly declared, That it would have given him a moſt ſenſible pleaſure to acquaint them, at the opening of the ſeſſion, that his ſucceſs in carrying on the war had been equal to the juſtice of his cauſe, and the extent and vigour of the meaſures formed for that purpoſe. He expreſſed the firmeſt confidence, that the ſpirit and bravery of the nation, ſo renowned in all times, which had formerly ſurmounted ſo many difficulties, were not to be abated by a few diſappointments, which, he truſted, might be retreved by the bleſſing of God, and the zeal and ardour of his parliament for his majeſty's honour and the advantage of their country. He ſaid it was his determined reſolution to apply his utmoſt efforts for the ſecurity of his kingdoms, and for the recovery and protection of the poſſeſſions and rights of his crown and ſubjects in America, and elſewhere, as well by the ſtrongeſt exertion of his naval force, as by all other methods. He ſignified, that another great object which he had at heart, was the preſervation of the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of Europe; and, in that view, to encourage and adhere to his allies. For this cauſe, he aſſured them, he would decline no inconveniences, and in this cauſe he earneſtly ſollicited their hearty concurrence and vigorous aſſiſtance. He obſerved, that the late ſignal ſucceſs in Germany had given a happy turn to affairs, which it was incumbent on them to improve; and that, in ſuch a critical conjuncture, the eyes of all Europe were upon them. He particularly recommended to them, that his good brother and ally the king of Pruſſia might be ſupported in ſuch a manner as is magnanimity and active zeal for the common cauſe appeared to deſerve. To the commons he expreſſed his concern that the large ſupplies they had already granted did not produce all the good fruits they had reaſon to expect; but he had ſo great reliance on their wiſdom, as not to doubt of their perſeverance. He only deſired ſuch ſupplies as ſhould be neceſſary for the public ſervice, and told them they might depend upon it, that the beſt and moſt faithful œconomy ſhould be uſed. He took notice of that ſpirit of diſorder which had ſhown itſelf among the common people in ſome parts of the kingdom, he laid injunctions upon them to uſe their endeavours for diſcouraging and ſuppreſſing ſuch abuſes, and for maintaining the laws and lawful authority. He concluded with obſerving, that nothing would ſo effectually conduce to the defence of all that was dear to the nation, as well as to the reducing their enemies to reaſon, as union and harmony among themſelves. The time was when every paragraph of this harangue, which the reader will perceive is not remarkable for its elegance and propriety, would have been canvaſſed and impugned by the country party in the houſe of commons. They would have imputed the bad ſucceſs of the war to the diſcretion of the miniſtry, in taking prepoſterous meaſures, and appointing commanders unequal to the ſervice. They would have enquired in what manner the proteſtant religion was endangered; and, if it was, how it could be preſerved or promoted by adhering to allies, who, without provocation, had well nigh ruined the firſt and principal proteſtant country of the empire. They would have ſtarted doubts with reſpect to the late ſignal ſucceſs in Germany, and hinted, that it would only ſerve to protract the burthen of a continental war. They would have owned that the eyes of all Europe were upon them, and drawn this conſequence, that it therefore behoved them to act with the more delicacy and caution in diſcharge of the ſacred truſt repoſed in them by their conſtituents: a truſt which their conſciences would not allow to be faithfully diſcharged, ſhould they ruſh precipitately into the deſtructive meaſures of a raſh and prodigal miniſtry, ſquander away the wealth of the nation, and add to the grievous incumbrances under which it groaned, in ſupport of connexions and alliances that were equally foreign to her conſideration, and pernicious to her intereſt. They would have inveſtigated that cauſe which was ſo warmly recommended for ſupport, and pretended to diſcover that it was a cauſe in which Great-Britain ought to have had no concern, becauſe it produced a certainty of loſs without the leaſt proſpect of advantage. They would have varied eſſentially in their opinions of the neceſſary ſupplies, from the ſentiments of thoſe who prepared the eſtimates, and even declared ſome doubts about the œconomy to be uſed in managing the national expence; finally, they would have repreſented the impoſſibility of union between the two parties, one of which ſeemed bent upon reducing the other to beggary and contempt. Such was the ſtrain that uſed to flow from an oppoſition, ſaid to conſiſt of diſloyalty and diſappointed ambition. But that malignant ſpirit was now happily extinguiſhed. The voice of the ſovereign was adored as the oracle of a divinity, and thoſe happy days were now approaching that ſaw the commons of England pour their treaſures, in ſupport of a German prince, with ſuch a generous hand, that poſterity will be amazed at their liberality.

[1758] To the ſpeech of his majeſty the houſe of lords returned an addreſs, in ſuch terms of complacency as had long diſtinguiſhed that illuſtrious aſſembly. The commons expreſſed their approbation and confidence with equal ardour, and not one objection was made to the form or nature of the addreſs, though one gentleman, equally independent in his mind and fortune, took exceptions to ſome of the meaſures which had been lately purſued. Their complaiſance was more ſubſtantially ſpecified in the reſolutions of the

[x] There was a ſtrange combination of names belonging to this privateer, the Terrible, equipped at Execution-Dock, commanded by captain Death, whoſe lieutenant was called Devil, and who had one Ghoſt for ſurgeon.

houſe, as ſoon as the two great committees of ſupply were appointed. They granted for the ſea ſervice of the enſuing year 60,000 men, including 14,845 marines, and the ſtanding army, comprehending 4000 invalids, was fixed at 53,777 effective men, commiſſion and non-commiſſion officers included. For the maintenance of theſe forces, by ſea and land, the charge of guards and garriſons at home and abroad, the expence of the ordnance, and in order to make good the ſum which had been iſſued by his majeſty's orders, in purſuance of the addreſs from the commons, they now allotted 4,22,807l. 7s. 3d. They unanimouſly granted as a preſent ſupply in the then critical exigency, towards enabling his majeſty to maintain and keep together the army formed laſt year in his electoral dominions, and then again put in motion, and actually employed againſt the common enemy, in concert with the king of Pruſſia, the ſum of 100,000l. for the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to the ſea officers, they allowed 224,421l. 5s. 8d. towards the building and ſupporting of the three hoſpitals for ſeamen at Goſport, Plymouth, and Greenwich 30,000l. for the reduced officers of the land forces and marines, penſions to the widows of officers, and other ſuch military contingencies, 40,926l. 17s. 11d. towards building, rebuilding, and repairs of his majeſty's ſhips for the enſuing year, the ſum of 200,000l. for defraying the charge of 2120 horſe, and 9900 infantry, together with the general and ſtaff officers, the officers of the hoſpital and the train of artillery, being the troops of the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel in the pay of Great-Britain, for 60 days, together with the ſubſidy for the ſaid time, purſuant to treaty, they aſſigned 38,360l. 19s. and 10¾d. To the Foundling-hoſpital, they gave 40,000l. for the maintenance and education of deſerted young children, as well as for the reception of all ſuch as ſhould be preſented under a certain age, to be limited by the governors and guardians of that charity. 300,000l. were given towards diſcharging the debt of the navy, and 284,802l. for making up the deficiency of the grants for the ſervice of the preceding year. The landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel was, moreover, gratified with the further ſum of 203,536l. 4s. 9½d. for the maintenance of his forces, and the remainder of his ſubſidy. They granted 67,000l. for enabling his majeſty to make good his engagements with the king of Pruſſia, purſuant to a convention lately concluded with that potentate. For defraying the charge of 38,000 men of the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttel, Saxe-Gotha, and the count of Buckebourg, together with that of general and ſtaff-officers actually employed againſt the common enemy, in concert with the king of Pruſſia, from the 28th day of November in the laſt, to the 24th of December in the preſent year inclusive, to be iſſued in advance every two months, they allotted the ſum of 463,084l. 6s. 10d. and furthermore they granted 386,915l. 13s. 2d. to defray the charges of forage, bread-waggons, train of artillery, proviſions, wood, ſtraw, and all other extraordinary expences, contingencies, and loſſes whatſoever, incurred, or to be incurred, on account of his majeſty's army, conſiſting of 38,000 men, actually employed againſt the common enemy, in concert with the king of Pruſſia, from November laſt to next December inclusive. For the extraordinary expences of the land-forces, and other ſervices, incurred in the courſe of the laſt year, and not provided for by parliament, they allowed 145,454l. 15s. 0¼d. They provided 800,000l. to enable his majeſty to defray the like ſum raiſed in purſuance of an act made in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, and charged upon the firſt aids and ſupplies to be granted in the current ſeſſion. 26,000l. were beſtowed on the out-penſioners of Chelſea-hoſpital; above 20,000l. for the expence of maintaining the colonies of Nova-Scotia and Georgia; for re-imburſing to the province of Maſſachuſet's-Bay, and the colony of Connecticut, their expence in furniſhing proviſions and ſtores to the troops raiſed by them, for his majeſty's ſervice, in the campaign of the year 1756, the ſum of 41,117l. 17s. 6½d. to be applied towards the re-building of London-bridge, carrying on the works for fortifying and ſecuring the harbour of Milford, and repairing the pariſh-church of St. Margaret, in Weſtminſter, they allotted 29,000l. The Eaſt-India company were indulged with 20,000l. upon account, towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their ſettlements, to be maintained by them in lieu of the battalion of his majeſty's forces withdrawn from thoſe ſettlements: the ſum of 10,000l. was given, as uſual, for maintaining and ſupporting the Britiſh forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa; and 11,450l. were granted as an augmentation to the ſalaries of the judges in the ſuperior courts of judicature. They likewiſe provided 100,000l. for defraying the charge of pay and clothing to the militia, and advanced 800,000l. to enable his majeſty to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the ſervice of the current year; and to take all ſuch meaſures as might be neceſſary to diſappoint or defeat any enterprizes or deſigns of his enemies, as the exigency of his affairs might require. The whole ſupplies of this ſeſſion amounted to the enormous ſum of 10,486,457l. 0s. 1d. Nothing could ſo plainly demonſtrate the implicit confidence which the parliament, at this juncture, repoſed in the ſovereign and the miniſtry, as their conduct in granting ſuch liberal ſupplies, great part of which were beſtowed in favour of our German allies, whom the Britiſh nation thus generouſly paid for fighting their own battles. Beſides the ſum of 1,861,897l. 4s. 8d. expreſly aſſigned for the ſupport of theſe continental connections, a ſum conſiderably exceeding the whole of the revenue raiſed in the reign of Charles II. and what part of the ſum granted to the king for extraordinary expences might be applied to the ſame uſe, the article might not improperly be ſwelled with the vaſt expence incurred by expeditions to the coaſt of France, the chief, if not ſole deſign of which ſeemed to be a diverſion in favour of the nation's allies in Germany, by preventing France from ſending ſuch numerous armies into that country as it could have ſpared, had not its ſea-coaſts required a conſiderable body of forces for its defence againſt the attempts of the Engliſh. Indeed the partiſans of the miniſtry were at great pains to ſuggeſt and inculcate a belief, that the war in Germany was chiefly ſupported as a neceſſary diverſion in favour of Great-Britain and her plantations, which would have been expoſed to inſult and invaſion, had not the enemy's forces been otherwiſe employed. But the abſurdity of this nation will at once appear to thoſe who conſider, that by this time Great-Britain was ſole miſtreſs of the ſea; that the navy of France was almoſt ruined, and her commerce on the ocean quite extinguiſhed; that ſhe could not, with the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs, hazard any expedition of conſequence againſt Great-Britain, or any part of her dominions, while the ocean was covered with ſuch powerful navies belonging to that nation; and that if one-third part of the money annually ingulfed in the German vortex, had been employed in augmenting the naval forces of England, and thoſe forces properly exerted, not a ſingle cruizer would have been able to ſtir from the harbours of France; all her colonies in the Weſt-Indies would have fallen an eaſy prey to the arms of Great-Britain; and thus cut off from the reſources of commerce, ſhe muſt have been content to embrace ſuch terms of peace as the victor ſhould have thought proper to preſcribe.

The funds eſtabliſhed by the committee of ways and means, in order to realiſe thoſe articles of ſupply, conſiſted of the malt-tax, the land-tax at 4s. in the pound, ſums remaining in the exchequer produced from the ſinking-fund, 4,500,000l. to be raiſed by annuities, at 3l. 10s. per cent. per ann. and 500,000l. by a lottery, attended with annuities redeemable by parliament, after the rate of 3l. per cent. per ann. theſe ſeveral annuities to be transferrable at the Bank of England, and charged upon a fund to be eſtabliſhed in this ſeſſion of parliament for payment thereof, and for which the ſinking-fund ſhould be a collateral ſecurity[v]—1,606,076l. 5s. 1¾d. iſſued and applied out of ſuch monies as ſhould or might ariſe from the ſurpluſſes, exceſſes, and other revenues compoſing the ſinking-fund—a tax of 1s.

[v] It was enacted, That every perſon ſubſcribing for 500l. ſhould be entitled to 450l. in annuities, and 50l. in lottery tickets, and ſo in proportion for a greater or leſſer ſum; that the lottery ſhould conſiſt of tickets of the value of 10l. each, in a proportion not exceeding 8 blanks to a prize; the blanks to be of the value of 6l. each, the blanks and prizes to bear an intereſt after the rate of 3l. per cent. to commence from the 1ſt day of January, in the year 1759; and that the ſum of 4,500,000l. to be raiſed by annuities, ſhould bear an intereſt after the rate of 3l. 10s. per cent. from the 5th day of July, in the preſent year, which annuities ſhould ſtand reduced to 3l. per cent. after the expiration of 24 years, and afterwards be redeemable in the whole, or in part, by ſums not leſs than 500,000l. at one time, ſix months notice having been firſt given of ſuch payments reſpectively; that any ſubſcriber might, on or before the 29th day of April, make a depoſit of 10l. per cent. on ſuch ſum as he ſhould chooſe to ſubſcribe towards raiſing theſe five millions, with the caſhiers of the Bank, as a ſecurity for his future payments on the days appointed for that purpoſe; that the ſeveral ſums ſo received by the caſhiers ſhould be paid into the receipt of the exchequer, to be applied from time to time to ſuch ſervices as ſhould then have been voted by the houſe of commons in this ſeſſion of parliament, and not otherwiſe: that any ſubſcriber paying the whole or any part of his ſubſcription previous to the days appointed for the reſpective payments ſhould be allowed a diſcount, at the rate of three per cent. from the days of ſuch reſpective payments to the reſpective times on which ſuch payments were directed to be made, and that all perſons who ſhould make their full payments on the ſaid lottery ſhould receive their tickets as ſoon as they could be conveniently made out.

in the pound to be annually paid from all ſalaries, fees, and perquiſites of offices and employments in Great-Britain, and from all penſions and other gratuities payable out of any revenues belonging to his majeſty in Great-Britain, exceeding the yearly value of 100l.—an impoſition of one ſhilling annually upon every dwelling-houſe inhabited within the kingdom of Great-Britain, over and above all other duties already chargeable upon them, to commence from the 5th day of April—an additional tax of ſix-pence yearly for every window or light in every dwelling-houſe inhabited in Britain which ſhall contain fifteen windows or upwards; a continuation of certain acts near expiring, with reſpect to the duties payable on foreign ſail-cloth imported into Great-Britain, the exportation of Britiſh gun-powder, the ſecuring and encouraging the trade of his majeſty's ſugar colonies in America, and the empowering the importers and proprietors of ſpirits from the Britiſh ſugar plantations to land them before payment of the duties of exciſe, and to lodge them in warehouſes at their own expence—an annual tax of 40s. for a licence to be taken out by every perſon trading in, ſelling, or vending gold or ſilver plate, in lieu of the duty of ſix-pence per ounce on all ſilver plate, made or wrought, or which ought to be touched, aſſayed, or marked in this kingdom, which duty now ceaſed and determined—a ceſſation of all draw-bacs payable on the exportation of ſilver plate—a law prohibiting all perſons from ſelling, by retail, any ſweet or made wines, without having firſt procured a licence for that purpoſe—and a loan by exchequer bills for 800,000l. to be charged on the firſt aids to be granted in the next ſeſſion of parliament. Theſe proviſions amounted to the ſum of 11,79,722l. 6s. 10d. exceeding the grants in the ſum of 593,265l. 6s. 9d. ſo that the nation had reaſon to hope that this ſurplus of above half a million would prevent any demand for deficiencies in the next ſeſſion. By theſe copious grants of a houſe of commons, whoſe complaiſance knew no bounds, the national debt was, at this juncture, ſwelled to the aſtoniſhing ſum of 87,367,210l. 19s. 10¾d. a load that would have cruſhed the national credit of any other ſtate in Chriſtendom.

The liberality of the parliament was like the roc in the wilderneſs, which flowed with the welcome ſtream when touched by the rod of Moſes. The preſent ſupply which the commons granted for the ſubſiſtence of the Hanoverian army was, in purſuance of a meſſage from his majeſty, communicated to the houſe by mr. ſecretary Pitt, ſignifying, That the king had ordered his electoral army to be put again in motion, that it might act with vigour againſt the common enemy, in concert with his good brother and ally, the king of Pruſſia; that the exhauſted and ruined ſtate of the electorate having rendered it incapable of maintaining that army, until the further neceſſary charge thereof, as well as the more particular meaſures then concerting for the effectual ſupport of his Pruſſian majeſty, could be laid before the houſe, the king, relying on the conſtant zeal of his faithful commons for the ſupport of the proteſtant religion, and of the liberties of Europe againſt the dangerous deſigns of France and her confederates, found himſelf, in the mean time, under the abſolute neceſſity of recommending to the houſe the ſpeedy conſideration of ſuch a preſent ſupply as might enable his majeſty, in this critical conjuncture, to ſubſiſt and keep together the ſaid army. This addreſs was no ſooner recited by the ſpeaker, than it was unanimouſly referred to the committee of ſupply, who gratified his majeſty's wiſh with an immediate reſolution; and, conſidering their generous diſpoſition, doubtleſs the ſame compliance would have appeared, even though no mention had been made of the proteſtant religion, which, to men of ordinary penetration, appeared to have no natural concern in the preſent diſpute between the belligerent powers, although former miniſters had often violently introduced it into meſſages and ſpeeches from the throne, in order to dazzle the eyes of the populace, even while they inſulted the underſtanding of thoſe who were capable of exerciſing their own reaſon. This pretext was worn ſo threadbare, that, among the ſenſible part of mankind, it could no longer be uſed without incurring contempt and ridicule. In order to perſuade mankind that the proteſtant religion was in danger, it would have been neceſſary to ſpecify the deſigns that were formed againſt it, as well as the nature of the conſpiracy, and to deſcend to particulars, properly authenticated. In that caſe, great part of Europe would have been juſtly alarmed. The ſtates-general of the United-Provinces, who have made ſuch glorious and indefatigable efforts in ſupport of the proteſtant religion, would ſurely have lent an helping hand towards its preſervation. The Danes would not have ſtood tamely neutral, and ſeen the religion they profeſs expoſed to the rage of ſuch a powerful confederacy. It is not to be imagined that the Swedes, who have ſo zealouſly maintained the purity of the proteſtant faith, would now join an aſſociation whoſe aim was the ruin of that religion. It is not credible that even the Hungarians, who profeſs the ſame faith, and other proteſtant ſtates of the empire, would enter ſo heartily into the intereſts of thoſe who were bent upon its deſtruction; or that the Ruſſians would contribute to the aggrandiſement of the catholic faith and diſcipline, ſo oppoſite to that of the Greek church, which they eſpouſe. As, therefore, no particular of ſuch a deſign was explained, no act of oppreſſion towards any proteſtant ſtate or ſociety pointed out, except thoſe that were exerciſed by the proteſtants themſelves; and as the court of Vienna repeatedly diſavowed any ſuch deſign, in the moſt ſolemn manner, the unprejudiced part of mankind will be apt to conclude that the cry of religion was uſed, as in former times, to arouſe, alarm, and inflame; nor did the artifice prove altogether unſucceſsful. Notwithſtanding the luke-warmth of the age in matters of religion, it produced conſiderable effect among the fanatic ſectaries that ſwarm through the kingdom of England. The leaders of thoſe blind enthuſiaſts, either actuated by the ſpirit of deluſion, or deſirous of recommending themſelves to the protection of the higher powers, immediately ſeized the hint, expatiating vehemently on the danger that impended over God's people; and exerting all their faculties to impreſs the belief of a religious war, which never fails to exaſperate and impel the minds of men to ſuch deeds of cruelty and revenge as muſt diſcredit all religion, and even diſgrace humanity. The ſignal truſt and confidence which the parliament of England repoſed in the king, at this juncture, was in nothing more conſpicuous than in leaving to the crown the unlimited application of the ſum granted for augmenting the ſalaries of the judges. In the rain of king William, when the act of ſettlement was paſſed, the parliament, jealous of the influence which the crown might acquire over the judges, provided, by an expreſs clauſe of that act, that the commiſſions of the judges ſhould ſubſiſt quam diu ſe bene geſſerint, and that their ſalaries ſhould be eſtabliſhed: but now we find a ſum of money granted for the augmentation of their ſalaries, and the crown veſted with a diſcretionary power to proportion and apply this augmentation; a ſtretch of complaiſance, which, how ſafe ſoever it may appear during the reign of a prince famed for integrity and moderation, will perhaps one day be conſidered as a very dangerous acceſſion to the prerogative.

So fully perſuaded were the miniſtry that the commons would chearfully enable them to pay what ſubſidies they might promiſe to their German allies, that on the 11th of April they concluded a new treaty of convention with his Pruſſian majeſty, which, that it might have the firmer conſiſtence, and the greater authority, was, on the part of Great-Britain, tranſacted and ſigned by almoſt all the privy-counſellors who had any ſhare in the adminiſtration[z]. This treaty, which was ſigned at Weſtminſter, imported, 'That the contracting powers having mutually reſolved to continue their efforts for the reciprocal defence and ſecurity, for the recovery of their poſſeſſions, the protection of their allies, and the ſupport of the liberties of the Germanick body, his Britannick majeſty had, from theſe conſiderations, determined to grant to his Pruſſian majeſty an immediate ſuccour in money, as being the moſt ready and the moſt efficacious, and their majeſties having judged it proper that thereupon a convention ſhould be made, for declaring and fixing their intentions upon this head, they had nominated and authoriſed their reſpective miniſters, who after having communicated their full powers to one another, agreed to the following ſtipulations:—The king of Great-Britain engaged to pay in the city of London, to ſuch perſon as ſhould be authoriſed to receive it by his Pruſſian majeſty, the ſum of four millions of German crowns, amounting to 670,000l. ſterling, to be paid at once, and in one whole ſum, immediately after the exchange of ratifications, upon being demanded by his Pruſſian majeſty. This prince, on his part, obliged himſelf to apply that ſum to the maintaining and

[z] Theſe were, ſir Robert Henly, lord-keeper of the great ſeal; John earl of Granville, preſident of the council; Thomas Holles duke of Newcaſtle, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury; Robert earl of Holderneſſe, one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate; Philip earl of Hardwicke; and William Pitt, eſq. another of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate. In the name and on the part of his Pruſſian majeſty, the ſieurs Dado Henry, baron of Knyphauſen, his privy-counſellor of embaſſy, and miniſter plenipotentiary at the court of London, and Louis Michel, his reſident and chargé affaires.

augmenting his forces, which ſhould act in the beſt manner for the good of the common cauſe, and for the purpoſe of reciprocal defence and mutual ſecurity, propoſed by their ſaid majeſties. Moreover, the high contracting parties engaged not to conclude any treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, nor any other ſort of convention or agreement, with the powers engaged in the preſent war, but in concert and by mutual agreement, wherein both ſhould be nominally comprehended. Finally, it was ſtipulated that this convention ſhould be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged on both ſides, within the term of ſix weeks, to be computed from the day of ſigning this preſent convention, or ſooner, if poſſible.

All the reſolutions to which the committee of ways and means agreed were executed by bills, or clauſes in bills, which afterwards received the royal ſanction. The militia ſtill continued to be an object of parliamentary care and attention: but the inſtitution was not yet heartily embraced, becauſe ſeemingly diſcountenanced by the remnant of the whole miniſtry, which ſtill maintained a capital place in the late coalition, and indeed almoſt wholy engroſſed the diſtribution of penſions and places. The commons having preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, with reſpect to the harbour of Milford-haven, a book of plans and eſtimates for fortifying that harbour was laid before the houſe, and a committee appointed to examine the particulars. They were of opinion that the mouth of the harbour was too wide to admit of any fortification, or effectual defence; but that the paſſage called Nailand-point, lying higher than Hubberſtone-road, might be fortified, ſo as to afford ſafe riding and protection to the trade and navy of Great-Britain: that, if it ſhould be thought proper hereafter to eſtabliſh a yard and doc for building and equipping fleets at Milford, no place could, from the ſituation, nature, ſoil, and a general concurrence of all neceſſary local circumſtances, be more fitted for ſuch a deſign; that if a proper uſe were made of this valuable though long-neglected harbour, the diſtreſsful delays, too often embarraſſing and diſappointing the nation in her naval operations, might be in a great meaſure happily removed, to the infinate relief and enlargement of the kingdom in the means of improving its naval force; the neceſſary progreſs and free execution of which was now ſo unhappily and frequently reſtrained and fruſtrated, by the want of a harbour like that of Milford-haven, framed by nature with ſuch local advantages. This report appeared to be ſo well ſupported by evidence, that a bill was framed, and paſſed into an act, for granting 10,000l. towards carrying on the works for fortifying and ſecuring the harbour of Milford in the county of Pembroke. Other laws of national conſequence were enacted, in the courſe of this ſeſſion, with little or no oppoſition. On the very firſt day of their ſitting, the commons received a petition from the mayor, magiſtrates, merchants, and inhabitants of Liverpool, complaining of the high price of wheat, and other grain; expreſſing their apprehenſion that it would continue to riſe, unleſs the time for the importation of foreign corn duty free ſhould be prolonged, or ſome other ſalutary meaſure taken by parliament, to prevent dealers from engroſſing corn; ſubmitting to the wiſdom of the houſe a total prohibition of diſtilling and exporting grain while the high price ſhould continue; praying they would take the premiſes in conſideration, and grant a ſeaſonable relief to the petitioners, by a continuance of a free importation, and taking ſuch other effectual means to reduce the growing price of corn as to them ſhould ſeem neceſſary and expedient. This being an urgent caſe, that equally intereſted the humanity of the legiſlature and the manufactures of the kingdom, it was deliberated upon, and diſcuſſed with remarkable diſpatch. In a few days a bill was prepared, paſſed through both houſes, and enacted into a law, continuing till the 24th day of December, in the preſent year, three acts of laſt ſeſſion; for prohibiting the exportation of corn; for prohibiting the diſtillation of ſpirits; and for allowing the importation of corn duty free. A ſecond law was eſtabliſhed, regulating the price and aſſize of bread, and ſubjecting to ſevere penalties thoſe who ſhould be concerned in its adulteration. In conſequence of certain reſolutions taken in a committee of the whole houſe, a bill was preſented for prohibiting the payment of the bounty upon the exportation of corn, unleſs ſold at a lower price than is allowed in an act paſſed in the firſt year of the reign of William and Mary; but this bill, after having been read a ſecond time, and committed, was neglected, and proved abortive.

In conſequence of a motion made by mr. Grenville, a humane bill was prepared and brought in for the encouragement of ſeamen employed in the royal navy, eſtabliſhing a regular method for the punctual, frequent, and certain payment of their wages; enabling them more eaſily and readily to remit money for the ſupport of their wives and families, and preventing the frauds and abuſes attending ſuch payments. This bill, having paſſed the lower-houſe, engaged in a very particular manner the attention of the lords, who, by divers meſſages to the houſe of commons, deſired the attendance of ſeveral members. Theſe meſſages being taken into conſideration, ſeveral precedents were recited; a debate aroſe about their formality, and the houſe unanimouſly reſolved that a meſſage ſhould be ſent to the lords, acquainting them that the houſe of commons not being ſufficiently informed by their meſſages upon what grounds, or for what purpoſes, their lordſhips deſired the houſe would give leave to ſuch of their members as were named in the ſaid meſſages to attend the houſe of lords, in order to be examined upon the ſecond reading of the bill; the commons hoped their lordſhips would make them acquainted with their intention. The lords, in anſwer to this intimation, gave the commons to underſtand, that they deſired the attendance of the members mentioned in their meſſages, that they might be examined as witneſſes upon the ſecond reading of the bill. This explanation being deemed ſatisfactory, the members attended the houſe of lords, where they were carefully and fully examined, as perſons converſant in ſea-affairs, touching the inconveniences which had formerly attended the ſea-ſervice, as well as the remedies now propoſed: and the bill having paſſed through their houſe, though not without warm oppoſition, was enacted into a law by his majeſty's aſſent. The militia-act, as it paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion, being found upon trial defective, mr. Townſhend moved for leave to bring in a new bill, to explain, amend, and enforce it: this was accordingly allowed, prepared, and paſſed into a law; though it did not ſeem altogether free from material objections, ſome of which were of an alarming nature. The power veſted by law in the crown over the militia is even more independent than that which it exerciſes over the ſtanding army: for this laſt expires at the end of the year, if not continued by a new act of parliament; whereas the militia is ſubjected to the power of the crown for the term of five years, during which it may be called out into actual ſervice without conſent of parliament, and conſequently employed for ſiniſter purpoſes. A commiſſion-officer in the militia may be detained, as ſubject to the articles of war, until the crown ſhall allow the militia to return to their reſpective pariſhes; and thus engaged, he is liable to death as a mutineer, or deſerter, ſhould he refuſe to appear in arms, and fight in ſupport of the worſt meaſures of the worſt miniſter. Several merchants, and manufacturers of ſilk, offered a petition, repreſenting, that in conſequence of the act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion, allowing the importation of fine organize Italian thrown ſilk till the 1ſt day of December in the year 1757, they had given orders to their correſpondents abroad to ſend large quantities of ſuch ſilk through Germany to Hamburgh and Holland, which in the common courſe of things might probably have arrived in London before the act expired, if their carriage had not been protracted by the great rains and inundations in Italy and Germany, in the months of Auguſt and September laſt, which rendered the roads for many weeks impaſſable: that from unlucky accidents on ſhore, and ſtorms and contrary winds after the ſilk was ſhipped, it could not poſſibly arrive within the time limited by the act; and unleſs it ſhould be admitted to an entry, they, the petitioners, would be great ſufferers, the manufactures greatly prejudiced, and the good end and purpoſe of the act in a great meaſure fruſtrated: they, therefore prayed leave to bring in a bill for allowing the introduction of all ſuch fine Italian organized ſilk as ſhould appear to have been ſhipped in Holland and Hamburgh for London, on or before the 1ſt day of December. The petition being referred to a committee, which reported that theſe allegations were true, the houſe complied with their requeſt, and the bill having paſſed was enacted into a law in the uſual form. A ſpeedy paſſage was likewiſe granted to the mutiny bill, and the other annual meaſure for regulating the marine forces, which contained nothing new or extraordinary. A committee being appointed to enquire what laws were already expired, or near expiring, they performed this difficult taſk with indefatigable patience and perſeverance; and in purſuance of their reſolutions, three bills were prepared and paſſed into laws, continuing ſome acts for a certain time, and rendering others perpetual[a].

[a] Among thoſe rendered perpetual, we find an act of the 13th and 14th of Charles II. for preventing theft and rapine. An act of the 9th of George I. for puniſhing perſons going armed in diſguiſe. A clauſe in the act of the 6th of George II. to prevent the breaking down the bank of any river; and

The lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common-council aſſembled, having drawn up a petition to the houſe of commons, alledging that the toll upon loaded veſſels, or other craft, paſſing through the arches of London-Bridge, granted by a former act, paſſed in the year 1750, for improving, widening, and enlarging the paſſage both under and over the ſaid bridge, was altogether precarious, and inſufficient to defray the expence, including that of a temporary wooden bridge already erected; and praying that a bill might be prepared, for explaining and rendering that act effectual; a committee was appointed to examine the contents, and a bill brought in according to their requeſt. This, however, was oppoſed by a petition from ſeveral perſons, owners of barges, and other craft navigating the river Thames, who affirmed, that if the bill ſhould paſs into a law as it then ſtood, it would be extremely injurious to the petitioners in particular, and to the public in general. Theſe were heard by their counſel before the committee, but no report was yet given, when the temporary bridge was reduced to aſhes. Then the mayor, aldermen, and commons of London preſented another petition, alledging, that, in purſuance of the powers veſted in them by act of parliament, they had already demoliſhed a good number of the houſes on London-Bridge, and directed the reſt that were ſtanding to be taken down with all convenient expedition, that two of the arches might be laid into one for the improvement of the navigation; that they had, at a very great expence, erected a temporary wooden bridge, to preſerve a public paſſage to and from the city, until the great arch could be finiſhed, which temporary bridge being conſumed by fire, they muſt rebuild it with the greateſt expedition, at a further and conſiderable expence; that the ſum neceſſary for carrying on and completing this great and uſeful work, including the rebuilding of the ſaid temporary bridge, was eſtimated at 80,000l. and as the improving, widening, and enlarging London-Bridge was calculated for the general good of the public, for the advancement of trade and commerce, and for making the navigation upon the river Thames more ſafe and ſecure; they, therefore prayed the houſe to take the premiſes into conſideration. This petition being recommended by his majeſty to the conſideration of the houſe, was referred to the committee of ſupply, and produced the reſolution of granting 15,000l. towards the rebuilding of London-Bridge. A bill was prepared, under the title of an act to improve, widen, and enlarge the paſſage over and through London-Bridge, enforcing the payment of the toll impoſed upon loaded veſſels, which had been found extremely burthenſome to trade; but this incumbrance was prevented by another petition of ſeveral merchants, tradeſmen, and other inhabitants of the borough of Southwark, taking notice of the 15,000l. granted towards the repair of London-Bridge, and, as they were informed, intended to make the ſame bridge free for all his majeſty's ſubjects; they ſaid they hoped to partake of this public bounty; but afterwards hearing that the bill then depending was confined to the tolls formerly granted for repairing the ſaid bridge, they repreſented the hardſhips which they and all traders would continue to labour under; they alledged, that the ſurveyors and workmen then employed upon this work had diſcovered the true principles on which the bridge was built; that the foundation of the piers conſiſted of hard durable ſtone, well cemented together, and now as ſtrong and firm as when firſt built; that when the bridge ſhould be finiſhed, great ſavings would be made in keeping it in repair, from the ſums formerly expended, on a miſtaken opinion, that the foundation was of wood: that there were very conſiderable eſtates appointed ſolely for the repairs of the bridge, which, they apprehended, would be ſufficient to maintain it without any toll: or if they ſhould not be thought adequate to that purpoſe, they hoped the deficiency would not be made up by a toll upon trade and commerce, but rather by an impoſition on coaches, chariots, chaiſes, and ſaddle-horſes. This remonſtrance made no impreſſion on the houſe. The bill being, on a motion of ſir John Philips, read a third time, paſſed through both houſes, and obtained the royal aſſent.

The intereſt of the manufactures was alſo conſulted in an act encouraging the growth of madder, a plant eſſentially neceſſary in dying and printing callicoes, which may be raiſed in England without the leaſt inconvenience. It was judged, upon enquiry, that the moſt effectual means to encourage the growth of this commodity would be to aſcertain the tithe of it, and a bill was brought in for that purpoſe. The rate of the tithe was eſtabliſhed at 5s. an acre; and it was enacted, that this law ſhould continue in force for fourteen years, and to the end of the next ſeſſion of parliament; but wherefore this encouragement was made temporary it is not eaſy to determine. The laws relating to the poor, though equally numerous and oppreſſive to the ſubject, having been found defective, a new clauſe, relating to the ſettlement of ſervants and apprentices, was now added to an act paſſed in the 20th year of the preſent reign, intituled, 'An act for the better adjuſting and more eaſy recovery of the wages of certain ſervants, and of certain apprentices.' No country in the univerſe can produce ſo many laws made in behalf of the poor as thoſe that are daily accumulating in England: in no other country is there ſo much money raiſed for their ſupport, by private charity, as well as public taxation; yet this, as much as any country, ſwarms with vagrant beggars, and teems with objects of miſery and diſtreſs; a ſure ſign either of miſconduct in the legiſlature, or of ſhameful relaxation in the executive part of the civil adminiſtration.—The ſcenes of corruption, perjury, riot, and intemperance which every election for a member of parliament had lately produced were now grown ſo infamouſly open and intolerable, and the right of voting was rendered ſo obſcure and perplexed by the pretentions and proceedings of all the candidates for Oxfordſhire in the laſt election, that the fundamentals of the conſtitution ſeemed to ſhake, and the very eſſence of parliaments to be in danger. Actuated by theſe appehenſions, ſir John Philips, a gentleman of Wales, who had long diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the oppoſition, by his courage and independent ſpirit, moved for leave to bring in a bill that ſhould obviate any doubts which might ariſe concerning the electors of knights of the ſhire to ſerve in parliament for England, and further regulate the proceedings of ſuch elections. He was accordingly permitted to bring in ſuch a bill, in conjunction with mr. Townſhend, mr. Cornwall, and lords North and Carysford; and in the uſual courſe, the bill being prepared, was enacted into a law, under the title of, 'An act for further explaining the laws touching the electors of knights of the ſhire to ſerve in parliament for that part of Great-Britain called England.' The preamble ſpecified, That though, by an act paſſed in the 18th year of the preſent reign, it was provided, that no perſon might vote at the election of a knight or knights of a ſhire within England and Wales, without having a freehold eſtate, in the county for which he votes, of the clear yearly value of 40s. over and above all rents and charges, payable out of or in reſpect to the ſame; nevertheleſs, certain perſons, who hold their eſtates by copy of court-roll, pretend to a right of voting, and have, at certain times, preſumed to vote at ſuch elections: this act, therefore, ordained, that from and after the 29th day of June, in the preſent year, no perſon who holds his eſtate by copy of court-roll ſhould be entitled thereby to vote at the election of any knight or knights of a ſhire within England or Wales; but every ſuch vote ſhould be void, and the perſon ſo voting ſhould forfeit 50l. to any candidate for whom ſuch vote ſhould not have been given, and who ſhould firſt ſue for the ſame, to be recovered with full coſts, by action of debt, in any court of judicature. [b]. So far the act, thus procured, may be attended with ſalutary conſequences: but, in all probability, the intention of its firſt

another clauſe in the ſaid act, to prevent the treacherous cutting of hop-binds. Several clauſes in an act of the 10th of George II. for puniſhing perſons ſetting on fire any mine, &c. The tempory part of the act of 20th of George II. for taking away the hereditary juriſdictions of Scotland, relating to the power of appealing to circuit courts. Thoſe continued were, I. An act of the 12th of George II. for granting liberty to carry ſugars, &c. until the 29th day of September, in the year, 1764, and to the end of the next ſeſſion of parliament. II. An act of the 5th of George II. to prevent frauds by bankrupts, &c. for the ſame period. III. An act of the 8th of George II. for encouraging the importation of naval ſtores, &c. for the ſame period. IV. An act of the 19th of George II. for preventing frauds in the admeaſurement of coals, &c. until June 24, 1759; and to this was added, a perpetual clauſe for preventing the ſtealing or deſtroying of madder roots. V. An act of the 9th of George II. for encouraging the manufacture of Britiſh ſail-cloth until the 29th of September, 1764. VI. An act of the 4th of George II. granting an allowance upon Britiſh-made gun-powder, for the ſame period. VII. An act of the 6th of George II. for encouraging the trade of the ſugar colonies, until the 29th of September, 1761. And VIII. ſo much of the act of the 15th and 16th of Geo. II. to empower the importers of rum, &c. as relates to landing it before the payment of duties, until the 29th of September, 1764.

[b] For the more eaſy recovery of this forfeit, it was enacted, That the plaintiff in ſuch action might only ſet forth, in the declaration or bill, that the defendants was indebted to him in the ſum of 50l. alledging the offence for which the ſuit ſhould brought, and that the defendant had acted contrary to this act, without mentioning the writ of ſummons to parliament, or the return thereof; and, upon trial of any iſſue, the plaintiff ſhould not be obliged to prove the writ of ſummons to parliament, or the return thereof, or any warrant or authority to the ſheriff upon any ſuch writ: that every ſuch action ſhould be commenced within nine months after the fact committed; and that, if the plaintiff ſhould diſcontinue his action, or be nonſuited, or have judgment given againſt him, the defendant ſhould recover treble coſts.

movers and patrons was not fully anſwered; inaſmuch as no proviſion was made for putting a ſtop to that ſpirit of licence, drunkenneſs, and debauchery, which prevails at almoſt every election, and has a very pernicious effect upon the morals of the people.

Among the bills that miſcarried in the courſe of this ſeſſion, ſome turned on points of great conſequenee to the community. Lord Barrington, mr. Thomas Gore, and mr. Charles Townſhend, were ordered by the houſe to prepare a bill for the ſpeedy and effectual recruiting his majeſty's land-forces and marines, which was no more than a tranſcript of the temporary act paſſed in the preceding ſeſſion under the ſame title; but the majority were averſe to its being continued for another year, as it was attended with ſome prejudice to the liberty of the ſubject. Objections of the ſame nature might have been as juſtly ſtarted againſt another bill, for the more effectually manning of his majeſty's navy, for preventing deſertion, and for the relief and encouragement of ſeamen belonging to ſhips and veſſels in the ſervice of the merchants. The purport of this project was to eſtabliſh regiſters or muſter-rolls of all ſeamen, fiſhermen, lightermen, and watermen; obliging ſhipmaſters to leave liſts of their reſpective crews at offices, maintained for that purpoſe, that a certain number of them might be choſen by lot for his majeſty's ſervice, in any caſe of emergency. This expedient, however, was rejected, as an unneceſſary and ineffectual incumberance on commerce, which would hamper navigation, and in a little time diminiſh the number of ſeamen, of conſequence act diametrically oppoſite to the purpoſe for which it was contrived.—Numberleſs frauds having been committed, and inceſſant law-ſuits produced, by private and clandeſtine conveyances, a motion was made, and leave given, to form a bill for the public regiſtering of all deeds, conveyances, wills, and other incumberances, that might affect any honours, manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, within the kingdom of England, wherein public regiſters were not already appointed by act of parliament; but this meaſure, ſo neceſſary to the aſcertainment and poſſeſſion of property, met with a violent oppoſition; and was finally dropped, as ſome people imagine, through the influence of thoſe who, perhaps, had particular reaſons for countenancing the preſent myſterious forms of conveyancing. Such a bill muſt alſo have been diſagreeable and mortifying to the pride of thoſe landholders whoſe eſtates were incumbered, becauſe in ſuch a regiſter, every mortgage under which they laboured would be exactly known.—The next object to which the houſe converted its attention, was a bill explaining and amending a late act for eſtabliſhing a fiſh-market in the city of Weſtminſter, and preventing ſcandalous monopolies of a few engroſſing fiſh-mongers, who impoſed exorbitant prices on their fiſh, and in this particular branch of traffic gave law to above 600,000 of their fellow-citizens. Abundance of pains was taken to render this bill effectual, for putting an end to ſuch flagrant impoſition. Enquiries were made, petitions read, counſel heard, and alterations propoſed: at length the bill, having paſſed through the lower-houſe, was conveyed to the lords, among whom it was ſuffered to expire, on pretence that there was not time ſufficient to deliberate maturely on the ſubject.

The occaſion that produced the next bill which miſcarried we ſhall explain, as an incident equally extraordinary and intereſting. By an act paſſed in the preceding ſeſſion, for recruiting his majeſty's land-forces and marines, we have already obſerved, that the commiſſioners thereby appointed were veſted with a power of judging ultimately whether the perſons brought before them were ſuch, as ought, by the rules preſcribed in the act, to be impreſſed into the ſervice; for it was expreſly provided, that no perſon, ſo impreſſed by thoſe commiſſioners, ſhould be taken out of his majeſty's ſervice by any proceſs, other than for ſome criminal accuſation. During the receſs of parliament, a gentleman having being impreſſed before the commiſſioners, and confined in the Savoy, his friends made application for a habeas-corpus, which produced ſome heſitation, and indeed an inſurmountable difficulty; for, according to the writ of habeas-corpus, paſſed in the reign of Charles II. this privilege relates only to perſons committed for criminal matters, and the gentleman did not ſtand in that predicament. Before the queſtion could be determined he was diſcharged, in conſequence of an application to the ſecretary at war; but the nature of the caſe plainly pointed out a defect in the act, ſeeming of the moſt dangerous conſequence to the liberty of the ſubject. In order to remedy this defect, a bill for giving a more ſpeedy relief to the ſubject, upon the writ of habeas-corpus, was prepared, and preſented to the houſe of commons, which formed itſelf into a committee, and made ſeveral amendments. It imported, that the ſeveral proviſions made in the aforeſaid act, paſſed in the reign of Charles II. for the awarding of writs of habeas-corpus, in caſes of commitment or detainer, for any criminal or ſuppoſed criminal matter, ſhould, in like manner, extend to all caſes where any perſon, not being committed or detained for any criminal or ſuppoſed criminal matter, ſhould be confined, or reſtrained of his or her liberty, under any colour or pretence whatſoever; that, upon oath made by ſuch perſon ſo confined or reſtrained, or by any other on his or her behalf, of any actual confinement or reſtraint, and that ſuch confinement or reſtraint, to the beſt of the knowledge and belief of the perſon ſo applying, was not by virtue of any commitment, or detainer for any criminal or ſuppoſed criminal matter, an habeas-corpus directed to the perſon or perſons ſo confining or reſtraining the party, as aforeſaid, ſhould be awarded and granted, in the ſame manner as is directed, and under the ſame penalties as are provided by the ſaid act, in the caſe of perſons committed and detained for any criminal or ſuppoſed criminal matter: that the perſon or perſons before whom the party ſo confined or reſtrained ſhould be brought, by virtue of an habeas-corpus granted in the vacation-time, under the authority of this act, might and ſhould, within three days after the return made, proceed to examine into the facts contained in ſuch return, and into the cauſe of ſuch confinement and reſtraint; and thereupon either diſcharge, or bail, or remand the parties ſo brought, as the caſe ſhould require, and as to juſtice ſhould appertain. The reſt of the bill related to the return of the writ in three days, and the penalties incurred by thoſe who ſhould neglect or refuſe to make the due return, or to comply with any other clauſe of this regulation. The commons ſeemed hearty in rearing up this additional buttreſs to the liberty of their fellow-ſubjects, and paſſed the bill with the moſt laudable alacrity: but in the houſe of lords ſuch a great number of objections was ſtarted, that it ſunk at the ſecond reading, and the judges were ordered to prepare a bill for the ſame purpoſe, to be laid before that houſe in the next ſeſſion.

His majeſty having recommended the care of the Foundling-Hoſpital to the houſe of commons, which chearfully granted 40,000l. for the ſupport of that charity, the growing annual expence of it appeared worthy of further conſideration, and leave was granted to bring in a bill, for obliging all the pariſhes of England and Wales to keep regiſters of all their deaths, births, and marriages, that from theſe a fund might be raiſed towards the ſupport of the ſaid hoſpital. The bill was accordingly prepared by a committee appointed for the purpoſe; but before the houſe could take the report into conſideration the parliament was prorogued. The proprietors of the privateer called the Antigallican, which had taken a rich French ſhip homeward-bound from China, and carried her into Cadiz, where the Spaniſh government had wreſted her by violence from the captors, and delivered her to the French owners, now preſented a petition to the houſe of commons, complaining of this interpoſition as an act of partiality and injuſtice; repreſented the great expence at which the privateer had been equipped, the legality of the capture, the loſs and hardſhips which they the petitioners had ſuſtained, and imploring ſuch relief as the houſe ſhould think requiſite. Though theſe allegations were ſupported by a ſpecies of evidence that ſeemed ſtrong and convincing, and it might be thought incumbent on the parliament to vindicate the honour of the nation when thus inſulted by a foreign power, the houſe, upon this occaſion, treated the petition with the moſt mortifying neglect, either giving little credit to the aſſertions it contained, or unwilling to take any ſtep which might at this juncture embroil the nation with the court of Spain on ſuch a frivolous ſubject. True it is, the Spaniſh government alledged, in their own juſtification, that the prize was taken under the guns of Corunna, inſomuch that the ſhot fired by the privateer entered that place, and damaged ſome houſes: but this allegation was never properly ſuſtained, and the prize was certainly condemned as legal by the court of admiralty at Gibraltar.

As we have already given a detail of the trial of ſir John Mordaunt, it will be unneceſſary to recapitulate any circumſtances of that affair, except ſuch as relate to its connexions with the proceedings of parliament. In the beginning of this ſeſſion, lord Barrington, as ſecretary at war, informed the houſe, by his majeſty's command, that lieutenant-general ſir John Mordaunt, a member of that houſe, was in arreſt for diſobedience of his majeſty's orders while, employed on the late expedition to the coaſt of France.

The commons immediately reſolved, That an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, returning him the thanks of this houſe for his gracious meſſage of that day, in the communication he had been pleaſed to make of the reaſon for putting lieutenant-general ſir John Mordaunt in arreſt. Among the various objects of commerce that employed the attention of the houſe, one of the moſt conſiderable was the trade to the coaſt of Africa, for the protection of which an annual ſum had been granted for ſome years, to be expended in the maintenance and repairs of caſtles and factories. While a committee was employed in peruſing the accounts relating to the ſum granted in the preceding ſeſſion for this purpoſe, a petition from the committee of the African company, recommended in a meſſage from his majeſty, was preſented to the houſe, ſoliciting further aſſiſtance for the enſuing year. In the mean time, a remonſtrance was offered by certain planters and merchants, intereſted in and trading to the Britiſh ſugar colonies in America, alledging, that the price of negroes was greatly advanced ſince the forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa had been under the direction of the committee of the company of merchants trading to that coaſt; a circumſtance that greatly diſtreſſed and alarmed the petitioners, prevented the cultivation of the Britiſh colonies, and was a great detriment to the trade and navigation of the kingdom: that this misfortune, they believed, was in ſome meaſure owing to the ruinous ſtate and condition of the forts and ſettlements: that, in their opinion, the moſt effectual method for maintaining the intereſt of that trade on a reſpectable footing, next to that of an incorporated joint-ſtoc company, would be putting thoſe forts and ſettlements under the ſole direction of the commiſſioners for trade and plantations: that the preſervation or ruin of the American ſugar colonies went hand in hand with that of the ſlave trade to Africa: that, by an act paſſed in the year 1750, for extending and improving this trade, the Britiſh ſubjects were debarred from lodging their ſlaves and merchandize in the forts and ſettlements on the coaſt: they, therefore, prayed that this part of the act might be repealed; that all commanders of Britiſh and American veſſels, free merchants, and all other his majeſty's ſubjects, who were ſettled, or might at any time thereafter ſettle in Africa, ſhould have free liberty, from ſun-riſe to ſun-ſet, to enter the forts and ſettlements, and to depoſit their goods and merchandize in the warehouſes thereunto belonging; to ſecure their ſlaves or other purchaſes without paying any conſideration for the ſame; but the ſlaves to be victualled at the proper coſt and charge of their reſpective owners. The houſe having taken this petition into conſideration, enquired into the proceedings of the company, and reviſed the act for extending and improving the trade to Africa, reſolved, That the committee of the African company had faithfully diſcharged the truſt repoſed in them, and granted 10,000l. for maintaining the Britiſh forts and ſettlements in that part of the world. The enemy were perfectly well acquainted with the weakneſs of the Britiſh caſtles on the coaſt of Africa; and had they known as well how to execute with ſpirit, as to plan with ſagacity, the attempt which, in the courſe of the preceding year, they made upon the principal Britiſh fort in Guinea would have ſucceeded, and all the other ſettlements would have fallen into their hands without oppoſition [e].

The longeſt and warmeſt debate which was maintained in the courſe of this ſeſſion aroſe from a motion for leave to bring in a bill for ſhortening the term and duration of future parliaments; a meaſure truely patriotical, againſt which no ſubſtantial argument could be produced, although the motion was rejected by the majority, on pretence, that, whilſt the nation was engaged in ſuch a dangerous an expenſive war, it would be improper to think of introducing ſuch an alteration in the form of government. Reaſons of equal ſtrength and ſolidity will never be wanting to the patrons and miniſters of corruption and venality. The alteration propoſed was nothing leſs than removing and annulling an encroachment which had been on the conſtitution; it might have been effected without the leaſt pang or convulſion, to the general ſatisfaction of the nation: far from being unreaſonable at this juncture, it would have enhanced the national reputation abroad, and rendered the war more formidable to the enemies of Great-Britain, by convincing them that it was ſupported by a miniſtry and parliament, who ſtood upon ſuch good terms with the people. Indeed, a quic ſucceſſion of parliaments might have diſconcerted, and perhaps expelled that ſpirit of confidence and generoſity which now ſo remarkably eſpouſed and gratified the ſovereign's predilection for the intereſt of Hanover. Other committees were eſtabliſhed, to enquire into the expence incurred by new lines and fortifications raiſed at Gibraltar; to examine the original ſtandards of weights and meaſures uſed in England; conſider the laws relating to them, and report their obſervations, together with their opinion of the moſt effectual means for aſcertaining and enforcing uniform ſtandards to be uſed for the future. The commons were perfectly ſatisfied with the new works which had been raiſed at Gibraltar; and with reſpect to the weights and meaſures, the committee agreed to certain reſolutions, but no further progreſs was made in this enquiry, except an order for printing theſe reſolutions, with the appendix: however, as the boxes containing the ſtandards were ordered to be locked up by the clerk of the houſe, in all probability their intention was to proceed on this ſubject in ſome future ſeſſion. On the 9th day of June ſundry bills received the royal aſſent by commiſſion, his majeſty being indiſpoſed; and on the 20th day of the ſame month, the lords commiſſioners cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech to both houſes, expreſſing his majeſty's deep ſenſe of their loyalty and good affection, demonſtrated in their late proceedings, in their zeal for his honour and intereſt in all parts, in their earneſtneſs to ſurmount every difficulty, in their ardour to maintain the war with the utmoſt vigour; proofs which muſt convince mankind that the ancient ſpirit of the Britiſh nation ſtill ſubſiſted in its full force. They were given to underſtand that the king had taken all ſuch meaſures as appeared the moſt conducive to the accompliſhment of their public-ſpirited views and wiſhes; that with their aſſiſtance, crowned by the bleſſing of God upon the conduct and bravery of the combined army, his majeſty had been enabled, not only to deliver his dominions in Germany from the oppreſſions and devaſtation of the French, but alſo to puſh his advantages on this ſide the Rhine; that he had cemented the union between him and his good brother the king of Pruſſia, by new engagements; that the Britiſh fleets and armies were now actually employed in ſuch expeditions as appeared likely to annoy the enemy in the moſt ſenſible manner, and to promote the welfare and proſperity of theſe kingdoms; in particular, to preſerve the Britiſh rights and poſſeſſions in America, and to make France feel, in thoſe parts, the real ſtrength and importance of Great-Britain. The commons were thanked for the ample ſupplies which they had ſo freely and unanimouſly given, and aſſured on the part of his majeſty that they ſhould be managed with the moſt frugal œconomy. They were deſired, in conſequence of the king's earneſt recommendation, to promote harmony and good agreement amongſt his faithful ſubjects; to make the people acquainted with the rectitude and purity of his intentions and meaſures, and to exert themſelves in maintaining the peace and good order of the country, by enforcing obedience to the laws and lawful authority.

Never, ſurely, had any ſovereign more reaſons to be pleaſed with the conduct of his miniſters, and the ſpirit of his people. The whole nation repoſed the moſt unbound confidence in the courage and diſcretion, as well as the integrity of the miniſter, who ſeemed eager upon proſecuting the war with ſuch vigour and activity as appearing almoſt unexampled in the annals of Great-Britain. New levies were made, new ſhips put into commiſſion, freſh expeditions undertaken, and freſh conqueſts projected. Such was the credit of the adminiſtration, that people ſubſcribed to the government loans with ſurprſing eagerneſs. An unuſual ſpirit of enterprize and reſolution ſeemed to inſpire all the individuals that conſtituted the army and navy; and the paſſion for military fame diffuſed itſelf through all ranks in the civil department of life, even to the very dregs of the populace; ſuch a remarkable change from indolence to activity from indifference to zeal, from timorous caution to fearleſs execution, was effected by the influence and example of an intelligent and intrepid miniſter, who, chagrined at the inactivity and diſgraces of the preceding campaign,

[e] Robert Hunter Morris repreſented, in a petition to the houſe, that as no ſalt was made in the Britiſh colonies in America, they were obliged to depend upon a precarious ſupply of commodity from foreigners; he, therefore, offered to undertake the making of marine-ſalt at a moderate price in one of thoſe colonies, at his own riſque and charge, provided he could be ſecured in the enjoyment of the profits which the work might produce, for ſuch a term of years as might ſeem to the houſe a proper and adequate compenſation for ſo great an undertaking. The petition was ordered to lie upon the table, afterwards read and referred to a committee, which however made no report.—A circumſtance not eaſily accounted for, unleſs we ſuppoſe the houſe of commons were of opinion that ſuch an enterprize might contribute towards rendering our colonies too independent of their mother-country. Equally unaccountable was the miſcarriage of another bill, brought in for regulating the manner of licenſing ale-houſes, which was read for the firſt time: but when a motion was made for a ſecond reading, the queſtion was put, and it paſſed in the negative.

had, on a very ſolemn occaſion, lately declared his belief that there was a determined reſolution, both in the naval and military commanders, againſt any vigorous exertion of the national power in the ſervice of the country. He affirmed, that though his majeſty appeared ready to embrace every meaſure propoſed by his miniſters for the honour and intereſt of his Britiſh dominions, yet ſcarce a man could be found with whom the execution of any one plan in which there was the leaſt appearance of any danger could with confidence be truſted. He particulariſed the inactivity of one general in North-America, from whoſe abilities and perſonal bravery the nation had conceived great expectations: he complained, that this noble commander had expreſſed the moſt contemptuous diſregard for the civil power, from which he derived his authority, by neglecting to tranſmit, for a conſiderable length of time, any other advice of his proceedings but what appeared on a written ſcrap of paper: he obſerved, that with a force by land and ſea greater than ever the nation had heretofore maintained, with a king and miniſtry ardently deſirous of redeeming her glory, ſuccouring her allies, and promoting her true intereſt, a ſhameful diſlike to the ſervice every where prevailed, and few ſeemed affected with any other zeal than that of aſpiring to the higheſt poſts, and graſping the largeſt ſalaries. The cenſure levelled at the commander in America was founded on miſtake: the inactivity of that noble lord was not more diſappointing to the miniſtry than diſagreeable to his own inclination. He uſed his utmoſt endeavours to anſwer the expectations of the public, but his hands were effectually tied by an abſolute impoſſibility of ſucceſs, and his conduct ſtood juſtified in the eyes of his ſovereign. A particular and accurate detail of his proceedings he tranſmitted through a canal, which he imagined would have directly conveyed it to the foot of the throne; but the packet was ſaid to have been purpoſely intercepted and ſuppreſſed. Perhaps he was not altogether excuſeable for having correſponded ſo ſlightly with the ſecretary of ſtate; but he was ſaid to have gone abroad in full perſuaſion that the miniſtry would be changed, and therefore his aſſiduities were principally directed to the great perſonage, who, in that caſe, would have ſuperintended and directed all the operations of the army. All ſorts of military preparations in founderies, docs, arſenals, raiſing and exerciſing troops, and victualling tranſports, were now carried on with ſuch diligence and diſpatch as ſeemed to promiſe an exertion that would ſoon obliterate the diſagreeable remembrance of paſt diſgrace. The beginning of the year was, however, a litttle clouded by a general concern for the death of his majeſty's third daughter, the princeſs Caroline, a lady of the moſt exemplary virtue and amiable character, who died at the age of 45, ſincerely regretted as a pattern of unaffected piety, and unbounded benevolence.

The Britiſh cruiſers kept the ſea during all the ſeverity of winter, in order to protect the commerce of the kingdom, and annoy that of the enemy. They exerted themſelves with ſuch activity, and their vigilence was attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that a great number of prizes was taken, and the trade of France almoſt totally extinguiſhed. A very gallant exploit was achieved by one captain Bray, commander of the Adventure, a ſmall armed veſſel in the government's ſervice: falling in with the Machault, a large privateer of Dunkirk, near Dungenneſs, he ran her a-board, faſtened her boltſprit to his capſtan, and after a warm engagement compelled her commander to ſubmit. A French frigate of 36 guns was taken by captain Parker, in a new fire-ſhip of inferior force. Divers privateers of the enemy were ſunk, burned, or taken, and a great number of merchant-ſhips fell into the hands of the Engliſh. Nor was the ſucceſs of the Britiſh ſhips of war confined to the Engliſh channel. At this period the board of admiralty received information from admiral Cotes, in Jamaica, of an action which happened off the iſland of Hiſpaniola, in the month of October of the preceding year, between three Engliſh ſhips of war and a French ſquadron. Captain Forreſt, an officer of diſtinguiſhed merit in the ſervice, had, in the ſhip Auguſta, ſailed from Port-Royal in Jamaica, accompanied by the Dreadnought and Edinburgh, under the command of the captains Suckling and Langdon. He was ordered to cruiſe off Cape-François, and this ſervice he literally performed in the face of the French ſquadron under Kerſin, lately arrived at that place from the coaſt of Africa. This commander, piqued at ſeeing himſelf thus inſulted by an inferior armament, reſolved to come forth and give them battle; and that he might either take them, or at leaſt drive them out of the ſeas, ſo as to afford a free paſſage to a great number of merchant-ſhips then lying at the Cape, bound for Europe, he took every precaution which he thought neceſſary, to inſure ſucceſs. He re-enforced his ſquadron with ſome ſtore-ſhips, mounted with guns and armed for the occaſion, and ſupplied the deficiency in his complements, by taking on board ſeamen from the merchant-ſhips, and ſoldiers from the garriſon. Thus prepared, he weighed anchor, and ſtood out to ſea, having under his command four large ſhips of the line, and three ſtout frigates. They were no ſooner perceived advancing, than captain Forreſt held a ſhort council with his two captains. 'Gentlemen (ſaid he) you know our own ſtrength, and ſee that of the enemy; ſhall we give them battle?' They replying in the affirmative, he added, 'Then fight them we will; there is no time to be loſt; return to your ſhips, and get them ready for engaging.' After this laconic conſultation among theſe three gallant officers, they bore down upon the French ſquadron without further heſitation, and between three and four in the afternoon the action began with great impetuoſity. The enemy exerted themſelves with uncommon ſpirit, conſcious that their honour was peculiarly at ſtake, and that they fought in ſight, as it were, of their own coaſt, which was lined with people, expecting to ſee them return in triumph. But, notwithſtanding all their endeavours, their commodore, after having ſuſtained a ſevere engagement, that laſted two hours and a half, found his ſhip in ſuch a ſhattered condition, that he made ſignal for one of his frigates to come and tow him out of the line. His example was followed by the reſt of his ſquadron, which, by this aſſiſtance, with the favour of the land breeze and the approach of night, made ſhift to accompliſh their eſcape from the three Britiſh ſhips, which were too much diſabled in their maſts and rigging to proſecute their victory. One of the French ſquadron was rendered altogether unſerviceable for action: their loſs in men amounted to 300 killed, and as many wounded; whereas that of the Engliſh did not much exceed one-third of this number. Nevertheleſs, they were ſo much damaged, that, being unable to keep the ſea, they returned to Jamaica, and the French commodore ſeized the opportunity of ſailing with a great convoy for Europe. The courage of captain Forreſt was not more conſpicuous in his engagement with the French ſquadron near Cape-François, than his conduct and ſagacity in a ſubſequent adventure near Port-au-Prince, a French harbour, ſituated at the bottom of a bay on the weſtern part of Hiſpaniola, behind the ſmall iſland of Gonave. After M. de Kerſin had taken his departure from Cape-François for Europe, admiral Cotes, beating up to windward from Port-Royal in Jamaica with three ſhips of the line, received intelligence that there was a French fleet at Port-au-Prince, ready to ſail on their return to Europe: captain Forreſt then preſented the admiral with a plan for an attac on this place, and urged it earneſtly. This, however, was declined, and captain Forreſt directed to cruiſe off the iſland Gonave for two days only, the admiral enjoining him to return at the expiration of the time, and rejoin the ſquadron at Cape-Nicholas. Accordingly, captain Forreſt, in the Auguſta, proceeded up the bay, between the iſland Gonave and Hiſpaniola, with a view to execute a plan which he had himſelf projected. Next day in the afternoon, though he perceived too ſloops, he forebore chaſing, that he might not riſque a diſcovery; for the ſame purpoſe he hoiſted Dutch colours, and diſguiſed his ſhip with tarpaulins. At five in the afternoon he diſcovered ſeven ſail of ſhips ſteering to the weſtward, and hauled from them, to avoid ſuſpicion; but at the approach of night gave chaſe with all the ſail he could carry. About ten he perceived two ſail, one of which fired a gun, and the other made the beſt of her way for Leoganne, another harbour in the bay. At this period captain Forreſt reckoned eight ſail to leeward, near another part called Petit Goave; coming up with the ſhip which had fired the gun, ſhe ſubmitted without oppoſition, after he had hailed, and told her captain what he was, produced two of his largeſt cannon, and threatened to ſink her if he ſhould give the leaſt alarm. He forthwith ſhifted the priſoners from this prize, and placed on board of her 35 of his own crew, with orders to ſtand for Petit Goava and intercept any of the fleet that might attempt to reach that harbour. Then he made ſail after the reſt, and in the dawn of the morning, finding himſelf in the middle of their fleet, he began to fire at them all in turns, as he could bring his guns to bear; they returned the fire for ſome time; at length the Marguerite, the Solide, and the Theodore ſtruc their colours. Theſe being ſecured, were afterwards uſed in taking the Maurice, Le Grand, and La Flore; the Brilliant alſo ſubmitted, and the Mars made ſail, in hopes of eſcaping, but the Auguſta coming up with

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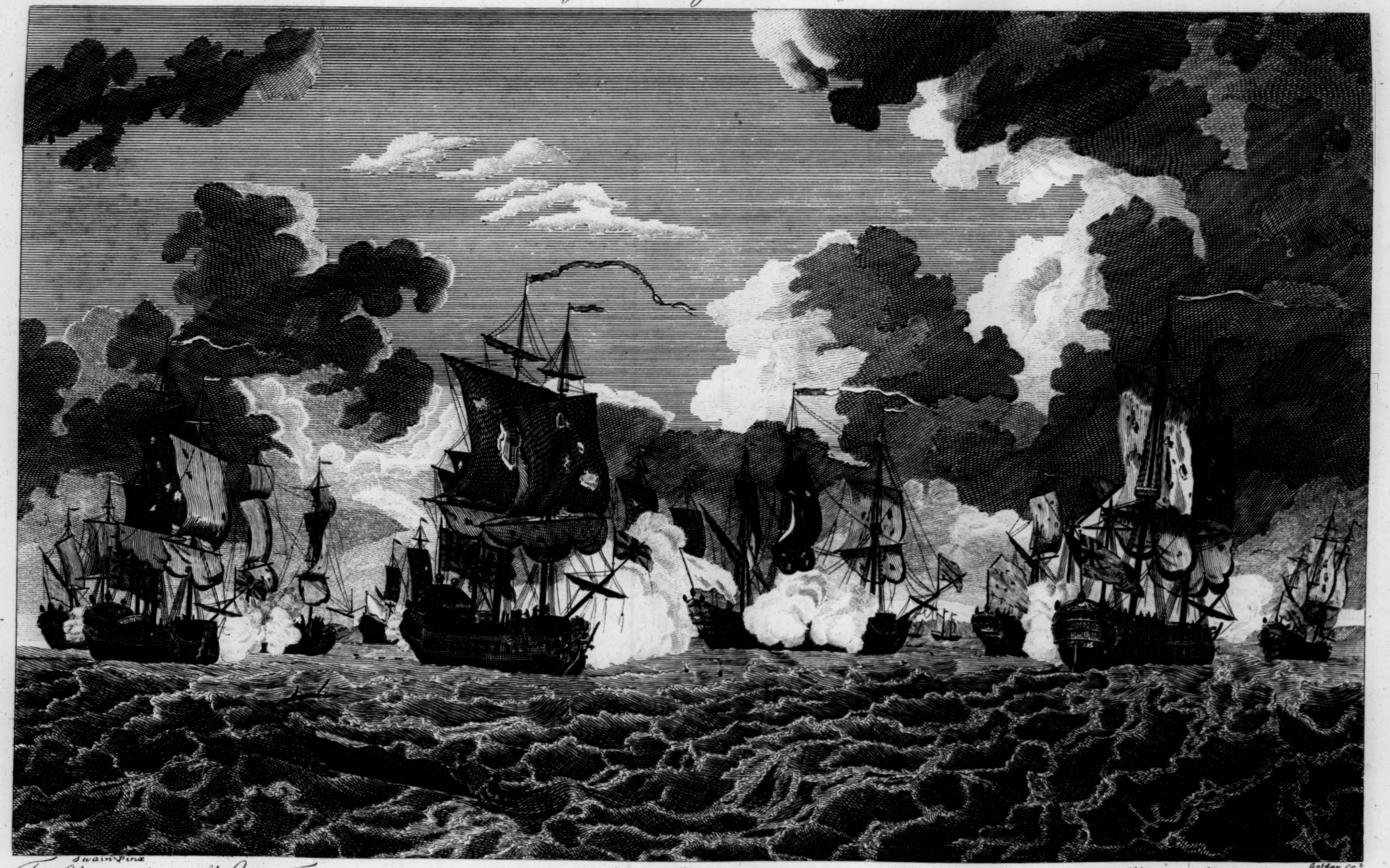

d'wain Pinx.

Goldar Sc.

The Glorious Action. off Cape Francois. 21. Oct.r 1757. between three English & Seven French Ships of War, wherein the latter were entirely defeated.

	Capt.s	Ships	Guns	Men
English	Forrest	Augusta	60	390
	Suckling	Dreadnought	60	375
	Langdon	Edingburgh	64	467

	Ships	Guns.	Men.
French	La Sauvage	30	200
	L'Intrepide	74	900
	Le Greenwich	50	400
	La Licorne	30	200
	Le Sceptre	74	750
	L'Outrade	44	350
	L'Opiniatre	64	640

Pub.d as the Act directs. March 17. 1766.

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Swain sculp.t

Goldar sculp.t

The Monmouth of 64 Guns, taking the Foudroyant, a French Man of War of 84 Guns, on the 28.th of Feb.y 1758. in the Mediterranean.

In this Action the English had 30 killed (including the Gallant Commander) & 80 Wounded.
the French 300 killed & 130 Wounded. N.B. the Monmouth carries 12 & 24 pounders the Foudroyant 24 & 42.

Publ.d as the Act directs April 1.st 1780

ſier about noon, ſhe likewiſe fell into the hands of the victor. Thus, by a well-conducted ſtratagem, a whole fleet of nine ſail were taken by a ſingle ſhip, in the neighbourhood of four or five harbours, in any one of which they would have found immediate ſhelter and ſecurity. The prizes, which happened to be richly laden, were ſafely conveyed to Jamaica, and there ſold at public auction, for the benefit of the captors, who may ſafely challenge hiſtory to produce ſuch another inſtance of ſucceſs.

The miniſtry having determined to make vigorous efforts againſt the enemy in North-America, admiral Boſcawen was veſted with the command of the fleet deſtined for that ſervice, and ſailed from St. Helen's on the 19th day of February, when the Invincible, of 74 guns, one of the beſt ſhips that conſtituted his ſuadron, ran a-ground, and periſhed; but her men, ſtores, and artillery were ſaved. In the courſe of the ſucceeding month, ſir Edward Hawke ſteered into the Bay of Biſcay with another ſquadron, in order to intercept any ſupplies from France deſigned for Cape-Breton or Canada; and about the ſame time, the town of Embden, belonging to his Pruſſian majeſty, which had fallen into the hands of the enemy, was ſuddenly retrieved by the conduct of commodore Holmes, ſtationed on that coaſt, who ſent up two of his ſmall ſhips to anchor in the river between Knok and the city. The garriſon, amounting to three thouſand ſeven hundred men, finding themſelves thus cut off from all communication with the country below, abandoned the place with great precipitation, and ſome of their baggage being ſent off by water, was taken by the boats which the commodore armed for that purpoſe. It was in the ſame month that the admiralty received advice of another advantage by ſea, which had been gained by admiral Oſborne, while he cruiſed between Cape de Gatt and Carthagena on the coaſt of Spain. On the 28th day of March he fell in with a French ſquadron, commanded by the marquis du Queſne, conſiſting of four ſhips, namely, the Foudroyant, of 80 guns, the Orphée, of 64, the Oriflamme, of 50, and Pleiade frigate, of 24, in their paſſage from Toulon to re-enforce M. de la Clue, who had for ſome time been blocked up by admiral Oſborne in the harbour of Carthagena. The enemy no ſooner perceived the Engliſh ſquadron than they diſperſed, and ſteered different courſes: then mr. Oſborne detached divers ſhips in purſuit of each, while he himſelf, with the body of his fleet, ſtood off for the bay of Carthagena, to watch the motions of the French ſquadron which lay there at anchor. About ſeven in the evening, the Orphée, having on board 500 men, ſtruc to captain Storr, in the Revenge, who loſt the calf of one leg in the engagement, during which he was ſuſtained by the ſhips Berwick and Preſton. The Monmouth, of 64 guns, commanded by captain Gardener, engaged the Foudroyant, one of the largeſt ſhips in the French navy, mounted with 80 cannon, and containing 800 men, under the direction of the marquis du Queſne. The action was maintained with great fury on both ſides, and the gallant captain Gardener loſt his life; nevertheleſs, the fight was continued with unabating vigour by his lieutenant, mr. Carkett, and the Foudroyant diſabled in ſuch a manner, that her commander ſtruc, as ſoon as the other Engliſh ſhips, the Swiftſure and the Hampton-Court, appeared. This mortifying ſtep, however, he did not take until he ſaw his ſhip like a wrec upon the water, and the decs covered with carnage. The Oriflamme was driven on ſhore under the caſtle of Aiglos, by the ſhips Montague and Monarque, commanded by captain Rowley and Montague, who could not complete their deſtruction without violating the neutrality of Spain. As for the Pleiade frigate, ſhe made her eſcape by being a prime ſailer. This was a ſevere ſtroke upon the enemy, who not only loſt two of their capital ſhips, but ſaw them added to the navy of Great-Britain, and the diſaſter was followed cloſe by another, which they could not help feeling with equal ſenſibility of mortification and chagrin. In the beginning of April, ſir Edward Hawke, ſteering with his ſquadron into Baſque-road, on the coaſt of Poictou, diſcovered, off the Iſle of Aix, a French fleet at anchor, conſiſting of five ſhips of the line, with ſix frigates, and 40 tranſports, having on board 3000 troops, and a large quantity of ſtores and proviſions, intended as a ſupply for their ſettlements in North-America. They no ſooner ſaw the Engliſh admiral advancing, than they began to ſlip their cables, and fly in the utmoſt confuſion. Some of them eſcaped by ſea, but the greater number ran into ſhoal water, where they could not be purſued; and next morning they appeared a-ground, lying on their broadſides. Sir Edward Hawke, who had rode all night at anchor abreaſt of the Iſle of Aix, furniſhed the ſhips Intrepid and Medway with truſty pilots, and ſent them farther in when the flood began to make, with orders to ſound a-head, that he might know whether there was any poſſibility of attacking the enemy, but the want of a ſufficient depth of water rendered the ſcheme impracticable. In the mean time, the French threw over-board their cannon, ſtores, and ballaſt; and boats and launches from Rochefort were employed in carrying out warps, to drag their ſhips through the ſoft mud, as ſoon as they ſhould be water-borne by the flowing-tide. By theſe means their large ſhips of war, and many of their tranſports, eſcaped into the river Charente; but their loading was loſt, and the end of their equipment totally defeated. Another convoy of merchant-ſhips, under the protection of three frigates, ſir Edward Hawke, a few days before, had chaſed into the harbour of St. Martin's, in the Iſle of Rhé, where they ſtill remained, waiting an opportunity for hazarding a ſecond departure: a third, conſiſting of twelve ſail, bound from Bourdeaux to Quebeck, under convoy of a frigate and armed veſſel, was encountered at ſea by one Britiſh ſhip of the line and two fire-ſhips, which took the frigate and armed veſſel, and two of the convoy afterwards met with the ſame fate; but this advantage was over-balanced by the loſs of captain James Hume, commander of the Pluto fire-ſhip, a brave accompliſhed officer, who, in an unequal combat with the enemy, refuſed to quit the dec even when he was diſabled, and fell glorioufly, covered with wounds, exhorting the people, with his lateſt breath, to continue the engagement while the ſhip could ſwim, and acquit themſelves with honour in the ſervice of their country.

On the 29th day of May the Raiſonable, a French ſhip of the line, mounted with 64 cannon, having on board 630 men, commanded by the prince de Mombazon chevalier de Rohan, was in her paſſage from Port l'Orient to Breſt, attacked by captain Dennis, in the Dorſetſhire, of 74 guns, and taken after an obſtinate engagement, in which 160 men of the prince's compliment were killed or wounded, and he ſuſtained great damage in his hull, ſails, and rigging. Theſe ſucceſſes were moreover chequered by the tidings of a lamentable diſaſter that befell the ſhip Prince George, of 80 guns, commanded by rear-admiral Broderick, in his paſſage to the Mediterranean. On the 13th day of April, between one and two in the afternoon, a dreadful fire broke out in the fore part of the ſhip, and raged with ſuch fury, that notwithſtanding all the efforts of the officers and men for ſeveral hours, the flames increaſed, and the ſhip being conſumed to the water's edge, the remnant ſunk about ſix o'clock in the evening. The horror and conſternation of ſuch a ſcene are not eaſily deſcribed. When all endeavours proved fruitleſs, and no hope of preſerving the ſhip remained, the barge was hoiſted out for the preſervation of the admiral, who entered it accordingly; but all diſtinction of perſons being now aboliſhed, the ſeamen ruſhed into it in ſuch crowds, that in a few moments it overſet. The admiral, foreſeeing that this would be the caſe, ſtripped off his clothes, and committing himſelf to the mercy of the waves, was ſaved by the boat of a merchant-ſhip, after he had ſuſtained himſelf in the ſea a full hour by ſwimming. Captain Payton, who was the ſecond in command, remained upon the quarter-dec as long as it was poſſible to keep that ſtation, and then deſcending by the ſtern ladder, had the good fortune to be taken into a boat belonging to the Alderney ſloop. The hull of the ſhip, maſts, and rigging, were now in a blaze, burſting tremendous in ſeveral parts through horrid clouds of ſmoak; nothing was heard but the crackling of the flames, mingled with the diſmal cries of terror and diſtraction; nothing was ſeen but acts of phrenzy and deſperation. The miſerable wretches, affrighted at the horrors of ſuch a conflagration, ſought a fate leſs dreadful, by plunging into the ſea, and about 300 men were preſerved by the boats belonging to ſome ſhips that accompanied the admiral in his voyage, but 500 periſhed in the ocean.

The king of Great-Britain being determined to renew his attempt upon the coaſt of France, ordered a very formidable armament to be equipped for that purpoſe. Two powerful ſquadrons by ſea were deſtined for the ſervices of this expedition, the firſt, conſiſting of eleven great ſhips, was commanded by lord Anſon and ſir Edward Hawke: the other, compoſed of four ſhips of the line, ſeven frigates, ſix ſloops, two fire-ſhips, two bombs, ten cutters, twenty tenders, ten ſtore-ſhips, and one hundred tranſports, put under the direction of commodore Howe, who had ſignalized himſelf by his gallantry and conduct in the courſe of the laſt fruitleſs expedition. The plan of a deſcent upon France having been adopted by the miniſtry, a body of troops, con-

fiſting of ſixteen regiments, nine troops of light-horſe, and 6000 marines, was aſſembled for the execution of this deſign, and embarked under the command of the duke of Marlborough; a nobleman, who, though he did not inherit all the military genius of his grandfather, yet far excelled him in the amiable and ſocial qualities of the heart: he was brave beyond all queſtion, generous to profuſion, and good-natured to exceſs. On this occaſion, he was aſſiſted by the councils of lord George Sackville, ſecond in command, ſon to the duke of Dorſet; an officer of experience and reputation, who had, in the civil departments of government, exhibited proofs of extraordinary genius and uncommon application. The troops, having been encamped for ſome time upon the Iſle of Wight, were embarked in the latter end of May, and the two fleets ſailed in the beginning of June for the coaſt of Bretagne, leaving the people of England fluſhed with the gayeſt hopes of victory and conqueſt. The two fleets parted at ſea: lord Anſon, with his ſquadron, proceeded to the bay of Biſcay, in order to watch the motions of the enemy's ſhips, and harraſs their navigation; while commodore Howe, with the land-forces, ſteered directly towards St. Maloes, a ſtrong place of conſiderable commerce, ſituated on the coaſt of Bretagne, againſt which the purpoſed invaſion ſeemed to be chiefly intended. The town, however, was found too well fortified, both by art and nature, to admit of an attempt by ſea with any proſpect of ſucceſs; and, therefore, it was reſolved to make a deſcent in the neighbourhood. After the fleet had been, by contrary winds, detained ſeveral days in ſight of the French coaſt, it arrived in the bay of Cancalle, about two leagues to the eaſtward of St. Maloes, and mr. Howe having ſilenced a ſmall battery which the enemy had occaſionally raiſed upon the beach, the troops were landed, without further oppoſition, on the 6th day of June. The duke of Marlborough immediately began his march towards St. Servan, with a view to deſtroy ſuch ſhipping and magazines as might be in any acceſſible parts of the river; and this ſcheme was executed with ſucceſs. A great quantity of naval ſtores, two ſhips of war, ſeveral privateers, and about fourſcore veſſels of different ſorts, were ſet on fire and reduced to aſhes, almoſt under the cannon of the place, which, however, they could not pretend to beſiege in form. His grace having received repeated advices that the enemy were buſily employed in aſſembling forces to march againſt him, returned to Cancalle, where mr. Howe had made ſuch a maſterly diſpoſition of the boats and tranſports, that the re-embarkation of the troops was performed with ſurpriſing eaſe and expedition. The forces, while they remained on ſhore, were reſtrained from all outrages by the moſt ſevere diſcipline; and the French houſes, which their inhabitants had abandoned, were left untouched. Immediately after their landing, the duke of Marlborough, as commander in chief, publiſhed and diſtributed a manifeſto, addreſſed to the people of Bretagne, giving them to underſtand, that his deſcent upon the coaſt was not effected with a deſign to make war on the inhabitants of the open country, except ſuch as ſhould be found in arms, or otherwiſe oppoſing the operations of his Britannick majeſty: that all who were willing to continue in peaceable poſſeſſion of their effects, might remain unmoleſted in their reſpective dwellings, and follow their uſual occupations; that, beſides the cuſtoms and taxes they uſed to pay to their own king, nothing ſhould be required of them but what was abſolutely neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of the army; and that, for all proviſions brought in, they ſhould be paid in ready money. He concluded this notice with declaring, that if, notwithſtanding theſe aſſurances of protection, they ſhould carry off their effects and proviſions, and abandon the places of their habitation, he would treat them as enemies, and deſtroy their houſes with fire and ſword. To the magiſtracy of St. Maloes he likewiſe ſent a letter, importing, that as all the inhabitants of the towns and villages between Dinant, Rennes, and Doll, now in his poſſeſſion, had deſerted their habitations, probably to avoid the payment of the uſual contributions; and he being informed that the magiſtrates had compelled the people of the country to retire into the town of St. Maloes, he now gave them notice, that if they did not immediately ſend them bac to their houſes, and come themſelves to his head-quarters, to ſettle the contributions, he ſhould think himſelf obliged to proceed to military execution. Theſe threats, however, were not put in force, although the magiſtrates of St. Maloes did not think proper ito comply with his injunction. But it was found altogether mpoſſible to prevent irregularities among troops that were naturally licentious. Some houſes were pillaged, and not without acts of barbarity: but the offenders were brought to immediate juſtice; and it muſt be owned, as an inconteſtable proof of the general's humanity, that in deſtroying the magazines of the enemy at St. Servan, which may be termed the ſuburbs of St. Maloes, he ordered one ſmall ſtore-houſe to be ſpared, becauſe it could not be ſet on fire without endangering the whole diſtrict. The Britiſh forces being re-embarked, including about five hundred light-horſe, which had been diſciplined and carried over with a view to ſcour the country, the fleet was detained by contrary winds in the bay of Cancalle for ſeveral days, during which a deſign ſeems to have been formed for attacking Granville, which had been reconnoitred by ſome of the engineers: but, in conſequence of their report, the ſcheme was laid aſide, and the fleet ſtood out to ſea, where it was expoſed to ſome rough weather. In a few days, the wind blowing in a northern direction, they ſteered again towards the French coaſt, and ran in with the land near Havre-de-Grace, where the flat-bottomed boats, provided for landing, were hoiſted out, and a ſecond diſembarkation expected. But the wind blowing violently towards the evening, the boats were re-ſhipped, and the fleet obliged to quit the land, in order to avoid the dangers of a lee-ſhore. Next day, the weather being more moderate, they returned to the ſame ſtation, and orders were given to prepare for a deſcent; but the duke of Marlborough having taken a view of the coaſt in an open cutter, accompanied by commodore Howe, thought proper to wave the attempt. Their next ſtep was to bear away before the wind for Cherbourg, in the neighbourhood of which place the fleet came to anchor. Here ſome of the tranſports received the fire of ſix different batteries; and a conſiderable body of troops appeared in arms to diſpute the landing; nevertheleſs, the general reſolved that the forts Querqueville, l'Hommet, and Gallet ſhould be attacked in the night by the firſt regiment of guards. The ſoldiers were actually diſtributed in the flat-bottomed boats, and every preparation made for this enterprize, when the wind began to blow with ſuch violence, that the troops could not be landed without the moſt imminent danger and difficulty, nor properly ſuſtained in caſe of a repulſe, even if the diſembarkation could have been effected. This attempt, therefore, was laid aſide, but at the ſame time a reſolution taken to ſtand in towards the ſhore with the whole fleet, to cover a general landing. A diſpoſition was made accordingly, but the ſtorm increaſing, the tranſports ran foul of each other, and the ſhips were expoſed to all the perils of a lee-ſhore, for the gale blew directly upon the coaſt; beſides, the proviſions began to fail, and the hay for the horſes was almoſt conſumed. Theſe concurring reaſons induced the commanders to poſtpone the diſembarkation to a more favourable opportunity. The fleet ſtood out to ſea, the tempeſt abated, they ſteered for the Iſle of Wight, and next day anchored at St. Helen's. Such was the iſſue of an enterprize achieved with conſiderable ſucceſs, if we conſider the damage done to the enemy's ſhipping, and the other objects which the miniſtry had in view; namely, to ſecure the navigation of the channel, and make a diverſion in favour of German allies, by alarming the French king, and obliging him to employ a great number of troops to defend his coaſt from inſult and invaſion: but whether ſuch a mighty armament was neceſſary for the accompliſhment of theſe petty aims, and whether the ſame armament might not have been employed in executing ſchemes of infinitely greater advantage to the nation, we ſhall leave to the judicious reader's own reflexion.

The deſigns upon the coaſt of France, though interrupted by tempeſtuous weather, were not as yet laid aſide for the whole ſeaſon: but, in the mean time, the troops were diſembarked on the Iſle of Wight; and one brigade marched to the northward, to join a body of troops with which the government reſolved to augment the army of the allies in Germany, commanded by prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick. The duke of Marlborough and lord George Sackville being appointed to conduct this Britiſh corps upon the continent, the command of the marine expeditions devolved to lieutenant-general Bligh, an old experienced officer, who had ſerved with reputation; and his royal highneſs prince Edward, aftewards created duke of York, entered as a volunteer with commodore Howe, in order to learn the rudiments of the ſea ſervice. The remainder of the troops being reembarked, and every thing prepared for the ſecond expedition, the fleet ſailed from St. Helen's on the firſt of Auguſt; and after a tedious paſſage from calms and contrary winds, anchored on the 7th in the bay of Cherbourg. By

this time the enemy had entrenched themſelves within a line, extending from the fort Ecœur eville, which ſtands about two miles to the weſtward of Cherbourg, along the coaſt for the ſpace of four miles, fortified with ſeveral batteries at proper diſtances. Behind this retrenchment a body of horſe and infantry appeared in red and blue uniforms; but as they did not advance to the open beach, the leſs riſque was run in landing the Britiſh forces. At firſt a bomb-ketch had been ſent to anchor near the town, and throw ſome ſhells into the place, as a feint to amuſe the enemy, and deceive them with regard to the place of diſembarkation, while the general had determined to land about a league to the weſtward of Querqueville, the moſt weſtern fort in the bay. The other bomb-ketches, being poſted along ſhore, did conſiderable execution upon the entrenchments, not only by throwing ſhells in the uſual way, but alſo by uſing ball-mortars, filled with great quantities of balls, which may be thrown to a great diſtance, and, by ſcattering as they fly, do abundance of miſchief. While theſe ketches fired without ceaſing, the grenadiers and guards were rowed regularly aſhore in the flat bottomed boats, and, landing without oppoſition, inſtantly formed on a ſmall open portion of the beach, with a natural breaſt-work in their front, having on the other ſide a hollow way, and a village riſing beyond it with a ſudden aſcent: on the left, the ground was interſected by hedges, and covered with orchards, and from this quarter the enemy advanced in order. The Britiſh troops immediately quitted the breaſt-work, in order to meet them half-way, and a ſtraggling fire began; but the French edging to the left, took poſſeſſion of the hill, from whence they piqueered with the advanced poſts of the Engliſh. In the mean time, the reſt of the infantry were diſembarked, and the enemy at night retired. As the light troops were not yet landed, general Bligh encamped that night at the village of Erville, on a piece of ground that did not extend above 400 paces; ſo that the tents were pitched in a crowded and irregular manner. Next morning, the general having received intelligence that no parties of the enemy were ſeen moving on the hill, or in the plain, and that fort Querqueville was entirely abandoned, made a diſpoſition for marching in two columns to Cherbourg. An advanced party took immediate poſſeſſion of Querqueville; and the lines and batteries along the ſhore were now deſerted by the enemy. The Britiſh forces marching behind St. Aulne, Ecœurdeville, Hommet, and la Galet, found the town of Cherbourg likewiſe abandoned, and the gates being open, entered it without oppoſition. The citizens, encouraged by a manifeſto containing a promiſe of protection, which had been publiſhed and diſtributed, in order to quiet their apprehenſions, received their new gueſts with a good grace, overwhelming them with civilities, for which they met with a very ungrateful return; for as the bulk of the army was not regularly encamped and ſuperintended, the ſoldiers were at liberty to indulge themſelves in riot and licentiouſneſs. All night long they ravaged the adjacent country without reſtraint; and as no guards had been regularly placed in the ſtreets and avenues of Cherbourg, to prevent diſorders, the town itſelf was not exempted from pillage and brutality. Theſe outrages, however, were no ſooner known, than the general took immediate ſteps for putting a ſtop to them for the preſent, and preventing all irregularities for the future. Next morning the place being reconnoitred, he determined to deſtroy, without delay, all the forts and the baſon; and the execution of this deſign was left to the engineers, aſſiſted by the officers of the fleet and artillery. Great ſums of money had been expended upon the harbour and baſon of Cherbourg, which at one time was conſidered by the French court as an object of great importance, from its ſituation reſpecting the river Seine, as well as the oppoſite coaſt of England; but as the works were left unfiniſhed, in all appearence the plan had grown into diſreputation. The enemy had raiſed ſeveral unconnected batteries along the bay, but the town itſelf was quite open and defenſeleſs. While the engineers were employed in demoliſhing the works, the light-horſe ſcoured the country, and detachments were every day ſent out towards Walloign, at the diſtance of four leagues from Cherbourg, where the enemy were encamped, and every hour received re-enforcements. Several ſkirmiſhes were fought by the out-parties of each army, in one of which capt. Lindſay, a gallant young officer, who had been very inſtrumental in training the light horſe, was mortally wounded. The harbour and baſon of Cherbourg being deſtroyed, together with all the forts in the neighbourhood, and about twenty pieces of braſs cannon ſecured on board the Engliſh ſhips, a contribution, amounting to about 3000l. ſterling, was exacted upon the town, and a plan of re-embarkation, concerted, as it appeared from the reports of peaſants and deſerters that the enemy were already increaſed to a formidable number. A ſlight entrenchment being raiſed, ſufficient to defend the laſt diviſion that ſhould be re-embarked, the ſtores and artillery were ſhipped, and the light-horſes conveyed on board their reſpective tranſports, by means of platforms laid in the flat-bottomed veſſels. On the 16th day of Auguſt, at three o'clock in the morning, the forces marched from Cherbourg down to the beach, and re-embarked at Fort-Galet, without the leaſt diſturbance from the enemy.

This ſervice being happily performed, the fleet ſet ſail for the coaſt of England, and anchored in the road of Weymouth, under the high land of Portland. In two days it weighed and ſtood again to the ſouthward; but was obliged, by contrary winds, to return to the ſame riding. The ſecond effort, however, was more effectual. The fleet with ſome difficulty kept the ſea, and ſteering to the French coaſt, came to anchor in the bay of St. Lunaire, two leagues to the weſtward of St. Maloes, againſt which it was determined to make another attempt. The ſloops and ketches being ranged along ſhore to cover the diſembarkation, the troops landed on a fair open beach, and a detachment of grenadiers was ſent to the harbour of St. Briac, above the town of St. Malo, where they deſtroyed about 15 ſmall veſſels: but St. Maloes itſelf being properly ſurveyed, appeared to be above inſult, either from the land forces or the ſhipping. The mouth of the river that forms its baſon extends above two miles in breadth at its narroweſt part, ſo as to be out of the reach of land-batteries, and the entrance is defended by ſuch forts and batteries as the ſhips of war could not pretend to ſilence, conſidering the difficult navigation of the channels beſides 50 pieces of large cannon planted on theſe forts and batteries, the enemy had mounted 40 on the weſt ſide of the town; and the baſon was, moreover, ſtrengthened by ſeven frigates or armed veſſels, whoſe guns might have been brought to bear upon any batteries that could be raiſed on ſhore, as well as upon ſhips entering by the uſual channel. For theſe ſubſtantial reaſons the deſign againſt St. Maloes was dropped; but the general being unwilling to re-embark without having taken ſome ſtep for the further annoyance of the enemy, reſolved to penetrate into the country, conducting his motions, however, ſo as to be near the fleet, which had, by this time, quitted the bay of St. Lunaire, where it could not ride with any ſafety, and anchored in the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the weſtward.

On Friday the 8th of September, general Bligh, with his little army, began his march for Guildo, at the diſtance of nine miles, which he reached in the evening: next day he croſſed a little gut or inlet of the ſea, at low water, and his troops being incommoded by the peaſants, who fired at them from hedges and houſes, he ſent a prieſt with a meſſage, intimating, that if they would not deſiſt, he would reduce their houſes to aſhes. No regard being paid to this intimation, the houſes were actually ſet on fire as ſoon as the troops had formed their camp about two miles on the other ſide of the inlet. Next morning he proceeded to the village of Martignon, where, after ſome ſmart ſkirmiſhing, the French piquets appeared, drawn up in order, to the number of two battalions; but having ſuſtained a few ſhot from the Engliſh field-pieces, and ſeeing the grenadiers advance, they ſuddenly diſperſed. General Bligh continuing his rout through the village, encamped in the open ground, about three miles from the bay of St. Cas, which was this day reconnoitred for re-embarkation: for he now received undoubted intelligence, that the duke d'Aiguillon had advanced from Breſt to Lambale, within ſix miles of the Engliſh camp, at the head of 12 regular battalions, 6 ſquadrons, 2 regiments of militia, 8 mortars, and 10 pieces of cannon. The bay of St. Cas was covered by an entrenchment which the enemy had thrown up, to prevent or oppoſe any diſembarkation; and on the outſide of this work there was a range of ſand-hills extending along ſhore, which could have ſerved as a cover to the enemy, from whence they might have annoyed the troops in re-embarking: for this reaſon a propoſal was made to the general, that the forces ſhould be re-embarked from a fair open beach on the left, between St. Cas and Guildo; but this advice was rejected, and, indeed, the ſubſequent operations of the army ſavoured ſtrong of blind ſecurity and raſh preſumption. Had the troops decamped in the night without noiſe, in all probability they would have arrived at the beach before the French had received the leaſt intelligence of their motion; and, in that caſe, the whole army, conſiſting of about 6000 men, might have been re-embarked without the leaſt interrup-

tion: but, inſtead of this cautious manner of proceeding, the drums were beaten at two o'clock in the morning, as if with intention to give notice to the enemy, who forthwith repeated the ſame ſignal. The troops were in motion before three, and though the length of the march did not exceed three miles, the halts and interruptions were ſo numerous and frequent, that they did not arrive on the beach of St. Cas till nine. Then the embarkation was begun, and might have been happily finiſhed, had the tranſports lain near the ſhore, and received the men as faſt as the boats could have conveyed them on board, without diſtinction; but many ſhips rode at a conſiderable diſtance, and every boat carried the men on board the reſpective tranſports to which they belonged; a punctilio of diſpoſition by which a great deal of time was unneceſſarily conſumed. The ſmall ſhips and bomb-ketches were brought near the ſhore, to cover the re-embarkation; and a conſiderable number of ſea-officers were ſtationed on the beach, to ſuperintend the boats' crews, and regulate the ſervice; but, notwithſtanding all their attention and authority, ſome of the boats were otherwiſe em loyed than in conveying the unhappy ſoldiers. Had all the cutters and ſmall craft belonging to the fleet been properly occupied in this ſervice, the diſgrace and diſaſter of the day would ſcarce have happened. The Britiſh forces had ſkirmiſhed a little on the march, but no conſiderable body of the enemy appeared until the embarkation was begun; then they took poſſeſſion of an eminence by a wind-mill, and forthwith opened a battery of ten cannon and eight mortars, from whence they fired with conſiderable effect upon the ſoldiers on the beach, and on the boats in their paſſage. They afterwards began to march down the hill, partly covered by a hollow way on their left, with deſign to gain a wood, where they might form and extend themſelves along the front of the Engliſh, and advance againſt them under ſhelter of the ſand-hills; but in their deſcent they ſuffered extremely from the cannon and mortars of the ſhipping, which made great havoc, and threw them into confuſion. Their line of march down the hill was ſtaggered, and for ſome time continued in ſuſpence; then they turned off to one ſide, extended themſelves along a hill to their left, and advanced in a hollow way, from whence they ſuddenly ruſhed out to the attac. Though the greater part of the Britiſh troops were already embarked, the rear-guard, conſiſting of all the grenadiers, and half of the firſt regiment of guards, remained on the ſhore, to the number of 1500, under the command of major-general Dury. This officer, ſeeing the French advance, ordered his troops to form in grand diviſions, and march from behind the bank that covered them, in order to charge the enemy before they could be formed on the plain. Had this ſtep been taken when it was firſt ſuggeſted to mr. Dury, before the French were diſengaged from the hollow way, perhaps it might have ſo far ſucceeded as to diſconcert and throw them into confuſion: but by this time they had extended themſelves into a very formidable front, and no hope remained of being able to withſtand ſuch a ſuperior number. Inſtead of attempting to fight againſt ſuch odds in an open field of battle, they might have retreated along the beach to a roc on the left, in which progreſs their right flank would have been ſecured by the entrenchment; and the enemy could not have purſued them along the ſhore, without being expoſed to ſuch a fire from the ſhipping, as in all probability they could not have ſuſtained.

This ſcheme was likewiſe propoſed to mr. Dury; but he ſeemed to be actuated by a ſpirit of infatuation. The Engliſh line being drawn up in uneven ground, began the action with an unregular fire from right to left, which the enemy returned; but their uſual fortitude and reſolution ſeemed to forſake them on this occaſion. They ſaw themſelves in danger of being ſurrounded, and cut in pieces; their officers dropped on every ſide; and all hope of retreat was now intercepted. In this cruel dilemma their ſpirits failed; they were ſeized with a panic; they faultered, they broke, and in leſs than five minutes after the engagement began they fled in the utmoſt confuſion, purſued by the enemy, who no ſooner ſaw them give way than they fell in among them with their bayonets fixed, and made a great carnage. General Dury being dangerouſly wounded, ran into the ſea, where he periſhed; and this was the fate of a great number, officers as well as ſoldiers. Many ſwam towards the boats and veſſels, which were ordered to give them all manner of aſſiſtance; but by far the greater number were either butchered on the beach, or drowned in the water: a ſmall body, however, inſtead of throwing themſelves into the ſea, retired to the roc on the left, where they made a ſtand, until they had exhauſted their ammunition, and then ſurrendered at diſcretion. The havoc was moreover increaſed by the ſhot and ſhells diſcharged from the battery which the enemy had raiſed on the hill. The ſlaughter would not have been ſo great, had not the French ſoldiers been exaſperated by the fire from the frigates, which was ſtill maintained even after the Engliſh troops were routed: but this was no ſooner ſilenced by a ſignal from the commodore, than the enemy exhibited a noble example of moderation and humanity, in granting immediate quarter and protection to the vanquiſhed. About 1000 choſen men of the Engliſh army were killed and taken priſoners on this occaſion: nor was the advantage cheaply purchaſed by the French troops, among whom the ſhot and ſhells from the frigates and ketches had done great execution. The clemency of the victors was the more remarkable, as the Britiſh troops in this expedition had been ſhamefully guilty of marauding, pillaging, burning, and other exceſſes. War is ſo dreadful in itſelf, and ſo ſevere in its conſequences, that the exerciſe of generoſity and compaſſion, by which its horrors are mitigated, ought ever to be applauded, encouraged, and imitated. We ought alſo to uſe our beſt endeavours to deſerve this treatment at the hands of a civilized enemy. Let us be humane in our turn to thoſe whom the fate of war hath ſubjected to our power; let us, in proſecuting our military operations, maintain the moſt rigid diſcipline among the troops, and religiouſly abſtain from all acts of violence and oppreſſion. Thus, a laudable emulation will undoubtedly enſue, and the powers at war vie with each other in humanity and politeneſs. In other reſpects, the commander of an invading armament will always find his account in being well with the common people of the country in which the deſcent is made. By civil treatment and ſeaſonable gratifications, they will be encouraged to bring into the camp regular ſupplies of proviſions and refreſhment; they will mingle with the ſoldiers, and even form friendſhips among them; ſerve as guides, meſſengers, and interpreters; let out their cattle for hire as draft-horſes; work in their own perſons as day-labourers; diſcover proper fords, bridges, roads, paſſes, and defiles; and, if artfully managed, communicate many uſeful hints of intelligence. If great care and circumſpection be not exerted in maintaining diſcipline, and bridling the licentious diſpoſition of the ſoldiers, ſuch invaſions will be productive of nothing but miſcarriage and diſgrace: for this, at beſt, is but a piratical way of carrying on war: and the troops engaged in it are, in ſome meaſure, debauched by the nature of the ſervice. They are crowded together in tranſports, where the minute particulars of military order cannot be obſerved, even though the good of the ſervice greatly depends upon a due obſervance of theſe forms. The ſoldiers grow negligent, and inattentive to cleanneſs and the exterior ornament of dreſs: they become ſlovenly, ſlothful, and altogether unfit for a return of duty: they are tumbled about occaſionly in ſhips and boats, landed and re-embarked in a tumultuous manner, under a divided and diſorderly command: they are accuſtomed to retire at the firſt report of an approaching enemy, and to take ſhelter on another element; nay, their ſmall pillaging parties are often obliged to fly before unarmed peaſants. Their duty on ſuch occaſions is the moſt unmanly part of a ſoldier's office; namely, to ruin, ravage, and deſtroy. They ſoon yield to the temptation of pillage, and are habituated to rapine: they give looſe to intemperance, riot, and intoxication; commit a thouſand exceſſes; and, when the enemy appears, run on board the ſhips with their booty. Thus the dignity of the ſervice is debaſed: they loſe all ſenſe of honour, and of ſhame: they are no longer reſtricted by military laws, nor over-awed by the authority of officers: in a word, they degenerate into a ſpecies of lawleſs buccaneers. From ſuch a total relaxation of morals and diſcipline, what can enſue but riot, confuſion, diſhonour, and defeat? All the advantage that can be expected from theſe ſudden ſtarts of invaſion will ſcarce over-balance the evils we have mentioned, together with the extraordinary expence of equipping armaments of this nature. True it is, theſe deſcents oblige the French king to employ a conſiderable number of his troops for the defence of his maritime places: they ſerve to ruin the trade of his ſubjects, protect the navigation of Great-Britain, and ſecure its coaſt from invaſion; but theſe purpoſes might be as effectually anſwered, at a much ſmaller expence, by the ſhipping alone. Should it be judged expedient, however, to proſecute this deſultory kind of war, the commanders employed in it will do well to conſider, that a deſcent ought never to be hazarded in an enemy's country, without having taken proper precautions to ſecure a retreat; and the ſevereſt diſcipline ought to be preſerved

during all the operations of his campaign; that a general ought never to diſembark but upon a well-concerted plan, nor commence his military tranſactions without ſome immediate point or object in view; that a re-embarkation ought never to be attempted, except from a clear open beach, where the approaches of an enemy may be ſeen, and the troops covered by the fire of their ſhipping. Thoſe who preſumed to reflect upon the particulars of this laſt expedition owned themſelves at a loſs to account for the conduct of the general, in remaining on ſhore after the deſign upon St. Maloes was laid aſide; in penetrating ſo far into the country, without any viſible object; neglecting the repeated intelligence which he received; communicating by beat of drum his midnight motions to an enemy of double his force; loitering near ſeven hours in a march of three miles; and, laſtly, attempting the re-embarkation of the troops at a place where no proper meaſures had been taken for their cover and defence. After the action of St. Cas, ſome civilities, by meſſage, paſſed between the duke d'Aiguillon and the Engliſh commanders, who were favoured with a liſt of the priſoners, including four ſea-captains; and aſſured that the wounded ſhould receive all poſſible comfort and aſſiſtance. Theſe matters being adjuſted, commodore Howe returned with the fleet to Spithead, and the ſoldiers were diſembarked.

The ſucceſs of the attempt upon Cherbourg had elevated the people to a degree of childiſh triumph; and the government thought proper to indulge this petulant ſpirit of exultation, by expoſing 21 pieces of French cannon in Hyde-park, from whence they were drawn in proceſſion to the Tower, amidſt the acclamations of the populace. From this pinnacle of elation and pride they were precipitated to the abyſs of deſpondence or dejection, by the account of the miſcarriage at St. Cas, which buoyed up the ſpirits of the French in the ſame proportion. The people of that nation began to ſtand in need of ſome ſuch cordial after the loſſes they had ſuſtained, and the miniſtry of Verſailles did not fail to make the moſt of this advantage; they publiſhed a pompous narrative of the battle at St. Cas, and magnified into a mighty victory the puny chec which they had given to the rear-guard of an inconſiderable detachment. The people received it with implicit belief, becauſe it was agreeable to their paſſions, and congratulated themſelves upon their ſucceſs in hyperboles, dictated by that vivacity ſo peculiar to the French nation. Indeed, theſe are artifices which the miniſters of every nation find it neceſſary to uſe at certain conjunctures, in governing the turbulent and capricious multitude. After the misfortune at St. Cas, nothing further was attempted by that armament; nor was any enterprize of importance achieved by the Britiſh ſhips in Europe during the courſe of this ſummer. The cruizers, however, ſtill continued active and alert. Captain Hervey, in the ſhip Monmouth, deſtroyed a French ſhip of forty guns in the iſland of Malta; an exploit of which the Malteſe loudly complained, as a violation of their neutrality. About 20 ſail of ſmall French veſſels were driven aſhore on the rocs of Bretagne, by ſome cruizers belonging to the fleet commanded by lord Anſon, after a ſmart engagement with two frigates, under whoſe convoy they ſailed. In the month of November the Belliqueux, a French ſhip of war, mounted with 64 guns, having, by miſtake, run up St. George's channel, and anchored in Lundy-road, captain Saumarez, of the Antelope, then lying in King-road, immediately weighed and went in queſt of her, according to the advice he had received. When he appeared, the French captain heaved up his anchor, and made a ſhow of preparing for an engagement; but ſoon hauled down his colours, and without firing a ſhot ſurrendered, with a complement of 417 men, to a ſhip of inferior force, both in number of hands and weight of metal.—By this time the Engliſh privateers ſwarmed to ſuch a degree in the channel, that ſcarce a French veſſel durſt quit the harbour, and conſequently there was little or no booty to be obtained. In this dearth of legal prizes, ſome of the adventurers were tempted to commit acts of piracy, and actually rifled the ſhips of neutral nations. A Dutch veſſel, having on board the baggage and domeſtics belonging to the marquis de Pignatelli, embaſſador from the court of Spain to the king of Denmark, was boarded three times ſucceſſively by the crews of three different privateers, who forced the hatches, rummaged the hold, broke open and rifled the trunks and boxes of the embaſſador, inſulted and even cruelly bruiſed his officers, ſtripped his domeſtics, and carried off his effects, together with letters of credit, and a bill of exchange. Complaints of theſe outrages being made to the court of London, the lords of the admiralty promiſed, in the Gazette, a reward of 500l. without deduction, to any perſon who ſhould diſcover the offenders concerned in theſe acts of piracy. Some of them were detected accordingly, and brought to condign puniſhment.

The Dutch had for ſome time carried on a very conſiderable traffic, not only in taking the fair advantages of their neutrality, but alſo in ſupplying the French with naval ſtores, and tranſporting the produce of the French ſugar-colonies to Europe, as carriers hired by the proprietors. The Engliſh government, incenſed at this unfair commerce, proſecuted with ſuch flagrant partiality for their enemies, iſſued orders for the cruizers to arreſt all ſhips of neutral powers that ſhould have French property on board; and theſe orders were executed with rigour and ſeverity. A great number of Dutch ſhips were taken, and condemned as legal prizes, both in England and Jamaica: ſometimes the owners met with hard meaſure, and ſome crews were treated with inſolence and barbarity. The ſubjects of the United-Provinces raiſed a loud clamour againſt the Engliſh, for having by theſe captures violated the law of nations, and the particular treaty of commerce ſubſiſting between Great-Britain and the republic. Remonſtrances were made to the Engliſh miniſtry, who expoſtulated in their turn with the deputies of the ſtates-general; and the two nations were enflamed againſt each other with the moſt bitter animoſity. The Britiſh reſident at the Hague, in a conference with the ſtates, repreſented, that the king his maſter could not hope to ſee peace ſpeedily re-eſtabliſhed, if the neutral princes ſhould aſſume a right of carrying on the trade of his enemies: that he expected from their known juſtice, and the alliance by which they were ſo nearly connected with his ſubjects, they would honeſtly abandon this fraudulent commerce, and agree that naval ſtores ſhould be comprehended in the claſs of contraband commodities. He anſwered ſome articles of the complaints they had made with an appearance of candour and moderation; declared his majſty's abhorrence of the violences which had been committed upon the ſubjects of the United Provinces; explained the ſteps which had been taken by the Engliſh government to bring the offenders to juſtice, as well as to prevent ſuch outrages for the future; and aſſured them, that his Britannick majeſty had nothing more at heart than to renew and maintain, in full force, the mutual confidence and friendſhip by which the maritime powers of England and Holland had been ſo long united.

Theſe profeſſions of eſteem and affection were not ſufficient to quiet the minds and appeaſe the reſentment of the Dutch merchants; and the French party, which was both numerous and powerful, employed all their art and influence to exaſperate their paſſions, and widen the breach between the two nations. The court of Verſailles, did not fail to ſeize this opportunity of inſinuation: while, on one hand, their miniſters and emiſſaries in Holland exaggerated the indignities and injuries which the ſtates had ſuſtained from the inſolence and rapacity of the Engliſh; they, on the other hand, flattered and cajoled them with little advantages in trade, and formal profeſſions of reſpect. Such was the memorial delivered by the count d'Affry, intimating that the empreſs-queen being under an abſolute neceſſity of employing all her forces to defend her hereditary dominions in Germany, ſhe had been obliged to withdraw her troops from Oſtend and Nieuport; and applied to the French king, as her ally neareſt at hand, to garriſon theſe two places, which, however, ſhould be reſtored at the peace, or ſooner, ſhould her imperial majeſty think proper. The ſpirit of the Dutch merchants at this juncture, and their ſentiments with reſpect to England, appeared with very high colouring in a memorial to the ſtates-general, ſubſcribed by 269 traders, compoſed and preſented with equal ſecreſy and circumſpection. In this famous remonſtrance they complained, that the violences and unjuſt depredations committed by the Engliſh ſhips of war and privateers on the veſſels and effects of them and their fellow-ſubjects were not only continued, but daily multiplied; and cruelty and exceſs carried to ſuch a pitch of wanton barbarity, that the petitioners were forced to implore the aſſiſtance of their high-mightineſſes to protect, in the moſt efficacious manner, the commerce and navigation, which were the two ſinews of the republic. For this neceſſary purpoſe they offered to contribute each his contingent, and to arm at their own charge; and other propoſitions were made for an immediate augmentation of the marine. While this party induſtriouſly exerted all their power and credit to effect a rupture with England, the princeſs Gouvernante

employed all her intereſt and addreſs to divert them from this object, and alarm them with reſpect to the power and deſigns of France; againſt which ſhe earneſtly exhorted them to augment their military forces by land, that they might be prepared to defend themſelves againſt all invaſion. At the ſame time, ſhe ſpared no pains to adjuſt the differences between her huſband's country and her father's kingdom; and, without doubt, her healing councils were of great efficacy in preventing matters from coming to a very dangerous extremity.

The whole ſtrength of Great-Britain during this campaign was not exhauſted in petty deſcents upon the coaſt of France. The continent of America was the great theatre on which her chief vigour was diſplayed; nor did ſhe fail to exert herſelf in ſucceſsful efforts againſt the French ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa. The whole gum trade, from Cape-Blanco to the river Gambia, an extent of 500 miles, had been engroſſed by the French, who built Fort-Louis within the mouth of the Senegal, extending their factories near 300 leagues up that river, and on the ſame coaſt had fortified the iſland of Goree, in which they maintained a conſiderable garriſon. The gum-ſenega, of which a great quantity is uſed by the manufacturers of England, being wholly in the hands of the enemy, the Engliſh dealers were obliged to buy it at ſecond hand from the Dutch, who purchaſed it of the French, and exacted an exorbitant price for that commodity. This conſideration forwarded the plan for annexing the country to the poſſeſſion of Great-Britain. The project was firſt conceived by mr. Thomas Cumming, a ſenſible quaker, who, as a private merchant, had made a voyage to Portenderrick, an adjoining part of the coaſt, and contracted a perſonal acquaintance with Amir, the Mooriſh king of Legibelli[d]. He found this African prince well diſpoſed towards the ſubjects of Great-Britain, whom he publicly preferred to all other Europeans, and ſo exaſperated againſt the French, that he declared he ſhould never be eaſy till they were exterminated from the river Senegal. At that very time he had commenced hoſtilities againſt them, and earneſtly deſired that the king of England would ſend out an armament to reduce Fort-Louis and Goree, with ſome ſhips of force to protect the traders. In that caſe, he promiſed to join his Britannick majeſty's forces, and grant an excluſive trade to his ſubjects. Mr Cumming, not only perceived the advantages that would reſult from ſuch an excluſive privilege with regard to the gum, but foreſaw many other important conſequences of an extenſive trade in a country, which, over and above the gum-ſenega, contains many valuable articles, ſuch as gold-duſt, elephants-teeth, hides, cotton, bees-wax, ſlaves, oſtrich-feathers, indigo, ambergris, and civet. Elevated with the proſpect of an acquiſition ſo valuable to his country, this honeſt quaker was equally minute and indefatigable in his enquiries touching the commerce of the coaſt, as well as the ſtrength and ſituation of the French ſettlements on the river Senegal; and, at his return to England, actually formed the plan of an expedition for the conqueſt of Fort-Louis. This was preſented to the board of trade, by whom it was approved, after a ſevere examination; but it required the patriotic zeal and invincible perſeverance of Cumming to ſurmount a variety of obſtacles before it was adopted by the miniſtry; and even then it was not executed in its full extent. He was abridged of one large ſhip, and in lieu of 600 land-forces, to be drafted from different regiments, which he in vain demanded, firſt from the duke of Cumberland, and afterwards from lord Ligonier, the lords of the admiralty allotted 200 marines only for this ſervice. After repeated ſollicitations he, in the year 1757, obtained an order, that the two annual ſhips bound to the coaſt of Guinea ſhould be joined by a ſloop and two buſſes, and make an attempt upon the French ſettlement in the river Senegal. Theſe ſhips, however, were detained by contrary winds until the ſeaſon was too far advanced to admit a probability of ſucceſs, and therefore the deſign was poſtponed. In the beginning of the preſent year, mr. Cumming being re-enforced with the intereſt of a conſiderable merchant in the city, to whom he had communicated the plan, renewed his application to the miniſtry, and they reſolved to hazard the enterprize. A ſmall ſquadron was equipped for this expedition, under the command of captain Marſh, having on board a body of marines, commanded by major Maſon, with a detachment of artillery, ten pieces of cannon, eight mortars, and a conſiderable quantity of warlike ſtores and ammunition. Captain Walker was appointed engineer; and mr. Cumming was concerned as a principal director and promoter of the expedition[e]. This little armament ſailed in the beginning of March; and in their paſſage touched at the iſland of Teneriff, where, while the ſhips ſupplied themſelves with wine and water, mr. Cumming proceeded in the Swan ſloop to Portenderrick, being charged with a letter of credence to his old friend the king of that country, who had favoured him in his laſt viſit with an excluſive trade on that coaſt, by a formal charter, written in the Arrabick language. This prince was now up the country, engaged in a war with his neighbours, called the Diable-Moors[f]; and the queen-dowager, who remained at Portenderrick, gave mr. Cumming to underſtand, that ſhe could not at preſent ſpare any troops to join the Engliſh in their expedition againſt Senegal: but ſhe aſſured him, that ſhould the French be exterminated, ſhe and her ſubjects would go thither and ſettle. In the mean time, one of the chiefs, called prince Amir, diſpatched a meſſenger to the king, with advice of their arrival and deſign. He declared that he would, with all poſſible diligence, aſſemble 300 warriors to join the Engliſh troops, and that, in his opinion, the king would re-enforce them with a detachment from his army. By this time captain Marſh, with the reſt of the armament, had arrived at Portenderrick, and fearing that the enemy might receive intimation of his deſign, reſolved to proceed on the expedition, without waiting for the promiſed auxiliaries. On the 22d day of April he weighed anchor, and next day at four o'clock, diſcovered the French flag flying upon Fort-Louis, ſituated in the midſt of a pretty conſiderable town, which exhibited a very agreeable appearance. The commodore having made prize of a Dutch ſhip richly laden with gum, which lay at anchor without the bar, came to an anchor in Senegal-road, at the mouth of the river: and here he perceived ſeveral armed ſloops which the enemy had detached to defend the paſſage of the bar, which is extremely dangerous. All the boats were employed in conveying the ſtores into the ſmall craft, while three of the ſloops continued exchanging fire over a narrow tongue of land with the veſſels of the enemy, conſiſting of one brig and ſix armed ſloops, mounted with great guns and ſwivels. At length, the channel being diſcovered, and the wind, which generally blows down the river, chopping about, captain Millar, of the London buſs, ſeiſed that opportunity; and paſſing the bar with a flowing ſheet, dropped anchor on the inſide, where he lay till night, expoſed to the whole fire of the enemy. Next day he was joined by the other ſmall veſſels, and a regular engagement enſued. This was warmly maintained on both ſides, until the buſſes and one dogger running a-ground, immediately bulged, and were filled with water. Then the troops they contained took to their boats and with ſome difficulty reached the ſhore, where they formed in a body, and were ſoon joined by their companions from the other veſſels; ſo that now the whole amounted to 390 marines, beſides the detachment of artillery. As they laid their account with being attacked by the natives, who lined the ſhore at ſome diſtance, ſeemingly determined to oppoſe the deſcent, they forthwith threw up an entrenchment, and began to diſembark the ſtores, great part of which lay under water. While they were employed in raiſing this occaſional defence, the negroes came in great numbers and ſubmitted; and on the ſucceeding day they were re-enforced by 350 ſeamen, who paſſed the bar in ſloops, with their enſigns and colours flying.

They had made no further progreſs in their operations, when two French deputies arrived at the intrenchment, with propoſals for a capitulation from the governor of Fort-Louis. After ſome heſitation, captain Marſh and major Maſon agreed, that all the white people belonging to the French company at Senegal ſhould be ſafely conducted to France in an Engliſh veſſel, without being deprived of their private effects, provided all the merchandiſe and uncoined treaſure ſhould be delivered up to the victors; and that all the forts ſtore-houſes, veſſels, arms, proviſions, and every article belonging to the company in that river ſhould

[d] The names the natives give to that part of South Barbary, known to merchants and navigators by that of the Gum Coaſt, and called in maps the Sandy Deſert of Sara, and ſometimes Zara.

[e] On this occaſion mr. Cumming may ſeem to have acted directly contrary to the tenets of his religious profeſſion; but he ever declared to the miniſtry that he was fully perſuaded his ſchemes might be accompliſhed without the effuſion of human blood; and that if he thought otherwiſe, he would by no means have concerned himſelf about them. He alſo deſired, let the conſequence be what it might, his brethren ſhould not be chargeable with what was his own ſingle act.—If it was the firſt military ſcheme of any quaker, let it be remembered it was alſo the firſt ſucceſsful expedition of this war, and one of the firſt that ever was carried on according to the pacific ſyſtem of the quakers, without the loſs of a drop of blood on either ſide.

[f] This is the name by which the ſubjects of Legibelli diſtinguiſh thoſe of Brackna, who inhabit the country farther up the river Senegal, and are in conſtant alliance with the French.

be put into the hands of the Engliſh immediaetly after the capitulation could be ſigned. They promiſed that the free natives living at Fort-Louis ſhould remain in quiet poſſeſſion of their effects, and in the free exerciſe of their religion; and that all negroes, mulattoes, and others, who could prove themſelves free, ſhould have it in their option either to remain in the place, or remove to any part of the country [i]. The captains Campbell and Walker were immediately ſent up the river with a flag of truce, to ſee the articles ſigned and executed; but they were ſo retarded by the rapidity of the ſtream, that they did not approach the fort till three in the morning. As ſoon as the day broke they hoiſted their flag, and rowed up towards a battery on a point of the iſland, where they lay upon their oars very near a full hour, beating the chamade; but no notice taken of their approach. This reſerve appearing myſterious, they retired down the river to their intrenchment, where they underſtood that the negroes on the iſland were in arms, and had locked up the French in Fort-Louis, reſolving to defend the place to the laſt extremity, unleſs they ſhould be included in the capitulation. This intelligence was communicated in a ſecond letter from the governor who likewiſe informed the Engliſh commander, that unleſs the French director-general ſhould be permitted to remain with the natives, as a a ſureity for that article of the capitulation in which they were concerned, they would allow themſelves to be cut in pieces rather than ſubmit. This requeſt being granted, the Engliſh forces began their march to Fort-Louis, accompanied by a number of long boats, in which the artillery and ſtores had been embarked. The French ſeeing them advance immediately ſtruc their flag; and major Maſon took poſſeſſion of the caſtle, where he found ninety-two pieces of cannon, with treaſure and merchandize to a conſiderable value. The corporation and burghers of the town of Senegal ſubmitted, and ſwore allegiance to his Britannick majeſty: the neighbouring princes, attended by numerous retinues, viſited the commander, and concluded treaties with the Engliſh nation, and the king of Portenderrick, or Legibelli ſent an embaſſador from his camp to major Maſon, with preſents, compliments of congratulation, and aſſurances of friendſhip. The number of free independent negroes and mulattoes ſettled at Senegal, amounted to three thouſand, and many of theſe enjoyed ſlaves and poſſeſſions of their own. The two French factories of Podore and Galam, the latter ſituated nine hundred miles farther up the river, were included in the capitulation; ſo that Great-Britain, almoſt without ſtriking a blow, found herſelf poſſeſſed of a conqueſt, from which, with proper management, ſhe may derive inconceivable riches. This important acquiſition was in a great meaſure, if not entirely owing to the ſagacity, zeal, and indefatigable efforts of mr. Cumming, who not only formed the plan and ſollicited the armament, but alſo attended the execution of it in perſon, at the hazard of his life, and to the interruption of his private concerns.

Fort-Louis being ſecured with an Engliſh garriſon, and ſome armed veſſels left to guard the paſſage of the bar, at the mouth of the river, the great ſhips proceeded to make an attempt upon the iſland of Goree, which lies at the diſtance of thirty leagues from Senegal. There the French company had conſiderable magazines and warehouſes, and lodged the negro ſlaves until they could be ſhipped for the Weſt-Indies. If the additional force which mr. Cumming propoſed for the conqueſt of this iſland had been added to the armament, in all probability the iſland would have been reduced, and in that caſe, the nation would have ſaved the conſiderable expence of a ſubſequent expedition againſt it, under the conduct of commodore Keppel. At preſent, the ſhips by which Goree was attacked were found unequal to the attempt, and the expedition miſcaried accordingly, though the miſcarriage was attended with little or no damage to the aſſailants.

Scenes of ſtill greater importance were acted in North-America, where, excluſive of the fleet and marines, the government had aſſembled about 50,000 men, including 22,000 regular troops. The earl of Loudoun having returned to England, the chief command in America devolved on major-general Abercrombie; but as the objects of operation were various, the forces were divided into three detached bodies, under as many different commanders. About 12,000 were deſtined to undertake the ſiege of Louiſbourg, on the iſland of Cape-Breton. The general himſelf reſerved near 16,000 for the reduction of Crown-point, a fort ſituated on lake Champlain: 8000, under the conduct of brigadier-general Forbes, were allotted for the conqueſt of Fort du Queſne, which ſtood a great way to the ſouthward, near the river Ohio; and a conſiderable garriſon was left at Annapolis, in Nova-Scotia. The reduction of Louiſbourg and the iſland of Cape-Breton being an object of immediate conſideration, was undertaken with all poſſible diſpatch. Major-general Amherſt being joined by admiral Boſcawen, with the fleet and forces from England, the whole armament, conſiſting of 157 ſail, took their departure from the harbour of Halifax, in Nova-Scotia, on the 28th of May, and on the 2d of June part of the tranſports anchored in the bay of Gabarus, about ſeven miles to the weſtward of Louiſbourg. The garriſon of this place, commanded by the chevalier Drucour, conſiſted of 2500 regular troops, 300 militia, formed of the burghers, and towards the end of the ſiege they were re-enforced by 350 Canadians, including 60 Indians. The harbour was ſecured by ſix ſhips of the line [k], and five frigates, three of which the enemy ſunk acroſs the harbour's mouth, in order to render it inacceſſible to the Engliſh ſhipping. The fortifications were in bad repair, many parts of them crumbling down the covered way, and ſeveral baſtions expoſed in ſuch a manner as to be enfiladed by the beſiegers, and no part of the town ſecure from the effects of cannonading and bombardment. The governor had taken all the precautions in his power to prevent a landing, by eſtabliſhing a chain of poſts, that extended two leagues and a half along the moſt inacceſſible parts of the beach: entrenchments were thrown up, and batteries erected; but there were ſome intermediate places which could not be properly ſecured, and in one of theſe the Engliſh troops were diſembarked. The diſpoſition being made for landing, a detachment, in ſeveral ſloops, under convoy, paſſed by the mouth of the harbour towards Lorembec, in order to draw the enemy's attention that way, while the landing ſhould really be effected on the other ſide of the town. On the 8th day of June, the troops being aſſembled in the boats before day-break, in three diviſions, ſeveral ſloops and frigates, that were ſtationed along ſhore in the bay of Gabarus, began to ſcour the beach with their ſhot; and after the fire had continued about a quarter of an hour, the boats, containing the diviſion on the left, were rowed towards the ſhore, under the command of brigadier-general Wolfe, an accompliſhed officer, who, in the ſequel, diſplayed very extraordinary proofs of military genius. At the ſame time the two other diviſions, on the right and in the centre, commanded by the brigadiers Whitmore and Laurence, made a ſhow of landing, in order to divide and diſtract the enemy. Notwithſtanding an impetuous ſurf, by which many boats were overſet, and a very ſevere fire of cannon and muſketry from the enemy's batteries, which did conſiderable execution, brigadier Wolfe purſued his point with admirable courage and deliberation. The ſoldiers leaped into the water with the moſt eager alacrity, and, gaining the ſhore, attacked the enemy in ſuch a manner, that in a few minutes they abandoned their works and artillery, and fled in the utmoſt confuſion. The other diviſions landed alſo, but not without an obſtinate oppoſition; and the ſtores, with the artillery, being brought on ſhore, the town of Louiſbourg was formally inveſted. The difficulty of landing ſtores and implements in boiſterous weather, and the nature of the ground, which, being marſhy, was unfit for the conveyance of heavy cannon, retarded the operations of the ſiege. Mr Amherſt made his approaches with great circumſpection, ſecuring his camp with redoubts and epaulements from any attacs of Canadians, of which he imagined there was a conſiderable body behind him on the iſland, as well as from the fire of the French ſhipping in the harbour, which would otherwiſe have annoyed him extremely in his advances.

The governor of Louiſbourg having deſtroyed the grand battery, which was detached from the body of the place, and recalled his out-poſts, prepared for making a vigorous defence. A very ſevere fire, well directed, was maintained againſt the beſiegers and their works, from the town, the iſland battery, and the ſhips in the harbour; and divers ſallies were made, though without much effect. In the mean time brigadier Wolfe, with a ſtrong detachment, had marched round the north-eaſt part of the harbour, and taken poſſeſſion of the lighthouſe-point, where he erected ſeveral batteries againſt the ſhips and the iſland fortification,

[i] The victors, however, committed a very great miſtake in allowing them to carry off their books and accounts, the peruſal of which would have been of infinite ſervice to the Engliſh merchants, by informing them of the commodities, their value, the proper ſeaſons, and methods of proſecuting the trade.

[k] The Prudent, of ſeventy-four guns; the Entreprenant, of ſeventy-four guns; the Capricieux, Celebre, and Bienfaiſant, of ſixty-four guns each; the Apollo of fifty guns; the Chevre, Biche, Fidelle, Diana, and Echo frigates.

which laſt was ſoon ſilenced. On the 19th day of June the Echo, a French frigate, was taken by the Engliſh cruizers, after having eſcaped from the harbour: from the officers on board of this ſhip the admiral learned that Bizarre, another frigate, had ſailed from thence on the day of the diſembarkation, and the Comete had ſucceſsfully followed her example. Beſides the regular approaches to the town, conducted by the engineers under the immediate command and inſpection of general Amherſt, divers batteries were raiſed by the detached corps under brigadier Wolfe, who exerted himſelf with amazing activity, and grievouſly incommoded the enemy, both of the town and the ſhipping. On the 21ſt day of July the three great ſhips, the Entreprenant, Capricieux, and Celebre, were ſet on fire by a bomb-ſhell, and burnt to aſhes, ſo that none remained but the Prudent and Bienfaiſant, which the admiral undertook to deſtroy. For this purpoſe, in the night between the 25th and 26th days of the month, the boats of the ſquadron were in two diviſions detached into the harbour, under the command of two young captains, Laforey and Balfour. They accordingly penetrated, in the dark, through a terrible fire of cannon and muſquetry, and boarded the enemy ſword in hand. The Prudent, being a-ground, was ſet on fire, and deſtroyed, but the Bienfaiſant was towed out of the harbour, in triumph. In the proſecution of the ſiege, the admiral and general co-operated with remarkable harmony; the former cheafully aſſiſting the latter with cannon and other implements; with detachments of marines to maintain poſts on ſhore, with parties of ſeamen to act as pioneers, and concur in working the guns and mortars. The fire of the town was managed with equal ſkill and activity, and kept up with great perſeverance; until, at length, their ſhipping being all taken or deſtroyed, the caſerns[g] ruined in the two principal baſtions, 40 out of 52 pieces of cannon diſmounted, broke, or rendered unſerviceable, and divers practicable breaches effected, the governor, in a letter to mr. Amherſt, propoſed a capitulation on the ſame articles that were granted to the Engliſh at Port-Mahon. In anſwer to this propoſal he was given to underſtand, that he and his garriſon muſt ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war, otherwiſe he might next morning expect a general aſſault by the ſhipping under admiral Boſcawen. The chevalier Drucour, piqued at the ſeverity of theſe terms, replied, that he would, rather than comply with them, ſtand an aſſault; but the commiſſary-general, and intendant of the colony, preſented a petition from the traders and inhabitants of the place, in conſequence of which he ſubmitted. On the 27th day of July three companies of grenadiers, commanded by major Farquhar, took poſſeſſion of the weſtern gate; and brigadier Whitmore was detached into the town, to ſee the garriſon lay down their arms, and deliver up their colours on the eſplanade, and to poſt the neceſſary guards on the ſtores, magazines, and ramparts. Thus, at the expence of about 400 men killed and wounded, the Engliſh obtained poſſeſſion of the important iſland of Cape-Breton, and the ſtrong town of Louiſbourg, in which the victors found 221 pieces of cannon, with 18 mortars, and a conſiderable quantity of ſtores and ammunition. The merchants and inhabitants were ſent to France in Engliſh bottoms, but the garriſon, together with the ſea officers, marines, and mariners, amounting in all to 5637 priſoners, were tranſported to England. The loſs of Louiſbourg was the more ſeverely felt by the French king, as it had been attended with the deſtruction of ſo many conſiderable ſhips and frigates. The particulars of this tranſaction were immediately brought to England, in a veſſel diſpatched for that purpoſe, with captain Amherſt, brother to the commander, who was alſo entruſted with eleven pair of colours taken at Louiſbourg: theſe were, by his majeſty's order, carried in pompous parade, eſcorded by detachments of horſe and foot guards, with kettle drums and trumpets, from the palace of Kenſington to St. Paul's cathedral, where they were depoſited as trophies, under a diſcharge of cannon, and other noiſy expreſſions of triumph and exultation. Indeed, the public rejoicings for the conqueſt of Louiſbourg where diffuſed through every part of the Britiſh dominions, and addreſſes of congratulation were preſented to the king by a great number of flouriſhing towns and corporations.

After the reduction of Cape-Breton, ſome ſhips where detached, with a body of troops under the command of lieutenant colonel lord Rollo, to take poſſeſſion of the iſland of St. John, which alſo lies in the gulf of St. Laurence, and, by its fertility in corn and cattle, had ſince the beginning of the war ſupplied Quebeck with conſiderable quantities of proviſion. It was likewiſe the aſylum to which the French neutrals of Annapolis fled for ſhelter from the Engliſh government; and the retreat from whence they and the Indians uſed to make their ſudden irruptions into Nova-Scotia, where they perpetrated the moſt inhuman barbarities on the defenſeleſs ſubjects of Great-Britain. The number of inhabitants amounted to 4100, who ſubmitted, and brought in their arms: then lord Rollo took poſſeſſion of the governor's quarters, where he found ſeveral ſcalps of Engliſmen, whom the ſavages had aſſaſſinated, in conſequence of the encouragement they received from their French patrons and allies, who gratified them with a certain premium for every ſcalp they produced. The iſland was ſtocked with above 10,000 head of blac cattle, and ſome of the farmers raiſed each 1200 buſhels of corn annually for the market of Quebeck.

The joy and ſatisfaction ariſing from the conqueſt of Louiſbourg and St. John was not a little checked by the diſaſter which befel the main body of the Britiſh forces in America, under the immediate conduct of general Abercrombie, who, as we have already obſerved, had propoſed the reduction of the French forts on the lakes George and Champlain, as the chief objects of his enterprize, with a view to ſecure the frontier of the Britiſh colonies, and open a paſſage for the future conqueſt of Canada. In the beginning of July his forces, amounting to near 7000 regular troops, and 10,000 provincials, embarked on the lake George, in the neighbourhood of lake Champlain, on board of 900 batteaus, and 135 whale-boats, with proviſion, artillery, and ammunition; ſeveral pieces of cannon being mounted on rafts to cover the purpoſed landing, which was next day effected without oppoſition. The general's deſign was to inveſt Ticonderoga, a fort ſituated on a tongue of land, extending between lake George and a narrow gut that communicates with lake Champlain. This fortification was, on three ſides, ſurrounded with water, and in front nature had ſecured it with a moraſs. The Engliſh troops being diſembarked, were immediately formed into three columns, and began their march to the enemy's advanced poſt, conſiſting of one battalion, encamped behind a breaſt-work of logs, which they now abandoned with precipitation, after having ſet them on fire, and burned their tents and implements. The Britiſh forces continued their march in the ſame order; but the rout lying through a thic wood that did not admit of any regular progreſſion or paſſage, and the guides proving extremely ignorant, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broken by falling in one upon another. Lord Howe being advanced at the head of the right centre column, encountered a French detachment who had likwiſe loſt their way in the retreat from the advanced poſt, and a warm ſkirmiſh enſuing, the enemy were routed with conſiderable loſs, a good number were killed, and 148 were taken priſoners, including five officers. This petty advantage was dearly bought with the loſs of lord Howe, who fell in the beginning of the action, unſpeakably regretted as a young nobleman of the moſt promiſing talents, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a peculiar manner by his courage, activity, and rigid obſervation of military diſcipline, and had acquired the eſteem and affection of the ſoldiery by his generoſity, ſweetneſs of manners, and engaging addreſs. The general perceiving the troops were greatly fatigued and diſordered from want of reſt and refreſhment, thought it adviſeable to march bac to the landing-place, which they reached about eight in the morning. Then he detached lieutenant-colonel Bradſtreet, with one regular regiment, ſix companies of the royal Americans, with the batteau-men, and a body of rangers, to take poſſeſſion of a ſaw-mill in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, which the enemy had abandoned. This poſt being ſecured, the general advanced again towards Ticonderoga, where he underſtood from the priſoners the enemy had aſſembled eight battalions, with a body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in all to 6000. Theſe, they ſaid, being encamped before the fort, were employed in making a formidable entrenchment, were they intended to wait for a re-enforcement of 3000 men, who had been detached under the command of M. de Levi, to make a diverſion on the ſide of the Mohawk river[h]; but upon intelligence of mr. Abercrombie's ap-

[g] It may not he amiſs to obſerve, that a cavalier, which admiral Knowles had built at an enormous expence to the nation, while Louiſbourg remained in the hands of the Engliſh in the laſt war, was in the courſe of this ſiege, entirely demoliſhed by two or three ſhots from one of the Britiſh batteries; ſo admirably had this piece of fortification been contrived and executed, under the eye of that profound engineer.

[h] This officer intended to have made an irruption through the paſs of Oneida on the Mohawks river, but was recalled before he could execute his deſign. General Abercombie afterwards ſent thither brigadier Stanwix, with a conſiderable body of Provincials: and this important paſs was ſecured by a fort built at that juncture.

proach, were now recalled for the defenſe of Ticonderoga. This information determined the Engliſh general to ſtrike, if poſſible, ſome deciſive ſtroke before the junction could be effected. He, therefore, early next morning ſent his engineer acroſs the river on the oppoſite ſide of the fort, to reconnoitre the enemy's entrenchments, and he reported, that the works being ſtill unfiniſhed, might be attempted with a good proſpect of ſucceſs. A diſpoſition was made accordingly for the attac, and after proper guards had been left at the ſaw-mill and the landing-place, the whole army was put in motion. They advanced with great alacrity towards the entrenchment, which, however, they found altogether impracticable. The breaſt-work was raiſed eight feet high, and the ground before it covered with an abattis, or felled trees, with their boughs pointing outwards, and projecting in ſuch a manner as to render the entrenchment almoſt inacceſſible. Notwithſtanding theſe diſcouraging difficulties, the Britiſh troops marched up to the aſſault with an undaunted reſolution, and ſuſtained a terrible fire without flinching. They endeavoured to cut their way through theſe embarraſſments with their ſwords, and ſome of them even mounted the parapet; but the enemy were ſo well covered, that they could deliberately direct their fire without the leaſt danger to themſelves: the carnage was therefore conſiderable, and the troops began to fall into confuſion, after ſeveral repeated attacs, which laſted above four hours, under the moſt diſadvantageous circumſtances. The general, by this time, ſaw plainly that no hope of ſucceſs remained; and, in order to prevent a total defeat, took meaſures for the retreat of the army, which retired unmoleſted to their former camp, with the loſs of about 1800 killed or wounded, including a great number of officers. Every corps of regular troops behaved, on this unfortunate occaſion, with remarkable intrepidity, but the greateſt loſs was ſuſtained by lord John Murray's Highland regiment, of which above one-half of the private men, and 25 officers, were either ſlain upon the ſpot, or deſperately wounded. Mr Abercrombie, unwilling to ſtay in the neighbourhood of the enemy with forces which had received ſuch a diſpiriting chec, retired to his batteaus, and re-embarking the troops, returned to the camp at Lake-George, from whence he had taken his departure. Cenſure, which always attends miſcarriage, did not ſpare the character of this commander; his attac was condemned as raſh, and his retreat as puſillanimous. In ſuch caſes, allowance muſt be made for the peviſhneſs of diſappointment, and the clamour of connexion. How far mr. Abercrombie acquitted himſelf in the duty of a general we ſhall not pretend to determine; but if he could depend upon the courage and diſcipline of his forces, he ſurely had nothing to fear, after the action, from the attempts of the enemy, to whom he would have been ſuperior in number, even though they had been joined by the expected re-enforcement: he might, therefore, have remained on the ſpot, in order to execute ſome other enterprize when he ſhould be re-enforced in his turn; for general Amherſt no ſooner heard of his diſaſter than he returned with the troops from Cape-Breton, to New-England, after having left a ſtrong garriſon in Louiſbourg. At the head of ſix regiments he began his march to Albany, about the middle of September, in order to join the forces on the lake, that they might undertake ſome other ſervice before the ſeaſon ſhould be exhauſted.

In the mean time, general Abercrombie had detached lieutenant-colonel Bradſtreet, with a body of 3000 men, chiefly Provincials, to execute a plan which this officer had formed againſt Cadariqui, or Fort-Frontenac, ſituated on the north ſide of the river St. Laurence, juſt where it takes its origin from the Lake-Ontario. To the ſide of this lake he penetrated with his detachment, and embarking in ſome ſloops and batteaux, provided for the purpoſe, landing within a mile of Fort-Frontenac, the garriſon of which conſiſting of 110 men, with a few Indians, immediately ſurrendered at diſcretion. Conſidering the importance of this poſt, which, in a great meaſure, commanded the mouth of the river St. Laurence, and ſerved as a magazine to the more ſouthern caſtles, the French general was inexcuſable for leaving it in ſuch a defenceleſs condition. The fortification itſelf was inconſiderable and ill contrived; nevertheleſs, it contained 60 pieces of cannon, 16 ſmall mortars, with an immenſe quantity of merchandize and proviſions, depoſited for the uſe of the French forces detached againſt brigadier Forbes, their weſtern garriſons, and Indian allies, as well as for the ſubſiſtence of the corps commanded by M. de Levi, on his enterprize againſt the Mohawk river. Mr Bradſtreet not only reduced the fort without bloodſhed, but alſo made himſelf maſter of all the enemy's ſhipping on the lake, amounting to nine armed veſſels, ſome of which carried 18 guns. Two of theſe mr. Bradſtreet conveyed to Oſwego, whither he returned with his troops, after he had deſtroyed Fort-Frontenac, with all the artillery, ſtores, proviſions, and merchandize which it contained. In conſequence of this exploit, the French troops to the ſouthward were expoſed to the hazard of ſtarving; but it is not eaſy to conceive the general's reaſon for giving orders to abandon and deſtroy a fort, which, if properly ſtrengthened and ſuſtained, might have rendered the Engliſh maſters of the Lake-Ontario, and grievouſly harraſſed the enemy, both in their commerce, and expeditions to the weſtward. Indeed, great part of the Indian trade centered at Frontenac, to which place the Indians annually repaired from all parts of America, ſome of them at the diſtance of a 1000 miles, and here exchanged their furs for European commodities. So much did the French traders excel the Engliſh in the art of conciliating the affection of thoſe ſavage tribes, that great part of them, in their yearly progreſs to this remote market, actually paſſed by the Britiſh ſettlements of Albany, in New-York, where they might have been ſupplied with what article they wanted much more cheap than they could purchaſe them at Frontenac or Montreal: nay, the French traders uſed to furniſh themſelves with theſe very commodities from the merchants of New-York, and found this traffic much more profitable than that of procuring the ſame articles from France, loaded with the expence of a tedious and dangerous navigation, from the ſea to the ſource of the river St. Laurence.

In all probability, the deſtruction of Frontenac facilitated the expedition againſt Fort du Queſne, entruſted to the conduct of brigadier Forbes, who, with his little army, began his march in the beginning of July from Philadelphia for the river Ohio, a prodigious tract of country very little known, deſtitute of military roads, incumbered with mountains, moraſſes, and woods, that were almoſt impenetrable. It was not without incredible exertion of induſtry that he procured proviſions and carriages for this expedition, formed new roads, extended ſcouting parties, ſecured camps, and ſurmounted many other difficulties in the courſe of his tedious march, during which he was alſo harraſſed by ſmall detachments of the enemy's Indians. Having penetrated with the main body as far as Ray's-Town, at the diſtance of 90 miles from Fort du Queſne, and advanced colonel Bouquet, with 2000 men, about 50 miles farther, to a place called Lyal-Henning, this officer detached major Grant, at the head of 800 men, to reconnoitre the fort and its outworks. The enemy perceiving him approach, ſent a body of troops againſt him, ſufficient to ſurround his whole detachment: a very ſevere action began, which the Engliſh maintained with their uſual courage for three hours, againſt cruel odds, but at length, being overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to give way, and retired in diſorder to Lyal-Henning, with the loſs of about 300 men killed or taken, including major Grant, who was carried priſoner to Fort du Queſne, and 19 officers. Notwithſtanding this mortifying chec, brigadier Forbes advanced with the army, reſolved to proſecute his operations with vigour; but the enemy, dreading the proſpect of a ſiege, diſmantled and abandoned the fort, and retired down the river Ohio, to their ſettlements on the Miſſiſſippi. They quitted the fort on the 24th day of November, and next day it was poſſeſſed by the Britiſh forces. As for the Indians of this country, they ſeemed heartily to renounce their connexions with France, and be perfectly reconciled to the government of his Britannick majeſty. Brigadier Forbes having repaired the fort, changed its name from Du Queſne to Pittſburgh, ſecured it with a garriſon of provincials, and concluded treaties of friendſhip and alliance with the Indian tribes. Then he marched bac to Philadelphia, and in his retreat built a bloc-houſe, near Lyal-Henning, for the defence of Pennſylvania; but he himſelf did not long ſurvive theſe tranſactions, his conſtitution having been exhauſted by the incredible fatigues of the ſervice. Thus have we given a particular detail of all the remarkable operations by which this campaign was diſtinguiſhed on the continent of America: the reader will be convinced that, notwithſtanding the defeat at Ticonderoga, and the diſaſter of the advanced party in the neighbourhood of Fort du Queſne, the arms of Great-Britain acquired many important advantages; and, indeed, paved the way for the reduction of Quebeck, and conqueſt of all Canada. In the mean time, the admirals Boſcawen and Hardy, having left a conſiderable ſquadron at Halifax, in Nova-Scotia, returned with four ſhips of the line to England, where they arrived in the beginning of November, after having given chaſe to ſix large

French ſhips, which they deſcried to the weſtward of Scilly, but could not overtake or bring to an engagement.

The conqueſt of the French ſettlements in the river Senegal being deemed imperfect and incomplete, whilſt France ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the iſland of Goree, the miniſtry of Great-Britain reſolved to crown the campaign in Africa with the reduction of that fortreſs. For this purpoſe commodore Keppel, brother to the earl of Albemarle, was veſted with the command of a ſquadron, conſiſting of four ſhips of the line, ſeveral frigates, two bomb-ketches, and ſome tranſports, having on board 700 men of the regular troops, commanded by colonel Worge, and embarked in the harbour of Cork in Ireland, from whence this whole armament took their departure on the 11th day of November. After a tempeſtuous paſſage, in which they touched at the iſle of Teneriffe, they arrived at Goree in the latter end of December, and the commodore made a diſpoſition for attacking this iſland, which was remarkably ſtrong by nature but very indifferently fortified. Goree is a ſmall barren iſland, extending about three quarters of a mile in length, of a triangular form; and on the ſouth-weſt ſide riſing into a rocky hill, on which the paltry fort of St. Michael is ſituated. There is another, ſtill more inconſiderable, called St. Francis, towards the other extremity of the iſland; and ſeveral batteries were raiſed around its ſweep, mounted with about 100 pieces of cannon, and four mortars. The French governor, M. de St. Jean, had great plenty of ammunition, and his garriſon amounted to about 300 men, excluſive of as many negroe inhabitants. The flat-bottomed boats, for diſembarking the troops, being hoiſted out, and diſpoſed along ſide of the different tranſports, the commodore ſtationed his ſhips on the weſt ſide of the iſland, and the engagement began with a ſhell from one of the ketches. This was a ſignal for the great ſhips, which poured in their broadſides without intermiſſion, and the fire was returned with equal vivacity from all the batteries of the iſland. In the courſe of the action the cannonading from the ſhips became ſo ſevere and terrible, that the French garriſon deſerted their quarters, in ſpite of all the efforts of the governor, who acquitted himſelf like a man of honour; but he was obliged to ſtrike his colours, and ſurrender at diſcretion, after a ſhort but warm diſpute, in which the loſs of the Britiſh commodore did not exceed 100 men killed and wounded. The ſucceſs of the day was the more extraordinary, as the French garriſon had not loſt a man, except one negro killed by the burſting of a bomb-ſhell, and the number of their wounded was very inconſiderable. While the attac laſted, the oppoſite ſhore of the continent was lined with a concourſe of negroes, aſſembled to view the combat, who expreſſed their ſentiments and ſurprize in loud clamour and uncouth geſticulations, and ſeemed to be impreſſed with awe and aſtoniſhment at the power and execution of the Britiſh ſquadron. The French colours being ſtruc, as a ſignal of ſubmiſſion, the commodore ſent a detachment of marines on ſhore, who diſarmed the garriſon, and hoiſted the Britiſh flag upon the caſtle of St. Michael. In the mean time, the governor and the reſt of the priſoners were ſecured among the ſhipping. Thus the important iſland of Goree fell into the hands of the Engliſh, together with two trading veſſels that chanced to be at anchor in the road, and ſtores, money, and merchandize to the value of 20,000l. Part of the troops being left in garriſon at Goree, under the command of major Newton, together with three ſloops for his ſervice, the ſquadron being watered and refreſhed from the continent, that part of which is governed by one of the Jalof kings, and the priſoners, with their baggage, being diſmiſſed in three cartel ſhips to France, the commodore ſet ſail for Senegal, and re-enforced Fort-Louis with the reſt of the troops, under colonel Worge, who was at this juncture favoured with a viſit by the king of Legibelli: but very little pains were taken to diſmiſs this potentate in good humour, or maintain the diſpoſition he profeſſed to favour the commerce of Great-Britain. True it is, he was deſirous of engaging the Engliſh in his quarrels with ſome neighbouring nations; and ſuch engagements were cautiouſly and politically avoided, becauſe it was the intereſt of Great-Britain to be upon good terms with every African prince who could promote and extend the commerce of her ſubjects.

Commodore Keppel having reduced Goree, and re-enforced the garriſon of Senegal, returned to England, where all his ſhips arrived, after a very tempeſtuous voyage, in which the ſquadron had been diſperſed. This expedition, however ſucceſsful in the main, was attended with one misfortune, the loſs of the Lichfield ſhip of war, commanded by captain Barton, which, together with one tranſport and a bomb-tender, was wrecked on the coaſt of Barbary, about nine leagues to the northward of Saffy, in the dominions of Morocco: 130 men, including ſeveral officers, periſhed on this occaſion; but the captain and the reſt of the company, to the number of 220, made ſhift to reach the ſhore, where they ran the riſque of ſtarving, and were cruelly uſed by the natives, although a treaty of peace at that time ſubſiſted between Great-Britain and Morocco; nay, they were even enſlaved by the emperor, who detained them in captivity until they were ranſomed by the Britiſh government: ſo little dependence can be placed on the faith of ſuch barbarian princes, with whom it is even a diſgrace for any civilized nation to be in alliance, whatever commercial advantages may ariſe from the connexion.

The incidents of the war that happened in the Weſt-Indies, during theſe occurrences, may be reduced to a ſmall compaſs. Nothing extraordinary was achieved in the neighbourhood of Jamaica, where admiral Coates commanded a ſmall ſquadron, from which he detached cruizers occaſionally for the protection of the Britiſh commerce; and at Antigua the trade was effectually ſecured by the vigilance of captain Tyrrel, whoſe courage and activity were equal to his conduct and circumſpection. In the month of march, this gentleman, with his own ſhip the Buckingham, and the Cambridge, another of the line, demoliſhed a fort on the iſland of Martinique, and deſtroyed four privateers riding under its protection; but his valour appeared much more conſpicuous in a ſubſequent engagement, which happened in the month of November. Being detached on a cruize in his own ſhip, the Buckingham, by commodore Moore, who commanded at the Leeward iſlands, he fell in with the Weazel ſloop, commanded by captain Boles, between the iſlands of Montſerrat and Guadaloupe, and immediately diſcovered a fleet of 19 ſail, under convoy of a French ſhip of war carrying 74 cannon, and two large frigates. Captain Tyrrel immediately gave chaſe with all the ſail he could carry, and the Weazle running cloſe to the enemy, received a whole broadſide from the large ſhip, which, however, ſhe ſuſtained without much damage: nevertheleſs, mr. Tyrrel ordered her commander to keep aloof, as he could not be ſuppoſed able to bear the ſhoc of large metal, and he himſelf prepared for the engagement. The enemy's large ſhip, the Floriſſant, though of much greater force than the Buckingham, inſtead of lying-to for his comming up, made a running fight with her ſtern-chaſe, while the two frigates annoyed him in his courſe, ſometimes raking him fore and aft, and ſometimes lying on his quarter. At length he came along-ſide of the Floriſſant, within piſtol-ſhot, and poured in a whole broadſide, which did conſiderable execution. The ſalutation was returned with equal vivacity, and a furious engagement enſued. Captain Tyrrel was wounded in the face, and loſt three fingers of his right hand; ſo that, being entirely diſabled, he was obliged to delegate the command of the ſhip to his firſt lieutenant, mr. Marſhal, who continued the battle with great gallantry until he loſt his life: then the charge devolved to the ſecond lieutenant, who acquitted himſelf with equal honour, and ſuſtained a deſperate fight againſt three ſhips of the enemy. The officer and crew of the Buckingham exerted themſelves with equal vigour and deliberation, and captain Troy, who commanded a detachment of marines on the poop, plied his ſmall arms ſo effectually, as to drive the French from their quarters. At length confuſion, terrour, and uproar prevailing on board the Floriſſant, her firing ceaſed, and her colours were hauled down about twilight; but her commander, perceiving that the Buckingham was too much damaged in her rigging to purſue with any hope of ſucceſs, ordered all his ſails to be ſet, and fled in the dark with his two conſorts. Nothing but this circumſtance could have prevented a Britiſh ſhip of 65 guns, indifferently manned in reſpect to number, from taking a French ſhip of the line, mounted with 74 pieces of cannon, provided with 700 men, and aſſiſted by two large frigates, one of 38 guns, and the other wanting two of this number. The loſs of the Buckingham, in this action, did not exceed 20 men killed and wounded; whereas the number of the ſlain on board the Floriſſant did not fall ſhort of 180, and that of her wounded is ſaid to have exceeded 300. She was ſo diſabled in her hull, that ſhe could hardly be kept a float until ſhe reached Martinique, where ſhe was repaired; and the largeſt frigate, together with the loſs of 40 men, received ſuch damage, as to be for ſome time quite unſerviceable.

In the Eaſt-Indies the tranſactions of the war were chequered with a variety of ſucceſs; but, on the whole, the deſigns of the enemy were entirely defeated. The French

commander, M. de Buſſy, had, in the year 1756, quarrelled with Salabatzing, viceroy of Decan, becauſe this laſt would not put him in poſſeſſion of the fortreſs of Golconda. In the courſe of the next year, while the Engliſh forces were employed in Bengal, M. de Buſſy made himſelf maſter of the Britiſh factories of Ingeram, Bandermalanka, and Vizagapatam, and the reduction of this laſt left the enemy in poſſeſſion of the whole coaſt of Coromandel, from Ganjam to Maſſulapatam. While a body of the Engliſh company's forces, under captain Caillaud, endeavoured to reduce the important fortreſs and town of Madura, the French, under M. D'Anteuil, inveſted Trichinopoly, Caillaud no ſooner received intelligence of the danger to which this place was expoſed, than he haſtened to its relief, and obliged the enemy to abandon the ſiege. Then he returned to Madura, and, after an unſucceſsful aſſault made himſelf maſter of it by capitulation. During theſe tranſactions, colonel Forde made an attempt upon the fort of Nelloure, a ſtrong place, at the diſtance of 24 miles from Madras, but miſcarried; and this was alſo the fate of an expedition againſt Wandewaſh, undertaken by colonel Aldercron. The firſt was repulſed in ſtorming the place, the other was anticipated by the French army, which marched from Ponticherry to the relief of the garriſon. The French king had ſent a conſiderable re-enforcement to the Eaſt-Indies, under the command of general Lally, an officer of Iriſh extraction, together with ſuch a number of ſhips as rendered the ſquadron of M. d'Apché ſuperior to that of admiral Pococke, who had ſucceeded admiral Watſon, lately deceaſed, in the command of the Engliſh ſquadron ſtationed on the coaſt of Coromandel, which, in the beginning of this year, was re-enforced from England with ſeveral ſhips, under the direction of commodore Stevens. Immediately after this junction, which was effected in the road of Madras on the 24th day of March, admiral Pococke, who had already ſignalized himſelf by his courage, vigilance, and conduct, ſailed to windward, with a view to intercept the French ſquadron, of which he had received intelligence. In two days he deſcried in the road of Fort St. David the enemy's fleet, conſiſting of nine ſhips, which immediately ſtood out to ſea, and formed the line of battle a-head. The admiral took the ſame precaution, and bearing down upon M. d'Apché, the eagagement began about three in the afternoon. The French commodore, having ſuſtained a warm action for about two hours, bore away with his whole fleet, and being joined by two ſhips, formed a line of battle again to leeward. admiral Pococke's own ſhip, and ſome others, being greatly damaged in their maſts and rigging, two of his captains having miſbehaved in the action, and night coming on, he did not think it adviceable to purſue them with all the ſail he could carry; but, nevertheleſs, he followed them at a proper diſtance, ſtanding to the ſouth-weſt, in order to maintain the weather-gage, in caſe he ſhould be able to renew the action in the morning. In this expectation, however, he was diſappointed; the enemy ſhowed no lights, nor made any ſignals that could be obſerved; and in the morning not the leaſt veſtige of them appeared. Mr Pococke, on the ſuppoſition that they had weathered him in the night, endeavoured to work up after them to windward, but finding he loſt ground conſiderably, he dropped anchor about three leagues to the northward of Sadras, and received intelligence from the chief of that ſettlement, that one of the largeſt French ſhips, having been diſabled in the engagement, was run aſhore to the ſouthward of Alemparve, where their whole ſquadron lay at anchor. Such was the iſſue of the firſt action between the Engliſh and French ſquadrons in the Eaſt-Indies, which, over and above the loſs of a capital ſhip, is ſaid to have coſt the enemy about 500 men, whereas the Britiſh admiral did not loſe one-fifth part of that number. Being diſſatisfied with the behaviour of three captains, he, on his return to Madras, appointed a court-martial to enquire into their conduct; two were diſmiſſed from the ſervice, and the third was ſentenced to loſe one year's rank as a poſt-captain.

In the mean time mr. Lally had diſembarked his troops at Ponticherry, and taking the field, immediately inveſted the fort of St. David, while the ſquadron blocked it up by ſea. Two Engliſh ſhips being at anchor in the road when the enemy arrived, their captains ſeeing no poſſibility of eſcaping, ran them on ſhore, ſet them on fire, and retired with their men into the fortreſs, which however, was in a few days ſurrendered. A much more reſolute defence was expected from the courage and conduct of major Polier, who commanded the garriſon. When he arrived at Madras he was ſubjected to a court of enquiry, which acquitted him of cowardice, but were of opinion that the place might have held out much longer, and that the terms on which it ſurrendered were ſhameful, as the enemy were not even maſters of the outward covered way, as they had made no breach, and had a wet ditch to fill up and paſs, before the town could have been properly aſſaulted. Polier, in order to wipe off this diſgrace, deſired to ſerve as a volunteer, with colonel Draper, and was mortally wounded in a ſally at the ſiege of Madras. Admiral Pococke having, to the beſt of his power, repaired his ſhattered ſhips, ſet ſail again on the 10th of May, in order to attempt the relief of fort St. David's; but, notwithſtanding his utmoſt endeavours, he could not reach it in time to be of any ſervice. On the 30th day of the month he came in ſight of Pondicherry, from whence the French ſquadron ſtood away early next morning, nor was it in his power to come up with them, though he made all poſſible efforts for that purpoſe. Then receiving intelligence that fort St. David's was ſurrendered to the enemy, he returned again to Madras, in order to refreſh his ſquadron. On the 25th day of July, he ſailed a third time in queſt of M. d'Apché, and, in two days perceived his ſquadron, conſiſting of eight ſhips of the line and a frigate, at anchor in the road of Pondicherry. They no ſooner deſcried him advancing than they ſtood out to ſea as before, and he continued to chaſe, in hopes of bringing them to an engagement; but all his endeavours proved fruitleſs till the 3d day of Auguſt, when having obtained the weather-gage, he bore down upon them in order of battle. The engagement began with great impetuoſity on both ſides, but in little more than ten minutes M. d'Apché ſet his fore-ſail, and bore away, his whole ſquadron, following his example, and maintaining a running fight in a very irregular line. The Britiſh admiral then hoiſted the ſignal for a general chaſe, which the enemy perceiving, thought proper to cut away their boats, and croud with all the ſail they could carry. They eſcaped by favour of the night into the road of Pondicherry, and mr. Pococke anchored with his ſquadron off Carical, a French ſettlement, having thus obtained an undiſputed victory, with the loſs of 30 men killed, and 116 wounded, including commodore Stevens and captain Martin, though their wounds were not dangerous. The number of killed and wounded on board the French ſquadron amounted, according to report, to 540; and their fleet was ſo much damaged, that in the beginning of September their commodore ſailed for the iſland of Bourbon, in the ſame latitude with Madagaſcar, in order to refit; thus leaving the command and ſovereignty of the Indian ſeas to the Engliſh admiral, whoſe fleet, from the beginning of this campaign, had been much inferior to the French ſquadron in number of ſhips and men, as well as in weight of metal.

Mr Lally having reduced Cuddalore and fort St. David's[1], reſolved to extort a ſum of money from the king of Tanjour, on pretence that, in the laſt war, he had granted an obligation to the French governor for a certain ſum, which had never been paid. Lally accordingly marched with a body of 3000 men into the dominions of Tanjour, and demanded 72 lac of rupees. This extravagant demand being rejected, he plundered Nagare, a trading town on the ſea-coaſt, and afterwards inveſted the capital: but after he had proſecuted the ſiege until a breach was made, his proviſions and ammunition beginning to fail, ſeveral vigorous ſallies being made by the forces of the king of Tanjour, and the place well defended by European gunners, ſent from the Engliſh garriſon at Trichinopoly, he found himſelf obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and retreat with precipitation, leaving his cannon behind. He arrived at Carical about the middle of Auguſt, and from thence retired to Pondicherry towards the end of September. He afterwards cantoned his troops in the province of Arcot, entered the city without oppoſition, and began to make preparations for the ſiege of Madras, which ſhall be recorded among the incidents of the ſucceeding year. In the mean time, the land-forces belonging to the Eaſt-India company were ſo much out-numbered by the re-enforcements which arrived with mr. Lally, that they could not pretend to keep the field, but were obliged to remain on the defenſive, and provide as well as they could for the ſecurity of fort St. George, and the other ſettlements in that part of India.

Having particulariſed the events of the war which diſtinguiſhed this year in America, Africa, and Aſia, thoſe remote ſcenes in which the intereſt of Great-Britain was immediately antimately concerned, it now remains to record the

[1] Cuddalore was in ſuch a defenceleſs condition, that it could make no reſiſtance; and there being no place in fort St. David's bomb-proof, nor any proviſions or freſh water, the garriſon ſurrendered in 12 days, on capitulation, after having ſuſtained a ſevere bombardment.

incidents of the military operations in Germany, ſupported by Britiſh ſubſidies, and enforced by Britiſh troops, to favour the abominable deſigns of an ally, from whoſe ſolitary friendſhip the Britiſh nation can never reap any ſolid benefit; and to defend a foreign elector, in whoſe behalf ſhe had already laviſhed an immenſity of treaſure. Notwithſtanding the bloodſhed and ravages which had ſignalized the former campaign, the mutual loſſes of the belligerent powers, the incredible expence of money, the difficulty of recruiting armies thinned by ſword and diſtemper, the ſcarcity of forage and proviſion, the diſtreſſes of Saxony in particular, and the calamities of war, which deſolated the greateſt part of the empire, no propoſition of peace was hinted by either of the parties concerned, but the powers at variance ſeemed to be exaſperated againſt each other with the moſt implacable reſentment. Jarring intereſts were harmoniſed, old prejudices rooted up, inveterate jealouſies aſſuaged, and even inconſiſtencies reconciled, in connecting the confederacy which was now formed and eſtabliſhed againſt the king of Pruſſia; and, on the other hand, the king of Great-Britain ſeemed determined to employ the whole power and influence of his crown in ſupporting this monarch. Yet the members of the grand confederacy were differently actuated by diſagreeing motives, which, in the ſequel, operated for the preſervation of his Pruſſian majeſty, by preventing the full exertion of their united ſtrength. The empreſs-queen, over and above her deſire of retrieving Sileſia, which was her primary aim, gave way to the ſuggeſtions of perſonal hatred and revenge, to the gratification of which ſhe may be ſaid to have ſacrificed, in ſome meaſure, the intereſts of her family, as well as the repoſe of the empire, by admitting the natural enemies of her houſe into the Auſtrian Netherlands, and inviting them to invade the dominions of her co-eſtates with a formidable army. France, true to her old political maxims, wiſhed to ſee the houſe of Auſtria weakened by the diviſions in the empire, which ſhe accordingly fomented: for this reaſon it could not be her intereſt to effect the ruin of the houſe of Bradenburgh; and, therefore, ſhe had, no doubt, ſet bounds to the proſecution of her ſchemes in concert with the court of Vienna; but her deſigns againſt Hanover amounted to abſolute conqueſt: in purſuance of theſe, ſhe ſent an army of 120,000 men acroſs the Rhine, inſtead of 24,000, which ſhe had engaged to furniſh by the original treaty with the empreſs-queen of Hungary, who is ſaid to have ſhared in the ſpoils of the electorate. The czarina, by co-operating with the houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria, gratified her perſonal diſguſt towards the Pruſſian monarch, augmented her finances by conſiderable ſubſidies from both, and perhaps amuſed herſelf with the hope of obtaining an eſtabliſhment in the German empire; but whether ſhe wavered in her own ſentiments, or her miniſtry fluctuaetd between the promiſes of France and the preſents of Great-Britain, certain it is, her forces had not acted with vigour in Pomerania; and her general Apraxin, inſtead of proſecuting his advantage, had retreated immediately after the Pruſſians miſcarried in their attac. He was indeed diſgraced, and tried for having thus retired without orders: but in all probability this trial was no other than a farce, acted to amuſe the other confederates, while the empreſs of Ruſſia gained time to deliberate upon the offers that were made, and determine with regard to the advantages or diſadvantages that might accrue to her from perſevering in the engagements which ſhe had contracted. As for the Swedes, although they had been inſtigated to hoſtilities againſt Pruſſia by the intrigues of France, and flattered with hopes of retrieving Pomerania, they proſecuted the war in ſuch a diſpirited and ineffectual manner, as plainly proved that either the antient valour of that people was extinct, or that the nation was not heartily engaged in the quarrel.

When the Ruſſian general Apraxin retreated from Pomerania, mareſchal Lehwald, who commanded the Pruſſians in that country, was left at liberty to turn his arms againſt the Swedes, and accordingly drove them before him almoſt without oppoſition. By the beginning of January they had evacuated all Pruſſian Pomerania, and Lehwald invaded their dominions in his turn. He, in a little time, made himſelf maſter of all Swediſh Pomerania, except Stralſund and the iſle of Rugen, and poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral magazines which the enemy had erected. The Auſtrian army, after their defeat at Breſlau, had retired into Bohemia, where they were cantoned, the head-quarters being fixed at Koningſgratz. The king of Pruſſia having cleared all his part of Sileſia, except the town of Schweidnitz, which he circumſcribed with a blockade, ſent detachments from his army cantoned in the neighbourhood of Breſlau, to penetrate into the Auſtrian or ſouthern part of Sileſia, where they ſurprized Troppau and Jaggernſdorf, while he himſelf remained at Breſlau, entertaining his officers with concerts of muſic. Not that he ſuffered theſe amuſements to divert his attention from ſubjects of greater importance. He laid Swediſh Pomerania under contribution, and made a freſh demand of 500,000 crowns, from the electorate of Saxony. Having received intimation that the duke of Mecklenbourg was employed in providing magazines for the French army, he detached a body of troops into that country, who not only ſecured the magazines, but levied conſiderable contributions; and the duke retired to Lubeck, attended by the French miniſter. The ſtates of Saxony having proved a little dilatory in obeying his Pruſſian majeſty's injunction, received a ſecond intimation, importing, that they ſhould levy and deliver, within a certain time, 18,000 recruits for his army, pay into the hands of his commiſſary one year's revenue of the electorate in advance; and Leipzick was taxed with an extraordinary ſubſidy of 800,000 crowns, on pain of military execution. The ſtates were immediately convoked at Leipzick, in order to deliberate on theſe demands; and the city being unable to pay ſuch a conſiderable ſum, the Pruſſian troops began to put their monarch's threats in execution. He juſtified theſe proceedings, by declaring that the enemy had practiſed the ſame violence and oppreſſion on the territories of his allies; but how the practice of his declared enemies, in countries which they had invaded and ſubdued in the common courſe of war, ſhould juſtify him in pillaging and oppreſſing a people, with whom neither he nor his allies were at war, it is not eaſy to conceive. As little can we reconcile this conduct to the character of a prince, aſſuming the title of protector of the proteſtant religion, which is the eſtabliſhed faith among thoſe very Saxons who were ſubjected to ſuch grievous impoſitions; impoſitions the more grievous and unmerited, as they had never taken any ſhare in the preſent war, but cautiouſly avoided every ſtep that might be conſtrued into provocation, ſince the king of Pruſſia declared they might depend upon his protection.

Before we proceed to enumerate the events of the campaign, it may be neceſſary to inform the reader, that the forces brought into the field by the empreſs-queen of Hungary, and the ſtates of the empire, the czarina, the king of France and Sweden, fell very little ſhort of 300,000 men; and all theſe were deſtined to act againſt the king of Pruſſia and the elector of Hanover. In oppoſition to this formidable confederacy, his Pruſſian majeſty was, by the ſubſidy from England, the ſpoils of Saxony, and the revenues of Bradenbourg, enabled to maintain an army of 140,000 men; while the elector of Hanover aſſembled a body of 60,000 men, compoſed of his own electoral troops, with the auxiliary mercenaries of Heſſe-Caſſel, Buckebourg, Saxegotha, and Brunſwick-Wolfenbuttel, all of them maintained by the pay of Great-Britain. At this juncture, indeed, there was no other fund for their ſubſiſtence, as the countries of Hanover and Heſſe were poſſeſſed by the enemy, and in the former the government was entirely changed.

In the month of December in the preceding year, a farmer of the revenues from Paris arrived at Hanover, where he eſtabliſhed his office, in order to act by virtue of powers from one John Faidy, to whom the French king granted the direction, receipt, and adminiſtration of all the duties and revenues of the electorate. This director was, by a decree of the council of ſtate, empowered to receive the revenues, not only of Hanover, but alſo of all other countries that ſhould be ſubjected to his moſt chriſtian majeſty in the courſe of the campaign; to remove the receivers who had been employed in any part of the direction, receipt, and adminiſtration of the duties and revenues of Hanover, and appoint others in their room. The French king, by the ſame decree, ordained, that all perſons who had been entruſted under the preceding government with titles, papers, accounts, regiſters, or eſtimates, relating to the adminiſtration of the revenues ſhould communicate them to John Faidy, or his attornies; that the magiſtrates of the town, diſtricts, and commonalties, as well as thoſe who directed the adminiſtration of particular ſtates and provinces, ſhould deliver to the ſaid John Faidy, or his attornies, the produce of ſix years of the duties and revenues belonging to the ſaid towns, diſtricts, and provinces, reckoning from the firſt of January in the year 1751, together with an authentic account of the ſums they had paid during that term to the preceding ſovereign, and of the charges neceſſarily incurred. It appears from the nature of this decree, which was

dated on the 18th day of October, that immediately after the conventions of Cloſter-Seven and Bremeworden [m], the court of Verſailles had determined to change the government and ſyſtem of the electorate, contrary to an expreſs article of the capitulation granted to the city of Hanover, when it ſurrendered on the 9th day of Auguſt; and that the crown of France intended to take advantage of the ceſſation of arms, in ſeizing places and provinces which were not yet ſubdued; for, by the decree above-mentioned, the adminiſtration of John Faidy extended to the countries which might hereafter be conquered. With what regard to juſtice, then, could the French government charge the elector of Hanover with the infraction of articles? or what reſpect to good faith and humanity did the duke de Richelieu obſerve, in the order iſſued from Zell, towards the end of the year, importing, that as the treaty made with the country of Hanover had been rendered void by the violation of the articles ſigned at Cloſter-Seven, all the effects belonging to the officers, or others, employed in the Hanoverian army, ſhould be confiſcated for the uſe of his moſt chriſtian majeſty?

The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, being deſirous of averting a like ſtorm from his dominions, not only promiſed to renounce all connection with the kings of Great-Britain and Pruſſia, but even ſollicited the court of France to receive him among the number of its dependants; for, on the 18th day of October, the miniſter of the Duc de Deuxponts, delivered at Verſailles, in the name of the landgrave, the plan of a treaty founded on the following conditions. The landgrave after having expreſſed an ardent deſire of attaching himſelf wholly to France, propoſed theſe articles: That he ſhould enter into no engagement againſt the king and his allies; and give no aſſiſtance directly or indirectly to the enemies of his majeſty and his allies: that he ſhould never give his vote, in the general or particular aſſemblies of the empire, againſt his majeſty's intereſt; but, on the contrary, employ his intereſt, jointly with France, to quiet the troubles of the empire: that, for this end, his troops, which had ſerved in the Hanoverian army, ſhould engage in the ſervice of France, on condition that they ſhould not act in the preſent war againſt his Britannick majeſty; that, immediately after the ratification of the treaty, his moſt chriſtian majeſty ſhould reſtore the dominions of the landgrave in the ſame condition they were in when ſubdued by French forces: that theſe dominions ſhould be exempted from all further contributions, either in money, corn, forage, wood, or cattle, though already impoſed on the ſubjects of Heſſe; and the French troops pay for all the proviſion with which they might be ſupplied; in which caſe the landgrave ſhould exact no toll for warlike ſtores, proviſions, or other articles of that nature, which might paſs through his dominions: that the king of France ſhould guarantee all his eſtates, all the rights of the houſe of Heſſe-Caſſel, particularly the act of aſſurance ſigned by his ſon, the hereditary prince, with regard to religion; uſe his intereſt with the emperor and the empreſs-queen, that, in conſideration of the immenſe loſſes and damages his moſt ſerene highneſs had ſuffered ſince the French invaded his country, and of the great ſums he ſhould loſe with England in arrears and ſubſidies by this accommodation, he might be excuſed from furniſhing his contingent to the army of the empire, as well as from paying the Roman months granted by the diet of the empire; and if, in reſentment of this convention, the ſtates of his ſerene highneſs ſhould be attacked, his moſt chriſtian majeſty ſhould afford the moſt ſpeedy and effectual ſuccours. Theſe propoſals will ſpeak for themſelves to the reader's apprehenſion; and if he is not blinded by the darkeſt miſts of prejudice, exhibit a clear and diſtinct idea of a genuine German ally. The landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel had been fed with the good things of England, even in time of peace, when his friendſhip could not avail, nor his averſion prejudice the intereſts of Great-Britain: but he was retained in that ſeaſon of tranquillity as a friend, on whoſe ſervices the moſt implicit dependence might be placed in any future ſtorm or commotion. How far he merited this confidence and favour might have been determined by reflecting on his conduct during the former war: in the courſe of which his troops were hired to the king of Great-Britain and his enemies alternately, as the ſcale of convenience happened to preponderate. Since the commencement of the preſent troubles, he had acted as a mercenary to Great-Britain, although he was a principal in the diſpute, and ſtood connected with her deſigns by ſolemn treaty, as well as by all the ties of gratitude and honour: but now that the cauſe of Hanover ſeemed to be on the decline, and his own dominions had ſuffered by the fate of the war, he not only appeared willing to abandon his benefactor and ally, but even ſued to be inliſted in the ſervice of his adverſary. This intended defection was, however, prevented by a ſudden turn of fortune, which he could not poſſibly foreſee: and his troops continued to act in conjunction with the Hanoverians.

The landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel was not ſingular in making ſuch advances to the French monarch. The duke of Brunſwick, ſtill more nearly connected with the king of Great-Britain, uſed ſuch uncommon expedition in detaching himſelf from the tottering fortune of Hanover, that in ten days after the convention of Cloſter-Seven he had concluded a treaty with the courts of Vienna and Verſailles; ſo that the negotiation muſt have been begun before that convention took place. On the 20th day of September his miniſter at Vienna, by virtue of full powers from the duke of Brunſwick, accepted and ſigned the conditions which the French king and his Auſtrian ally thought proper to impoſe. Theſe imported, that his moſt chriſtian majeſty ſhould keep poſſeſſion of the cities of Brunſwick and Wolfenbuttel during the war, and make uſe of the artillery, arms, and military ſtores depoſited in their arſenals: that the duke's forces, on their return from the camp of the duke of Cumberland, ſhould be diſbanded and diſarmed; and take an oath, that they ſhould not, during the preſent war, ſerve againſt the king or his allies: that the duke ſhould be permitted to maintain a battalion of foot, and two ſquadrons of horſe, for the guard of his perſon and caſtles; but the regulations made by mareſchal Richelieu and the intendant of his army ſhould ſubſiſt on their preſent footing: that the duke ſhould furniſh his contingent in money and troops, agreeably to the laws of the empire: that his forces ſhould immediately join thoſe which the Germanick body had aſſembled; and that he ſhould order his miniſter at Ratiſbon to vote conformably to the reſolutions of the diet, approved and confirmed by the emperor. In conſideration of all theſe conceſſions, the duke was reſtored to the favour of the French king, who graciouſly promiſed that neither his revenues nor his treaſure ſhould be touched, nor the adminiſtration of juſtice invaded; and that nothing further ſhould be demanded, but winter-quarters for the regiments which ſhould paſs that ſeaſon in the country of Brunſwick. How ſcrupulouſly ſoever the duke might have intended to obſerve the articles of this treaty, his intentions were fruſtrated by the conduct of his brother prince Ferdinand, who, being inveſted with the command of the Hanoverian army, and ordered to reſume the operations of war againſt the enemy, detained the troops of Brunſwick, as well as his nephew the hereditary prince, notwithſtanding the treaty which his brother had ſigned, and the injunctions which he had laid upon his ſon to quit the army, and make a tour to Holland. The duke wrote an expoſtulatory letter to prince Ferdinand, pathetically complaining that he had ſeduced his troops, decoyed his ſon, and diſgraced his family; inſiſting upon the prince's purſuing his journey, as well as upon the return of the troops: and threatening, in caſe of non-compliance, to uſe other means that ſhould be more effectual [n]. Notwithſtanding

[m] Six days after the convention was ſigned at Cloſter-Seven, another act of accommodation was concluded at Bremenworden, between the generals Sporcken and Villemur, relating to the releaſe of priſoners, and ſome other points omitted in the convention.

[n] Tranſlation of the letter written by the duke of Brunſwick to his brother prince Ferdinand.

'SIR,

'I know you too well to doubt that the ſituation in which we ſtand at preſent, with reſpect to each other, gives you abundance of uneaſineſs; nor will you doubt that it gives me equal concern: indeed, it afflicts me greatly. Mean while I could never, my deareſt brother, have believed that you would be the perſon who ſhould carry away from me my eldeſt ſon. I am exceedingly mortified to find myſelf under the hard neceſſity of telling you that this ſtep is contrary to the law of nations, and the conſtitutions of the empire; and that, if you perſiſt in it, you will diſgrace your family, and bring a ſtain upon your country, which you pretend to ſerve. The hereditary prince, my ſon, was at Hamburgh by my order, and you have carried him to Stade. Could he diſtruſt his uncle, an uncle who hath done ſo much honour to his family? Could he believe that this uncle would deprive him of liberty, a liberty never refuſed to the loweſt officer? I ordered him to make a tour to Holland: could not the loweſt officer have done as much? Let us ſuppoſe for a moment, that my troops, among whom he ſerved, were to have ſtaid with the Hanoverians, would it not have been ſtill in my power to give an officer leave of abſence, or even leave to reſign his commiſſion? and would you hinder your brother, the head of your family, and of ſuch a family as our's, to exerciſe this right with regard to a ſon, who is the hereditary prince, of whoſe rights and prerogatives you cannot be ignorant? It is impoſſible you could have deceived ſuch deſigns, without the ſuggeſtion of others. Thoſe who did ſuggeſt them have trampled on the rights of nature, of nations, and of the princes of Germany: they have induced you to add to all theſe the moſt cruel inſult on a brother whom you love, and who always loved you with the warmeſt affection. Would you have your brother lay his juſt complaints againſt you before the whole empire, and all Europe? Are not your proceedings without example? What is Germany become? What are its princes be-

this warm remonſtrance, prince Ferdinand adhered to his plan. He detained the troops, and the hereditary prince, who, being fond of the ſervice, in a little time ſignalized himſelf by very extraordinary acts of bravery and conduct; and means were found to reconcile his father to meaſures that expreſly contradicted his engagements with the courts Vienna and Verſailles.

The defeat of the French army at Roſbach, and the retreat of the Ruſſians from Pomerania, had entirely changed the face of affairs in the empire. The French king was ſoon obliged to abandon his conqueſts on that ſide of the Rhine, and his threats ſounded no longer terrible in the ears of the Hanoverian and Pruſſian allies. As little formidable were the denunciations of the emperor, who had, by a decree of the Aulick council, communicated to the diet certain mandates, iſſued in the month of Auguſt in the preceding year, on pain of the ban of the empire, with avocatory letters annexed, againſt the king of Great Britain, elector of Hanover, and the other princes acting in concert with the king of Pruſſia. The French court likewiſe publiſhed a virulent memorial, after the convention of Cloſter-Seven had been violated, and ſet aſide, drawing an invidious parallel between the conduct of the French king and the proceedings of his Britannick majeſty; in which the latter is taxed with breach of faith, and almoſt every meanneſs that could ſtain the character of a monarch. In anſwer to the emperor's decree, and this virulent charge, baron Gimmengen, the electoral miniſter of Brunſwick Lunenbourg, preſented to the diet, in November, a long memorial, recapitulating the important ſervices his ſovereign had done the houſe of Auſtria, and the ungrateful returns he had reaped, in the queen's refuſing to aſſiſt him, when his dominions were threatened with an invaſion. He enumerated many inſtances in which ſhe had aſſiſted, encouraged, and even joined the enemies of the electorate, in contempt of her former encouragements, and directly contrary to the conſtitution of the empire. He refuted every article of the charge which the French court had brought againſt him in their virulent libel, retorted the imputations of perfidy and ambition, and with reſpect to France, juſtified every particular of his own conduct.

While the French and Hanoverian armies remained in their winter-quarters, the former at Zell, and the latter at Lunenbourg, divers petty enterprizes were executed by detachments with various ſucceſs. The Hanoverian general Juncheim, having taken poſt at Halberſtadt and Quedlimbourg, from whence he made excurſions even to the gates of Brunſwick, and kept the French army in continual alarm, was viſited by a large body of the enemy, who compelled him to retire to Acherſleben, committed great exceſſes in the town of Halberſtadt and its neighbourhood, and carried off hoſtages for the payment of contributions. General Hardenberg, another Hanoverian officer, having diſlodged the French detachments that occupied Burgh, Vogelſack, and Ritterhude, and cleared the whole territory of Bremen, in the month of January the duke de Broglio aſſembled a conſiderable corps of troops that were cantoned at Otterſburgh, Rothenburg, and the adjacent country, and advancing to Bremen, demanded admittance, threatening, that, in caſe of a refuſal, he would have recourſe to extremeties, and puniſh the inhabitants ſeverely, ſhould they make the leaſt oppoſition. When their deputies waited upon him, to deſire a ſhort time for deliberation, he anſwered, 'Not a moment—the duke de Richelieu's orders are peremptory, and admit of no delay.' He accordingly ordered the cannon to advance; the wall was ſcaled, and the gates would have been forced open, had not the magiſtrates, at the earneſt importunity of the people, reſolved to comply with his demand. A ſecond deputation was immediately diſpatched to the duke de Broglio, ſignifying their compliance; and the gates being opened, he marched into the city at midnight, after having promiſed upon his honour, that no attempt ſhould be made to the prejudice of its rights and prerogatives, and no outrage offered to the privileges of the regency, to the liberty, religion, and commerce of the inhabitants. This conqueſt, however, was of ſhort duration. Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick being joined by a body of Pruſſian horſe, under the command of prince George of Holſtein Gottorp, the whole army was put in motion, and advanced to the country of Bremen about the middle of February. The enemy were diſlodged from Rothenburg, Otterſburg, and Verden, and they abandoned the city of Bremen at the approach of the Hanoverian general, who took poſſeſſion of it without oppoſition.

By this time the court of Verſailles, being diſſatisfied with the conduct of the duke de Richelieu, had recalled that general from Germany, where his place was ſupplied by the count de Clermont, to the general ſatisfaction of the army, as well as to the joy of the Hanoverian ſubjects, among whom Richelieu had committed many flagrant and inhuman acts of rapine and oppreſſion. The new commander found his maſter's forces reduced to a deplorable condition, by the accidents of war, and diſtemper ariſing from hard duty, ſevere weather, and the want of neceſſaries. As he could not pretend with ſuch a wretched remnant, to oppoſe the deſigns of prince Ferdinand in the field, or even maintain the footing which his predeceſſor had gained, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of retiring with all poſſible expedition towards the Rhine. As the allies advanced, his troops retreated from their diſtant quarters with ſuch precipitation, as to leave behind all their ſic, together with a great part of their baggage and artillery, beſides a great number of officers and ſoldiers, that fell into the hands of thoſe parties by whom they were purſued. The inhabitants of Hanover, perceiving the French intended to abandon that city, were overwhelmed with the fear of being ſubjected to every ſpecies of violence and abuſe: but their apprehenſions were happily diſappointed by the honour and intregrity of the duke de Randan, the French governor, who not only took effectual meaſures for reſtraining the ſoldiers within the bounds of the moſt rigid diſcipline and moderation, but likewiſe exhibited a noble proof of generoſity, almoſt without example. Inſtead of deſtroying his magazine of proviſions, according to the uſual practice of war, he ordered the whole to be either ſold at a low price, or diſtributed among the poor of the city, who had been long expoſed to the horrors of famine: an act of godlike humanity, which ought to dignify the character of that worthy nobleman above all the titles that military fame can deſerve, or arbitrary monarchs beſtow. The regency of Hanover were ſo deeply impreſſed with a ſenſe of heroic behaviour on this occaſion, that they gratefully acknowledged it, in a letter of thanks to him and the count de Clermont; and on the day of ſolemn thankſgiving to heaven, for their being delivered from their enemies, the clergy in their ſermons did not fail to celebrate and extol the charity and benevolence of the duke de Randan. Such glorious teſtimonies, and even from enemies, muſt have afforded the moſt exquiſite pleaſure to a mind endued with ſenſibility; and this, no doubt, may be termed one of the faireſt triumphs of humanity.

The two grand diviſions of the French army, quartered at Zell and Hanover, retired in good order to Hamelen, where they collected all their troops, except thoſe that were left in Hoya, and about 4000 men placed in garriſon at Minden, to retard the operations of the combined army. Towards the latter end of February, prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, having received intelligence that the count de Chabot was poſted with a conſiderable body of troops at Hoya, upon the Weſer, detached the hereditary prince of Brunſwick, with four battalions, and ſome light troops and dragoons, to diſlodge them from that neighbourhood. This enterprize was executed with the utmoſt intrepedity. The hereditary prince paſſed the Weſer at Bremen with part of his detachment, while the reſt advanced on this ſide of the river; and the enemy, being attacked in front and rear, were in a little time forced, and thrown into confuſion The bridge being abandoned, and near 700 men taken

come, and our houſe in particular? Is it the intereſt of the two kings, the cauſe of your country, and my cauſe that you pretend to ſupport?—I repeat it, brother, that this deſign could not have been framed by you. I again command my ſon to purſue his journey; and I cannot conceive you will give the leaſt obſtruction: if you ſhould (which I pray God avert) I ſolemnly declare that I will not be conſtrained by ſuch meaſures, nor ſhall I ever forget what I owe to myſelf. As to my troops, you may ſee what I have written on that head to the Hanoverian miniſtry. The duke of Cumberland, by the convention of Cloſter-Seven, diſmiſſed them, and ſent them home: the ſaid miniſtry gave me notice of this convention, as a treaty by which I was bound. The march of the troops was ſettled; and an incident happening, they halted: that obſtacle being removed, they were to have continued their march. The court of Hanover will be no longer bound by the convention, while I not only accepted it on their word, but have alſo, in conformity with their inſtructions, negociated at Verſailles, and at Vienna. After all theſe ſteps they would have me contradict myſelf, break my word, and entirely ruin my eſtate, as well as my honour. Did you ever know your brother guilty of ſuch things? True it is, I have, as you ſay, ſacrificed my all; or rather, I have been ſacrificed. The only thing left me is my honour; and in the unhappy contraſt of our ſituations, I lament both you and myſelf, that it ſhould be from you, my dear brother, I ſhould receive the cruel advice to give up my honour. I cannot liſten to it; I cannot recede from my promiſe. My troops, therefore, muſt return home, agreeable to what the duke of Cumberland and the Hanoverian miniſtry ſtipulated with regard to me in the ſtrongeſt manner. I am afraid that the true circumſtances of things are concealed from you. Not to detain your expreſs too long, I ſhall ſend you, by the poſt, copies of all I have written to the Hanoverian miniſtry. I am grieve your honeſt heart to read it. I am, with a heart almoſt [illegible] full of tenderneſs for you, your, &c.

'Blanckenbourg, Nov. 27, 1757.'

priſoners, the count de Chabot threw himſelf, with two battalions into the caſtle, where he reſolved to ſupport himſelf, in hope of being relieved. The regiment of Bretagne, and ſome detachments of dragoons, were actually on the march to his aſſiſtance. The hereditary prince being made acquainted with this circumſtance, being alſo deſtitute of heavy artillery to beſiege the place in form, and taking it for granted he ſhould not be able to maintain the poſt after it might be taken, he liſtened to the terms of capitulation propoſed by the French general, whoſe garriſon was ſuffered to march out with the honours of war; but their cannon, ſtores, and ammunition were ſurrendered to the victors. This was the firſt exploit of the hereditary prince, whoſe valour and activity, on many ſubſequent occaſions, ſhone with diſtinguiſhed luſtre. He had no ſooner reduced Hoya, than he marched to the attac of Minden, which he inveſted on the 5th day of March, and on the 14th the garriſon ſurrendered at diſcretion. After the reduction of this city, the combined army advanced towards Hamelen, where the French general had eſtabliſhed his headquarters: but he abandoned them at the approach of the allies, and leaving behind all his ſic and wounded, with part of his magazines, retired without halting to Paderborn, and from thence to the Rhine, recalling in his march the troops that were in Embden, Caſſel, and the landgraviate of Heſſe, all which places were now evacuated. They were terribly harraſſed in their retreat by the Pruſſian huſſars, and a body of light-horſe, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Hanoverian hunters, who took a great number of priſoners, together with many baggage-waggons, and ſome artillery. Such was the precipitation of the enemy's retreat, that they could not find time to deſtroy all the magazines of proviſion and forage; and even forgot to call in the garriſon of Vechte, a ſmall fortreſs in the neighbourhood of Diepholt, who were made priſoners of war, and here was found a complete train of battering cannon and mortars. The count de Clermont, having reached the banks of the Rhine, diſtributed his forces in quarters of cantonment in Weſel and the adjoining country, while prince Ferdinand cantoned the allied army in the biſhopric of Munſter: here, however, he did not long remain inactive. In the latter end of May he ordered a detachment to paſs the Rhine at Duyſbourg, under the command of colonel Scheither, who executed his order without loſs, defeated three battalions of the enemy, and took five pieces of cannon. In the beginning of June the whole army paſſed the Rhine, on a bridge conſtructed for the occaſion, defeated a body of French cavalry, and obtained divers other advantages in their march towards Weſel. Kaiſerſworth was ſurprized, the greater part of the garriſon either killed or taken; and prince Ferdinand began to make preparations for the ſiege of Duſſeldorp. In the mean time, the count de Clermont, being unable to ſtop the rapidity of his progreſs, was obliged to ſecure his troops with ſtrong entrenchments, until he ſhould be properly re-enforced.

The court of Verſailles, though equally mortified and confounded at the turn of their affairs in Germany, did not ſit tamely and behold this reverſe; but exerted their uſual ſpirit and expedition in retrieving the loſſes they had ſuſtained. They aſſembled a body of troops at Hanau, under the direction of the prince de Soubiſe, who, it was ſaid, had received orders to penetrate, by the way of Donawert, Ingoldſtadt, and Arnberg, into Bohemia. In the mean time, re-enforcements daily arrived in the camp of the count de Clermont; and as repeated complaints had been made of the want of diſcipline and ſubordination in that army, meaſures were taken for reforming the troops by ſeverity and example. The mareſchal duke de Belleiſle, who now acted as ſecretary at war with uncommon ability, wrote a letter, directed to all the colonels of infantry, threatening them, in the king's name, with the loſs of their regiments, ſhould they connive any longer at the ſcandalous practice of buying commiſſions: an abuſe which had crept into the ſervice under various pretexts, to the diſcouragement of merit, the relaxation of diſcipline, and the total extinction of laudable emulation. The prince of Clermont having quitted his ſtrong camp at Rhinefeldt, retired to Nuys, a little higher up the river, and detached a conſiderable corps, under the command of the count de St. Germain, to take poſt at Crevelt, ſituated in a plain between his army and the camp of the allies, which fronted the town of Meurs: after ſeveral motions on both ſides, prince Ferdinand reſolved to attac the enemy, and forthwith made a diſpoſition for this purpoſe. He aſſigned the command of the whole left-wing, conſiſting of 18 battalions and 28 ſquadrons, to lieutenant-general Sporcken: the conduct of the right-wing, compoſed of 16 battalions and 14 ſquadrons, was entruſted to the hereditary prince and major-general Wangenheim; the ſquadrons, with the addition of two regiments of Pruſſian dragoons, were under the immediate direction of the prince of Holſtein, while the hereditary prince commanded the infantry. The light troops, conſiſting of five ſquadrons of huſſars, were divided between the prince of Holſtein and lieutenant-general Sporcken. Major Luckner's ſquadron, together with Scheither's corps, were ordered to obſerve the flank of the enemy's right, and with this view were poſted in the village of Papendeick; and a battalion of the troops of Wolfenbuttel were left in the town of Hulſte, to cover the rear of the army. Prince Ferdinand's deſign was to attac the enemy on their left flank; but the execution was rendered extremely difficult by the woods and ditches that embarraſſed the rout, and the numerous ditches that interſected this part of the country. On the 23d day of June, at four in the morning, the army began to move; the right advancing in two columns as far as St. Anthony, and the left marching up within half a league of Crevelt. The prince having viewed the poſition of the enemy from the ſteeple of St. Anthony, procured guides, and having received all the neceſſary hints of information, proceeded to the right, in order to charge the enemy's left flank by the villages or Worſt and Anrath; but, in order to divide their attention, and keep them in ſuſpence, with reſpect to the nature of his principal attac, he directed the generals Sporcken and Oberg to advance againſt them by the way of Crevelt and St. Anthony, and, in particular, to make the moſt of their artillery, that, being employed in three different places at once, they might be prevented from ſending any re-enforcement to the left, where the chief attac was intended. Theſe precautions being taken, prince Ferdinand, putting himſelf at the head of the grenadiers of the right-wing, continued his march in two columns to the village of Anrath, where he fell in with an advanced party of the French, which, after a few diſcharges of muſquetry, retired to their camp and gave the alarm. In the mean time, both armies were drawn up in order of battle; the troops of the allies in the plain between the villages of Anrath and Willich, oppoſite to the French forces, whoſe left was covered with a wood. The action began about one in the afternoon, with a ſevere cannonading on the part of prince Ferdinand, which, though well ſupported, proved ineffectual in drawing the enemy from their cover; he, therefore, determined to diſlodge them from the wood by dint of ſmall arms. The hereditary prince immediately advanced with the whole front, and a very obſtinate action enſued. Mean while, the cavalry on the right in vain attempted to penetrate the wood on the other ſide, where the enemy had raiſed two batteries, which were ſuſtained by 40 ſquadrons of horſe. After a terrible fire had been maintained on both ſides, till five in the afternoon, the grenadiers forced the entrenchments in the wood, which were lined by the French infantry. Theſe giving way abandoned the wood in the utmoſt diſorder; but the purſuit was checked by the conduct and reſolution of the enemy's cavalry, which, notwithſtanding a dreadful fire from the artillery of the allies, maintained their ground, and covered the foot in their retreat to Nuys.

The ſucceſs of the day was, in a good meaſure, owing to the artillery on the left and in the centre, with which the generals Sporcken and Oberg had done great execution, and employed the intention of the enemy on that ſide, while prince Ferdinand proſecuted his attac on the other quarter. It muſt be owned, however, that their right wing and centre retired in great order to Nuys, though the left was defeated, with the loſs of ſome ſtandards, colours, and pieces of cannon, and 6000 men killed, wounded, or taken priſoners °. This victory, however, which coſt the allies about 1500 men, was not at all deciſive in its conſequences; and, indeed, the plan ſeemed only calculated to diſplay the enterprizing genius of the Hanoverian general. True it is, the French army took refuge under the cannon of Cologn, where they remained, without hazarding any ſtep for the relief of Duſſeldorp, which prince Ferdinand immediately inveſted, and in a few days reduced, the garriſon being allowed to march out with the honours of war, on condition that they ſhould not, for the ſpace of one year, carry arms againſt the allies.

° Among the French officers who loſt their lives in this engagement, was the count de Giſors, only ſon of the mareſchal duke de Belleiſle, and laſt hope of that illuſtrious family, a young nobleman of extraordinary accompliſhments, who finiſhed a ſhort life of honour in the embrace of military glory, and fell gallantly fighting at the head of his own regiment, to the inexpreſſible grief of his aged father, and the univerſal regret of his country.

It was at this period that count de Clermont reſigned his command, which was conferred upon M. de Contades, and the French army was conſiderably re-enforced. He even threatened to attac prince Ferdinand in his turn, and made ſome motions with that deſign, but was prevented by the little river Erff, behind which the prince reſolved to lie quiet, until he ſhould be joined by the body of Britiſh troops under the command of the duke of Marlborough, the firſt diviſion of which had juſt landed at Embden. He flattered himſelf that the prince of Yſenbourg, at the head of the Heſſian troops, would find employment for the prince de Soubiſe, who had marched from Hanau, with a deſign to penetrate into the landgraviate of Heſſe-Caſſel: his vanguard had been already ſurpriſed and defeated by the militia of the country; and the prince of Yſenbourg was at the head of a conſiderable body of regular forces, aſſembled to oppoſe his further progreſs. Prince Ferdinand, therefore, hoped that the operations of the French general would be effectually impeded, until he himſelf, being joined by the Britiſh troops, ſhould be in a condition to paſs the Meuſe, transfer the ſeat of war into the enemy's country, thus make a diverſion from the Rhine, and perhaps oblige the prince de Soubiſe to come to the aſſiſtance of the principal French army, commanded by M. de Contades. He had formed a plan which would have anſwered theſe purpoſes effectually, and, in execution of it, marched to Ruremond on the Maeſe, when his meaſures were totally diſconcerted b a variety of incidents which he could not foreſee. The prince of Yſenbourg was, on the 23d day of July, defeated at Sangarſhauſen by the duke de Broglio, whom the prince de Soubiſe had detached againſt him with a number of troops greatly ſuperior to that which the Heſſian general commanded. The duke de Broglio, who commanded the corps that formed the vanguard of Soubiſe's army, having learned at Caſſel, that the Heſſian troops, under the prince of Yſenbourg, were retiring towards Munden, he advanced, on the 23d of July, with a body of 8000 men, to the village of Sangerſhauſen, where he found them drawn up in order of battle, and forthwith made a diſpoſition for the attac. At firſt his cavalry were repulſed by the Heſſian horſe, which charged the French infantry, and were broke in their turn. The Heſſians, though greatly inferior in number to the enemy, made a very obſtinate reſiſtance, by favour of a roc in the Fulde that covered their right, and a wood by which their left was ſecured. The diſpute was ſo obſtinate, that the enemy's left was obliged to give ground, but the duke de Broglio ordering a freſh corps to advance, changed the fortune of the day. The Heſſians, overpowered by numbers, gave way; part plunged into the river, where many periſhed, and part threw themſelves into the wood, through which they eſcaped from the purſuit of the Huſſars, who took above 200 ſoldiers and fifty officers, including the count de Canitz, who was ſecond in command. They likewiſe found on the field of battle ſeven pieces of cannon, and eight at Munden: but the carnage was pretty conſiderable, and nearly equal on both ſides. The number of the killed and wounded, on the ſide of the French, exceeded 2000; the loſs of the Heſſians was not ſo great. The prince of Yſenbourg having collected the remains of his little army, took poſt at Eimbeck, where he ſoon was reenforced, and found himſelf at the head of 12,000 men: but, in conſequence of this advantage, the enemy became maſters of the Weſer, and opened to themſelves a free paſſage into Weſtphalia.

The progreſs of prince Ferdinand upon the Maeſe had been retarded by a long ſucceſſion of heavy rains, which broke up the roads, and rendered the country impaſſable; and now the certain imformation of this unlucky chec left him no alternative but a battle or a retreat acroſs the Rhine: the firſt was carefully avoided by the enemy; the latter reſolution, therefore, he found himſelf under a neceſſity to embrace. In his preſent poſition he was hampered by the French army on one wing, on the other by the fortreſs of Gueldres, the garriſon of which had been lately re-enforced, as well as by divers other poſts, capable of obſtructing the convoys and ſubſiſtence of the combined army beſides, he had reaſon to apprehend that the prince de Soubiſe would endeavour to intercept the Britiſh troops in their march from Embden. Induced by theſe conſiderations, he determined to repaſs the Rhine, after having offered battle to the enemy and made ſeveral motions for that purpoſe. Finding them averſe to an engagement, he made his diſpoſitions for forcing the ſtrong paſs of Wachtendonck, an iſland ſurrounded by the Niers, of very difficult approach and ſituated exactly in his rout to the Rhine. This ſervice was performed by the hereditary prince of Brunſwick, who perceiving the enemy had drawn up the bridge, ruſhed into the water at the head of his grenadiers, who drove them away with their bayonets, and cleared the bridges for the paſſage of the army towards Rhinebergen. At this place prince Ferdinand received intelligence that M. de Chevert, reputed one of the beſt officers in the French ſervice, had paſſed the Lippe with fourteen battalions and ſeveral ſquadrons, to join the garriſon of Weſel, and fall upon lieutenant-general Imhoff, who commanded the detached corps of the combined army at Meer, that he might be at hand to guard the bridge which the prince had thrown over the Rhine at Rees. His ſerene highneſs was extremely deſirous of ſending ſuccours to general Imhoff; but the troops were too much fatigued to begin another march before morning; and the Rhine had overflowed its banks in ſuch a manner as to render the bridge at Rees impaſſable, ſo that M. Imhoff was left to the reſources of his own conduct and the bravery of his troops, conſiſting of ſix battalions and four ſquadrons, already weakened by the abſence of different detachments. This general having received advice on the fourth of Auguſt, that the enemy intended to paſs the Lippe the ſame evening with a conſiderable train of artillery, in order to burn the bridge at Rees, decamped with a view to cover this place, and join two battalions which had paſſed the Rhine in boats, under the command of general Zaſtrow, who re-enforced him accordingly; but the enemy not appearing, he concluded the imformation was falſe, and reſolved to reſume his advantageous poſt at Meer. Of this he had no ſooner repoſſeſſed himſelf than his advanced guards were engaged with the enemy, who marched to the attac from Weſel under the command of lieutenant-general de Chervert, conſiſting of the whole corps intended for the ſiege of Dueſſeldorp. Imhoff's front was covered by coppices and ditches, there being a riſing ground on his right, from whence he could plainly diſcern the whole force that advanced againſt him, together with the manner of their approach. Perceiving them engaged in that difficult ground, he poſted one regiment in a coppice with orders to fall upon the left flank of the enemy, which appeared quite uncovered; and as ſoon as their fire began, advanced with the reſt of his forces to attac them in front. The bayonet was uſed on this occaſion, and the charge given with ſuch impetuoſity and reſolution, that after a ſhort reſiſtance, the enemy fell in confuſion, and fled towards Weſel, leaving on the ſpot eleven pieces of cannon with a great number of waggons and other carriages; beſides the killed and wounded, who amounted to a pretty conſiderable number, the victor took three hundred and fifty-four priſoners, including eleven officers; whereas, on his part the victory was purchaſed at a very ſmall expence.

Immediately after this action, general Wangenheim paſſed the Rhine with ſeveral ſquadrons and battalions, to reenforce general Imhoff, and enable him to proſecute the advantage he had gained, while prince Ferdinand marched with the reſt of the army to Santen: from thence he proceeded to Rhineberg, where he intended to paſs; but the river had overflowed to ſuch a degree, that here, as well as at Rees, the ſhore was inacceſſible, ſo that he found it neceſſary to march farther down the river, and lay a bridge at Gtiethuyzen. The enemy had contrived four veſſels for the deſtruction of this bridge; but they were all taken before they could put the deſign in execution, and the whole army paſſed on the 10th day of Auguſt, without any loſs or further interruption. At the ſame time the prince withdrew his garriſon from Duſſeldorp, of which the French immediately took poſſeſſion. Immediately after his paſſage he received a letter from the duke of Marlborough, acquainting him that the Britiſh troops had arrived at Lingen, in their rout to Coesfeldt: to which place general Imhoff was ſent to receive them, with a ſtrong detachment. Notwithſtanding this junction, the two armies on the Rhine were ſo equally matched, that no ſtroke of importance was ſtruc on either ſide during the remaining part of the campaign. M. de Contades, ſeeing no proſpect of obtaining the leaſt advantage over prince Ferdinand, detached prince Xaverius of Saxony with a ſtrong re-enforcement to the prince de Soubiſe, who had taken poſſeſſion of Gottengen, and ſeemed determined to attac the prince of Yſenbourg at Eimbeck. That this officer might be able to give him a proper reception, prince Ferdinand, detached general Oberg with ten thouſand men to Lipſtadt, from whence, ſhould occaſion require, they might continue their march, and join the Heſſians. The whole body, when thus re-enforced,

did not exceed 20,000 men, of whom general Oberg now aſſumed the command: whereas the troops of Soubiſe were increaſed to the number of 30,000. The allies had taken poſt upon the river Fulde at Sanderſhauſen, where they hoped the French would attac them; but the deſign of Soubiſe was firſt to diſlodge them from that advantageous ſituation. With this view, he made a motion, as if he had intended to turn the camp of the allies by the road of Munden. In order to prevent the execution of this ſuppoſed deſign, general Oberg decamped on the 10th of October, and, paſſing by the village of Landwernhagen, advanced towards Luttenberg, where, underſtanding the enemy were at his heels, he forthwith formed his troops in order of battle, his right to the Fulde, and his left extending to a thicket upon an eminence, where he planted five field-pieces. The cavalry ſupported the wings in a third line, the village of Luttenberg was in the rear, and four pieces of cannon were mounted on a riſing ground that flanked this village. The French having likewiſe paſſed Landwernhagen, poſted their left towards the Fulde, their right extending far beyond the left of the allies, and their front being ſtrengthened with above 30 pieces of cannon. At four in the afternoon the enemy began the battle with a ſevere cannonading, and at the ſame time the firſt line of their infantry attacked major general Zaſtrow, who was poſted on the left wing of the allies. This body of the French was repulſed; but in the ſame moment, a conſiderable line of cavalry advancing, charged the allies in front and flank. Theſe were ſupported by a freſh body of infantry with cannon, which, after a warm diſpute, obliged the confederates to give way; and general Oberg, in order to prevent a total defeat, made a diſpoſition for a retreat, which was performed in tolerable order; not but that he ſuffered greatly. in paſſing through a defile, from the fire of the enemy's cannon, which was brought up, and managed under the direction of the duke de Broglio. Having marched through Munden, by midnight, the retiring army lay till morning under arms in the little plain near Grupen, on the other ſide of the Weſer; but at day-break proſecuted their march, after having withdrawn the garriſon from Munden, until they arrived in the neighbourhood of Guntersheim, where they encamped. In this engagement general Oberg loſt about 1500 men, his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. He was obliged to abandon a magazine of hay and ſtraw at Munden, and leave part of his wounded men in that place to the humanity of the victor. But, after all, the French general reaped very little advantage from this victory.

By this time prince Ferdinand had retired into Weſtphalia, and fixed his head-quarters at Munſter, while M. Contades encamped near Ham upon the Lippe: ſo that, although he had obliged the French army to evacuate Hanover and Heſſe in the beginning of the year, when they were weakened by death and diſtemper, and even driven them beyond the Rhine, where they ſuſtained a defeat; yet they were ſoon put in a condition to baffle all his future endeavours, and penetrate again into Weſtphalia, where they eſtabliſhed their winter-quarters, extending themſelves in ſuch a manner as to command the whole courſe of the Rhine on both ſides, while the allies were diſpoſed in the landgraviate of Heſſe-Caſſel, and in the biſhopricks of Munſter, Paderborn, and Hildeſheim. The Britiſh troops had joined them ſo late in the ſeaſon, that they had no opportunity to ſignaliſe themſelves in the field; yet the fatigues of the campaign, which they had ſeverely felt, proved fatal to their commander, the duke of Marlborough, who died of a dyſentery at Munſter, univerſally lamented.

Having thus particulariſed the operations of the allied army ſince the commencement of the campaign, we ſhall now endeavour to trace the ſteps of the king of Pruſſia, from the period at which his army was aſſembled for action. Having collected his force as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, he undertook the ſiege of Schweidnitz in form on the 21ſt day of March; and carried on his operations with ſuch vigour, that in 13 days the garriſon ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, after having loſt one-half of their number in the defence of the place. While one part of his troops were engaged in this ſervice, he himſelf, at the head of another, advanced to the eaſtern frontier of Bohemia, and ſent a detachment as far as Trautenaw, garriſoned by a body of Auſtrians, who, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, abandoned the place, and retreated towards their grand army. By this ſucceſs he opened to himſelf a way into Bohemia, by which he poured in detachments of light troops, to raiſe contributions, and harraſs the out-poſts of the enemy. At the ſame time the baron de la Mothe Fouquet marched with another body againſt the Auſtrian general Jahnus, poſted in the county of Glatz, whom he obliged to abandon all the poſts he occupied in that country, and purſued as far as Nachod, within 20 miles of Koninſgratz, where the grand Auſtrian army was encamped under the command of mareſchal Daun, who had lately arrived from Vienna [p]. Over and above theſe excurſions, the king ordered a body of 30,000 men to be aſſembled, to act under the command of his brother prince Henry, an accompliſhed warrior, againſt the army of the empire, which the prince de Deuxponts, with great difficulty, made a ſhift to form again near Bamberg, in Franconia.

The king of Pruſſia, whoſe deſigns were perhaps even greater than he cared to own, reſolved to ſhift the theatre of the war, and penetrate into Moravia, a fertile country, which had been hitherto kept ſacred from ravage and contribution. Having formed an army of 50,000 choice troops, near Nieſs, in Sileſia, he divided them into three columns; the firſt commanded by mareſchal Keith, the ſecond by himſelf in perſon, and the third conducted by prince Maurice of Anhault of Deſſau. In the latter end of April they began their march towards Moravia; and general De la Ville, who commanded a body of troops in that country, retired as they advanced, after having thrown a ſtrong reenforcement into Olmutz, which the king was determined to beſiege. Had he paſſed by this fortreſs, which was ſtrongly fortified, and well provided for a vigorous defenſe, he might have advanced to the gates of Vienna, and reduced the emperor to the neceſſity of ſuing for peace on his own terms; but it ſeems he was unwilling to deviate ſo far from the common maxims of war as to leave a fortified place in the rear; and, therefore, he determined to make himſelf maſter of it before he ſhould proceed. For this purpoſe it was immediately inveſted: orders were iſſued to haſten up the heavy artillery, and mareſchal Keith was appointed to ſuperintend and direct the operations of the ſiege. Mean while, the Auſtrian commander, count Daun, being informed of his Pruſſian majeſty's motions and deſigns, quitted his camp at Leutomyſſel in Bohemia, and entered Moravia by the way of Billa. Being ſtill too weak to encounter the Pruſſians in the field, he extended his troops in the neighbourhood of the king's army, between Gewitz and Littau, in a mountainous ſituation, where he ran little or no riſk of being attacked. Here he remained for ſome time in quiet, with the fertile country of Bohemia in his rear, from whence he drew plentiful ſupplies, and received daily re-enforcements. His ſcheme was to relieve the beſieged occaſionally, to harraſs the beſiegers, and to intercept their convoys from Sileſia; and this ſcheme ſucceeded to his wiſh. Olmutz is ſo extenſive in its works, and ſo peculiarly ſituated on the river Morava, that it could not be completely inveſted without weakening the poſts of the beſieging army, by extending them to a prodigious circuit; ſo that, in ſome parts, they were eaſily forced by detachments in the nights, who fell upon them ſuddenly, and ſeldom failed to introduce into the place ſupplies of men, proviſions, and ammunition. The forage in the neighbourhood of the city having been previouſly deſtroyed, the Pruſſian horſe were obliged to make excurſions at a great diſtance, conſequently expoſed to fatigue, and liable to ſurpriſe; and, in a word, the Pruſſians were not very expert in the art of town taking.

Count Daun knew how to take advantage of theſe circumſtances, without hazarding a battle, to which the king provoked him in vain. While the garriſon made repeated ſallies to retard the operations of the beſiegers, the Auſtrian general harraſſed their foraging parties, fell upon different quarters of their army in the night, and kept them in continual alarm. Nevertheleſs, the king finiſhed his firſt parallel; and proceeded with ſuch vigour as ſeemed to promiſe a ſpeedy reduction of the place, when his deſign was entirely fruſtrated by an untoward incident. Mareſchal Daun, having received intelligence that a large convoy had ſet out from Sileſia for the Pruſſian camp, reſolved to ſeize this opportunity of compelling the king to deſiſt from his enterprize. He ſent general Jahnus, with a ſtrong body of troops, towards Bahrn, and another detachment to Stadtoliebe, with inſtructions to attac the convoy on different ſides; while he himſelf advanced towards the beſiegers, as

[p] At this juncture the Pruſſian commandant of Dreſden being admitted into the Japan palace, to ſee the curious porcelaine with which it is adorned, perceived a door built up; and ordering the paſſage to be opened, entered a large apartment, where he found 3000 tents, and other field utenſils. Theſe had been concealed here when the Pruſſians firſt took poſſeſſion of the city: they were immediately ſeized by the commandant, and diſtributed among the troops of prince Henry's army.

if he intended to give them battle. The king of Pruſſia, far from being deceived by this feint, began, from the motions of the Auſtrian general, to ſuſpect his real ſcheme, and immediately diſpatched general Ziethen, with a ſtrong re-enforcement, to protect the convoy, which was eſcorted by eight battalions, and about 4000 men, who had been ſic, and were juſt recovered. Before this officer joined them, the convoy had been attacked on the 28th of June; but the aſſailants were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. Mareſchal Daun, however, took care that they ſhould be immediately re-enforced; and next day the attac was renewed with much greater effect. Four hundred waggons, guarded by four battalions, and about 1000 troopers, had juſt paſſed the defiles of Domſtadt, when the Auſtrians charged them furiouſly on every ſide: the communication between the head and the reſt of the convoy was cut off; and general Ziethen, after having exerted all his efforts for its preſervation, being obliged to abandon the waggons, retired to Troppau. Thus the whole convoy fell into the hands of the enemy, who took above 600 priſoners, together with general Putkammer; and the king of Pruſſia was obliged to relinquiſh his enterprize. This was a mortifying neceſſity to a prince of his high ſpirit, at a time when he ſaw himſelf on the eve of reducing the place, notwithſtanding the gallant defence which had been made by general Marſhal, the governor. Nothing now remained but to raiſe the ſiege, and retire without loſs in the face of a vigilant enemy, prepared to ſeize every opportunity of advantage: a taſk which, how hard ſoever it may appear, he performed with equal dexterity and ſucceſs. Inſtead of retiring into Sileſia, he reſolved to avert the war from his own dominions, and take the rout of Bohemia, the frontiers of which were left uncovered by mareſchal Daun's laſt motion, when he advanced his quarters to Poſnitz, in order to ſuccour Olmutz the more effectually.

After the king had taken his meaſures, he carefully concealed his deſign from the enemy, and, notwithſtanding the loſs of his convoy, proſecuted the operations of the ſiege with redoubled vigour, till the 1ſt day of July, when he decamped in the night, and began his march to Bohemia. He himſelf, with one diviſion, took the road to Konitz; and mareſchal Keith having brought away all the artillery, except four mortars, and one diſabled cannon, purſued his march by the way of Littau to Muglitz and Tribau. Although his Pruſſian majeſty had gained an entire march upon the Auſtrians, their light troops, commanded by the generals Buccow and Laudohn, did not fail to attend and harraſs his army in their retreat; but their endeavours were in a great meaſure fruſtrated by the conduct and circumſpection of the Pruſſian commanders. After the rear of the army had paſſed the defiles of Krenau, general Laſci, who was poſted at Gibau with a large body of Auſtrian troops occupied the village of Krenau with a detachment of grenadiers, who were ſoon diſlodged; and the Pruſſians purſued their march by Zwittau to Leutomyſſel, where they ſeized a magazine of meal and forage. In the mean time, general de Ratzow, who conducted the proviſions and artillery, found the hills of Hollitz poſſeſſed by the enemy, who cannonaded him as he advanced; but mareſchal Keith coming up, ordered him to be attacked in the rear, and they fled into a wood with precipitation, with the loſs of ſix officers and 300 men, who were taken priſoners. While the mareſchal was thus employed, the king proceeded from Leutomyſſel to Koningſgratz, where general Buccow, who had got the ſtart of him, was poſted with 7000 men behind the Elbe, and in the entrenchments which they had thrown up all round the city. The Pruſſian troops as they arrived paſſed over the little river Adler, and as the enemy had broken down the bridges over the Elbe, the king ordered them to be repaired with all expedition, being determined to attac the Auſtrian entrenchments: but general Buccow did not wait for his approach. He abandoned his entrenchments, and retired with his troops to Clumetz; ſo that the king took poſſeſſion of the moſt important poſt of Koningſgratz without further oppoſition. An Auſtrian corps having taken poſt between him and Hollitz, in order to obſtruct the march of the artillery, he advanced againſt them in perſon, and having driven them from the place, all his cannon, military ſtores, proviſion, with 1500 ſic and wounded men, arrived in ſafety at Koningſgratz, where the whole army encamped. His intention was to transfer the ſeat of war from Moravia to Bohemia, where he ſhould be able to maintain a more eaſy communication with his own dominions: but a more powerful motive ſoon obliged him to change his reſolution.

After the Ruſſian troops under Apraxin had retreated from Pomerania in the courſe of the preceding year, and the czarina ſeemed ready to change her ſyſtem, the courts of Vienna and Verſailles had, by dint of ſubſidies, promiſes, preſents, and intrigues, attached her, in all appearance more firmly than ever to the confederacy, and even induced her to augment the number of troops deſtined to act againſt the Pruſſian monarch. She not only ſigned her acceſſion in form to the quadruple alliance with the empreſs-queen and the kings of France and Sweden, but, in order to manifeſt her zeal to the common cauſe, ſhe diſgraced her chancellor, count Beſtuchef, who was ſuppoſed averſe to the war: ſhe divided her forces into ſeparate bodies, under the command of the generals Fermer and Browne, and ordered them to put their troops in motion in the middle of winter. Fermer accordingly began his march in the beginning of January, and on the 22d his light troops took poſſeſſion of Koningſberg, the capital of Pruſſia, without oppoſition; for the king's forces had quitted that country, in order to proſecute the war in the weſtern parts of Pomerania. They did not, however, maintain themſelves in this part of the country; but, after having ravaged ſome diſtricts, returned to the main body, which halted on the Viſtula, to the no ſmall diſturbance of the city of Dantzick. The reſident of the czarina actually demanded that the magiſtrates ſhould receive a Ruſſian garriſon; a demand which they not only peremptorily refuſed, but ordered all the citizens to arms, and took every other method to provide for their defence. At length, after ſome negotiations with general Fermer, the affair was compromiſed: he deſiſted from the demand, and part of his troops paſſed the Viſtula, ſeemingly to invade Pomerania, in the eaſtern part of which count Dohna had aſſembled an army of Pruſſians to oppoſe their progreſs. But after they had pillaged the open country, they rejoined their main body; and general Fermer, turning to the left, advanced towards Sileſia, in order to co-operate with the other Ruſſian army commanded by Browne, who had taken his rout through Poland, and already paſſed the Poſna. By the 1ſt of July, both bodies had reached the frontiers of Sileſia, and ſome of their coſſacks, penetrating into that province, had committed dreadful ravages, and overwhelmed the inhabitants with conſternation. Count Dohna, with the Pruſſian army under his command, had attended their motions, and even paſſed the Oder at Frankfort, as if he had intended to give them battle: but he was too much inferior in number to hazard ſuch a ſtep, which became an object of his ſovereign's own perſonal attention. Mareſchal Daun had followed the king into Bohemia, and, on the 22d day of July, encamped on the hills of Libiſchau, a ſituation almoſt inacceſſible, where he reſolved to remain, and watch the motions of the Pruſſian monarch, until ſome opportunity ſhould offer of acting to advantage. Nature ſeems to have expreſly formed this commander with talents to penetrate the deſigns, embarraſs the genius, and chec the impetuoſity of the Pruſſian monarch. He was juſtly compared to Fabius Maximus, diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of Cunctator. He poſſeſſed all the vigilance, caution, and ſagacity of that celebrated Roman. Like him, he hovered on the ſkirts of the enemy, harraſſing their parties, accuſtoming the ſoldiers to ſtrict diſcipline, hard ſervice, and the face of a formidable foe, and watching for opportunities which he knew how to ſeize with equal courage and celerity.

The king of Pruſſia, being induced by a concurrence of motives to ſtop the progreſs of the Ruſſians in Sileſia, made his diſpoſitions for retreating from Bohemia, and on the 25th day of July quitted the camp at Koningſgratz. He was attended in his march by 3000 Auſtrian light troops, who did not fail to incommode his rear: but notwithſtanding theſe impediments, he paſſed the Mittau, proceeded on his rout, and on the 9th day of Auguſt arrived at Landſhut. From thence he haſtened with a detachment towards Frankfort on the Oder, and joined the army commanded by lieutenant-general Dohna at Gorgas. Then the whole army paſſed the Oder by a bridge thrown over it at Gataviſe, and having reſted one day, advanced to Dertmitzel, were he encamped. The Ruſſians under general Fermer, were poſted on the other ſide of the little river Mitzel, their right extending to the village of Zwicker, and their left to Quertchem. The king being determined to hazard a battle, paſſed the Mitzel on the 25th in the morning, and turning the flank of the enemy, drew up his army in order of battle in the plain between the little river and the town of Zorndorf. The Ruſſians, by whom he was out-numbered, did not decline the diſpute; but as the ground did not permit them to extend themſelves, they appeared in four lines, forming a front on every ſide, defended by cannon and a

chevaux-de-friſe, their right flank covered by the village of Zwicker. After a warm cannonade, the Pruſſian infantry were ordered to attac the village, and a body of grenadiers advanced to the aſſault; but this brigate unexpectedly giving way, occaſioned a conſiderable opening in the line, and left the whole left flank of the infantry uncovered. Before the enemy could take advantage of this incident, the interval was filled up by the cavalry under the command of general Seydlitz; and the king, with his uſual preſence of mind ſubſtituted another choice body of troops to carry on the attac. This began about noon, and continued for ſome time, during which both ſides fought with equal courage and perſeverance: at length general Sydlitz, having routed the Ruſſian cavalry, fell upon the flank of the infantry with great fury, which being alſo dreadfully annoyed by the Pruſſian artillery, they abandoned the village, together with their military cheſt, and great part of their baggage. Notwithſtanding this loſs, which had greatly diſordered their right wing, they continued to ſtand their ground, and terrible havoc was made among them, not only with the ſword and bayonet, but alſo by the cannon, which were loaded with crape-ſhot, and being excellently ſerved, did great execution. Towards evening the confuſion among them increaſed to ſuch a degree, that in all probability they would have been entirely routed, had they not been favoured by the approaching darkneſs, as well as by a particular operation which was very gallantly performed. One of the Ruſſian generals perceiving the fortune of the day turned againſt them, rallied a ſelect body of troops, and made a vigorous impreſſion on the right wing of the Pruſſians. This effort diverted their attention ſo ſtrongly to that quarter, that the right of the Ruſſians enjoyed a reſpite, during which they retired in tolerable order, and occupied a new poſt on the right, where the reſt of their forces were the more eaſily aſſembled. In this battle they are ſaid to have loſt above 15,000 men, 37 colours, five ſtandards, 12 mortars, the greater part of their baggage, and above 100 pieces of cannon. Among the priſoners that fell into the hands of the victor, were ſeveral general officers, and a good number loſt their lives on the field of battle. The victory coſt the king above 2000 men, including ſome officers of diſtinction, particularly two aides-du-camp, who attended his own perſon, which he expoſed without ſcruple to all the perils of the day. It would have redounded ſtill more to his glory, had he put a ſtop to the carnage; for after all reſiſtance was at an end, the wretched Ruſſians were hewn down without mercy. It muſt be owned, indeed, that the Pruſſian ſoldiers were in a peculiar manner exaſperated againſt this enemy, becauſe they had laid waſte the country, burned the villages, ruined the peaſants, and committed many horrid acts of barbarity, which the practice of war could not authoriſe [q]. The Pruſſian army paſſed the night under arms, and next morning the cannonade was renewed againſt the enemy, who, nevertheleſs, maintained that poſition, without flinching. On the 27th, they ſeemed determined to hazard another action, and even attac the conquerors: inſtead of advancing, however, they took the rout of Landſberg; but afterwards turned off towards Vietzel, and poſted themſelves between the rivers Warta and that village. Immediately after the battle, general Fermer[r], who had received a ſlight wound in the action, ſent a trumpet, with a letter to lieutenant-general Dohna, deſiring a ſuſpenſion of arms for two or three days to bury the dead, and take care of the wounded; and preſenting to his Pruſſian majeſty the humble requeſt of general Browne, who was much weakened with the loſs of blood, that he might have a paſſport, by virtue of which he could be removed to a place where he ſhould find ſuch accommodation as his ſituation required. In anſwer to this meſſage, count Dohna gave the Ruſſian general to underſtand, that as his Pruſſian majeſty remained maſter of the field, he would give the neceſſary orders for interring the dead, and taking care of the wounded on both ſides: he refuſed a ſuſpenſion of arms, but granted the requeſt of general Browne; and concluded his letter, by complaining of the outrages which the Ruſſian troops ſtill continued to commit, in pillaging and burning the king's villages.

The king of Pruſſia had no ſooner repulſed the enemy in one quarter than his preſence was required in another. When he quitted Bohemia, mareſchal Daun, at the head of the Auſtrian army, and the prince de Deuxponts, who commanded the forces of the empire, advanced to the Elbe, in order to ſurround the king's brother prince Henry, who, without immediate ſuccour, would not have been able to preſerve his footing in Saxony. The Pruſſian monarch, therefore, determined to ſupport him with all poſſible expedition. In a few days after the battle, he began his march from Cuſtrin with a re-enforcement of 24 battalions and

[q] A detail of the cruelties committed by thoſe barbarians cannot be read without horror. They not only burned a great number of villages, but they raviſhed, rifled, murdered, and mutilated the inhabitants, without diſtinction of age or ſex, without any other provocation or incitement than brutal luſt and wantonneſs of barbarity. They even violated the ſepulchres of the dead, which have been held ſacred among the moſt ſavage nations. At Camin and Breckholtz they forced open the graves and ſepulchral vaults, and ſtripped the bodies of the generals Schlabendorf and Ruitz, which had been depoſited there. But the collected force of their vengeance was diſcharged againſt Cuſtrin, the capital of the New Marche of Bradenburgh, ſituated at the conflux of the Warta and the Oder, about 15 Engliſh miles from Frankfort. The particulars of the diſaſter that befel this city are pathetically related in the following extracts from a letter written by an inhabitant and eye-witneſs.

"On the 13th of Auguſt, about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, a ſudden report was ſpread that a body of Ruſſian huſſars and coſſacks appeared in ſight of the little ſuburb. All the people were immediately in motion, and the whole city was filled with terror, eſpecially as we were certainly informed that the whole Ruſſian army was advancing from Meſerick and Konigſwalda, by the way of Landſberg. A re-enforcement was immediately ſent to our piquet-guard in the ſuburb, amounting, by this junction, to 300 men, who were ſoon attacked by the enemy, and the ſkirmiſh laſted from 4 till 7 o'clock in the evening. During this diſpute, we could plainly perceive, from our ramparts and church-ſteeple, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, mounted on Engliſh horſes, reconnoitring our fortification through perſpective-glaſſes. They retired, however, when our cannon began to fire: then our piquet took poſſeſſion of their former poſt in the ſuburb; and the re-enforcement we had ſent from the city returned, after having broke down the bridge over the Oder. Next day count Dohna, who commanded the army near Frankfort, ſent in a re-enforcement of four battalions, ten ſquadrons, and a ſmall body of huſſars, under the command of lieutenant-general Scherlemmer. The huſſars and a body of dragoons were added to the piquet of the little ſuburb: the four battalions pitched their tents on the Anger, between the ſuburb and the fortification; and the reſt of the dragoons remained in the field, to cover the long ſuburb. General Scherlemmer, attended by our governor, colonel Schuck, went with a ſmall party to obſerve the enemy: but were obliged to retire, and were purſued by the coſſacks to the walls of the city. Between 4 and 5 o'clock next morning the poor inhabitants were rouſed from their ſleep by the noiſe of the cannon, intermingled with the diſmal ſhrieks and hideous yellings of the coſſacks belonging to the Ruſſian army. Alarmed at this horrid noiſe, I aſcended the church-ſteeple, from whence I beheld the whole plain, extending from the little ſuburb to the foreſt, covered with the enemy's troops, and our light-horſe, ſupported by the infantry, engaged in different places with their irregulars. At 8 I deſcried a body of the enemy's infantry, whoſe van conſiſted of 4 or 5000 men, advancing towards the vineyard, in the neighbourhood of which they had raiſed occaſional batteries in the preceding evening; from theſe they now played on our piquet-guard and huſſars, who were obliged to retire. They then fired, en ricochet, on the tents and baggage of the four battalions encamped on the Anger, who were alſo compelled to retreat. Having thus cleared the environs, they threw into the city ſuch a number of bombs and red-hot bullets, that by nine in the morning it was ſet on fire in three different places; and the ſtreets being narrow, burned with ſuch fury, that all our endeavours to extinguiſh it proved ineffectual. At this time the whole atmoſphere appeared like a ſhower of fiery rain and hail; and the miſerable inhabitants thought of nothing but ſaving their lives by running into the open fields. The whole place was filled with terror and conſternation and reſounded with the ſhrieks of women and children, who ran about in the utmoſt diſtraction, expoſed to the ſhot and the bomb-ſhells, which, burſting, tore in pieces every thing that ſtood in their way. As I led my wife, with a young child in her arms, and drove the reſt of my children and ſervants half naked before me, thoſe inſtruments of death and devaſtation fell about us like hail; but, by the mercy of God, we all eſcaped unhurt. Nothing could be more melancholy and affecting than a ſight of the wretched people, flying in crouds, and leaving their all behind, while they rent the ſky with their lamentations. Many women of diſtinction I ſaw without ſhoes and ſtockings, and almoſt without clothes, who had been rouſed from their beds, and ran out naked into the ſtreets. When my family had reached the open plain I endeavoured to return, and ſave ſome of my effects; but I could not force my way through a multitude of people, thronging out at the gate, ſome ſic, and bed-ridden perſons being carried on horſebac and in carriages, and others conveyed on the bacs of their friends, through a moſt dreadful ſcene of horror and deſolation. A great number of families from the open country, and defenceleſs towns in Pruſſia and Pomerania, had come hither for ſhelter with their moſt valuable effects, when the Ruſſians firſt entered the king's territories. Theſe, as well as the inhabitants, are all ruined; and many, who a few days ago poſſeſſed conſiderable wealth, are now induced to the utmoſt indigence. The neighbouring towns and villages were ſoon crouded with the people of Cuſtrin: the roads were filled with objects of miſery: and nothing was ſeen but nakedneſs and deſpair; nothing heard but the cries of hunger, fear, and diſtraction. For my own part, I ſtayed all night at Goltz, and then proceeded for Berlin. Cuſtrin is now a heap of ruins. The great magazine, the governor's houſe, the church, the palace, the ſtore and artillery houſes, in a word, the old and new towns, the ſuburbs, and all the bridges, were reduced to aſhes: nay, after the aſhes were deſtroyed, the piles and ſterlings were burned to the water's edge. The writings of all the colleges, together with the archives of the county, were totally conſumed, together with a prodigious magazine of corn and flour, valued at ſome millions of crowns. The cannon in the arſenal were all melted; and the loaded bombs and cartridges, with a large quantity of gunpowder, went off at once with a moſt horrible exploſion. A great number of the inhabitants are miſſing, ſuppoſed to have periſhed in the flames, or under the ruins of the houſes, or to have been ſuffocated in ſubterraneous vaults and caverns, to which they had fled for ſafety."

Nothing could be more inhuman, or contrary to the practice of a generous enemy, than ſuch vengeance wreaked upon the innocent inhabitants; for the Ruſſians did not begin to batter the fortifications until all the reſt of the place was deſtroyed. In the courſe of this campaign, the Ruſſian coſſacks are ſaid to have plundered and burned fourteen large towns and two hundred villages, and wantonly butchered above 2000 defenceleſs women and children. Such monſters of barbarity ought to be excluded from all the privileges of human nature, and hunted down as wild beaſts, without pity or ceſſation. What infamy ought thoſe powers to incur, who employ and encourage ſuch ruthleſs barbarians?

[r] General Fermer was of Scottiſh extract, and general Browne actually a native of North-Britain.

great part of his cavalry, and purſued his rout with ſuch unwearied diligence, that by the fifth day of September he reached Torgau, and on the 11th joined his brother. Mareſchal Daun had poſted himſelf at Stolpen, to the eaſtward of the Elbe, in order to preſerve an eaſy communication with the army of the empire encamped in the neigbourhood of Koningſtein, to favour the operations of general Laudohn, who had advanced through the lower Luſatia to the frontiers of Brandenburgh; to make a diverſion from the ſouthern parts of Sileſia, where a body of Auſtrian troops acted under the command of the generals Haarache and de Ville; and to interrupt the communication between prince Henry and the capital of Saxony. On the 5th of September, the garriſon in the ſtrong fortreſs of Koningſtein ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, after a very feeble reſiſtance, to the prince de Deuxponts, who forthwith took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong camp at Pirna. When the king of Pruſſia, therefore, arrived at Dreſden, he found the army of the empire in this poſition, and mareſchal Daun in a ſtill ſtronger ſituation at Stolpen, with bridges of communication thrown over the Elbe, ſo that he could not attac them with any proſpect of advantage. He had no other reſolution to take but that of endeavouring to cut them off from ſupplies of proviſion, and with this view he marched to Bautzen, which he occupied. This motion obliged the Auſtrian general to quit his camp at Stolpen, but he choſe another of equal ſtrength at Libau; yet he afterwards advanced to Rittlitz, that he might be at hand to ſeize the firſt favourable occaſion of executing the reſolution he had formed to attac the Pruſſians. The king having detached general Ratzow on his left, to take poſſeſſion of Weiſſenberg, marched forwards with the body of his army, and poſted himſelf in the neighbourhood of Hochkirchen, after having diſlodged the Auſtrians from that village. Matters were now brought to ſuch a delicate criſis, that a battle ſeemed inevitable, and equally deſired by both parties, as an event that would determine whether the Auſtrians ſhould be obliged to retreat for winter-quarters into Bohemia, or be enabled to maintain their ground in Saxony. In this ſituation mareſchal Daun reſolved to act offenſively, and formed a ſcheme for attacking the right flank of the Pruſſians by ſurpriſe. This meaſure was ſuggeſted to him by an overſight of the Pruſſians, who had neglected to occupy the heights that commanded the village of Hochkirchen, which was only guarded by a few free companies. He determined to take the advantage of a very dark night, and to employ the flower of his whole army on this important ſervice, well knowing, that ſhould they penetrate through the flank of the enemy, the whole Pruſſian army would be diſconcerted, and in all probability entirely ruined. Having taken his meaſures with wonderful ſecreſy and circumſpection, the troops began to move in the night between the 13th and 14th of October, favoured by a thic fog, which greatly encreaſed the darkneſs of the night. Their firſt care was to take poſſeſſion of the hill that commanded Hochkirchen, from whence they poured down upon the village, of which they took poſſeſſion, after having cut in pieces the free companies poſted there. The action began in this quarter about four in the morning, and continued ſeveral hours with great fury, for, notwithſtanding the impetuous efforts of the Auſtrian troops, and the confuſion occaſioned among the Pruſſians by the ſurprize, a vigorous ſtand was made by ſome general officers, who, with admirable expedition and preſence of mind, aſſembled and arranged the troops as they could take to their arms, and led them up to the attac without diſtinction of regiment, place, or precedence. While the action was obſtinately and deſperately maintained in this place, amidſt all the horrors of darkneſs, carnage, and confuſion, the king being alarmed, exerted all his perſonal activity, addreſs, and recollection, in drawing regularity from diſorder, arranging the different corps, altering poſitions, re-enforcing weak poſts, encouraging the ſoldiery, and oppoſing the efforts of the enemy; for although they made their chief impreſſion upon the right, by the village of Hochkirchen, mareſchal Daun, in order to divide the attention of the king, made another attac upon the left, which was with difficulty ſuſtained, and effectually prevented him from ſending re-enforcements to the right, where mareſchal Keith, under the greateſt diſadvantages, bore the brunt of the enemy's chief endeavours. Thus the battle raged till nine in the morning, when this gallant officer was ſhot through the heart. Prince Francis of Bruſwick had met with the ſame fate; prince Maurice of Anhalt was wounded and taken priſoner, and many others were either ſlain or diſabled. As the right-wing had been ſurprized, the tents continued ſtanding, and greatly embarraſſed them in their defence. The ſoldiers had never been properly drawn up in order; the enemy ſtill perſevered in their attac with ſucceſſive re-enforcements and redoubled reſolution; and a conſiderable ſlaughter was made by their artillery, which they had brought up to the heights of Hochkirchen. All theſe circumſtances concurring, could not fail to increaſe the confuſion and diſaſter of the Pruſſians; ſo that about ten the king was obliged to retire to Dobreſchutz, with the loſs of 7000 men, of all his tents, and part of his baggage. Nor had the Auſtrian general much cauſe to boaſt of his victory. His loſs of men was pretty near equal to that of the Pruſſian monarch: and, whatever reputation he might have acquired in foiling that enterprizing prince, certainly his deſign did not take effect in its full extent, for the Pruſſians were next day in a condition to hazard another engagement. The king of Pruſſia had ſuſtained no damage which he could not eaſily repair, except the death of mareſchal Keith, which was doubtleſs an irreparable misfortune[1].

His Pruſſian majeſty remained with his army ten days at Dobreſchutz, during which he endeavoured to bring the Auſtrians to a ſecond engagement, but count Daun declined the invitation, and kept his forces advantageouſly poſted on eminences planted with artillery. His aim having been fruſtrated at Hochkirchen, where he fought with many advantages on his ſide, he would not hazard another battle upon equal terms, with ſuch an enterprizing enemy, rendered more vigilant by the chec he had received, already re-enforced from the army of prince Henry, and eager for an opportunity to retrieve the laurel which

[1] As very little notice was taken, in the detail publiſhed by authority, of any part which this great man acted in the battle of Hochkirchen, and a report was induſtriouſly circulated in this kingdom, that he was ſurpriſed in his tent, naked, and half aſleep, we think it the duty of a candid hiſtorian to vindicate his memory and reputation from the foul aſperſion thrown by the perfidious and illiberal hand of envious malice, or elſe contrived to ſcreen ſome other character from the imputation of miſconduct. This taſk we are enabled to perform by a gentleman of candour and undoubted credit, who learned the following particulars at Berlin from a perſon that was eye-witneſs of the whole tranſaction. Field-mareſchal Keith, who arrived in the camp the very day that preceded the battle, diſapproved of the ſituation of the Pruſſian army, and remonſtrated to the king on that ſubject. In conſequence of his advice, a certain general was ſent with a detachment to take poſſeſſion of the heights that commanded the village of Hochkirchen; but by ſome fatality he miſcarried mareſchal Keith was not in any tent, but lodged with prince Francis of Brunſwick, in a houſe belonging to a Saxon major. When the firſt alarm was given in the night, he inſtantly mounted his horſe, aſſembled a body of the neareſt troops, and marched directly to the place that was attacked. The Auſtrians had taken poſſeſſion of the hill which the Pruſſian officer was ſent to occupy, and this they fortified with cannon: then they made themſelves maſters of the village in which the free companies of Anginelli had been poſted. Mareſchal Keith immediately conceived the deſign of the Auſtrian general, and knowing the importance of this place, thither directed all his efforts. He in perſon led on the troops to the attac of the village, from whence he drove the enemy; but being overpowered by numbers continually powering down from the hills, he was obliged to retire in his turn. He rallied his men, returned to the charge, and regained poſſeſſion of the place: being again repulſed by freſh re-enforcements of the enemy, he made another effort, entered the village a third time, and finding it untenable, ordered it to be ſet on fire. Thus he kept the Auſtrians at bay, and maintained a deſperate conflict againſt the flower of the Auſtrian army, from four in the morning till nine, when the Pruſſians were formed, and began to file off in their retreat. During the whole diſpute he rallied the troops in perſon, charged at their head, and expoſed his life in the hotteſt of a dreadful fire, like a private captain of grenadiers. He found it neceſſary to exert himſelf in this manner, the better to remove the bad effects of confuſion that prevailed, and in order to inſpirit the troops to their utmoſt exertion by his voice, preſence, and example. Even when dangerouſly wounded, at eight in the morning, he refuſed to quit the field; but continued to ſignalize himſelf in the midſt of the carnage until nine, when he received a ſecond ſhot in his breaſt, and fell ſpeechleſs into the arms of mr. Tibay, an Engliſh volunteer, who had attended him during the whole campaign. This gentleman, who was likewiſe wounded, applied to a Pruſſian officer for a file of men to remove the mareſchal, being uncertain whether he was entirely deprived of life. His requeſt was granted; but the ſoldiers, in advancing to the ſpot, were countermanded by another officer. He afterwards ſpoke on the ſame ſubject to one of the Pruſſian generals, a German prince, as he chanced to paſs on horſe-bac: when mr. Tibay told him the field-mareſchal was lying wounded on the field, he aſked if his wounds were mortal; and the other anſwering he was afraid they were, the prince ſhrugged up his ſhoulders, and rode off without further queſtion. The body of this great officer, being thus ſhamefully abandoned, was ſoon ſtripped by the Auſtrian ſtragglers, and lay expoſed and undiſtinguiſhed on the field of battle. In this ſituation it was perceived by count Laſci, ſon of the general of that name, with whom mareſchal Keith had ſerved in Ruſſia. This young count had been the mareſchal's pupil, and revered him as his military father, though employed in the Auſtrian ſervice. He recogniſed the body by the large ſcar of a dangerous wound, which general Keith had received in his thigh at the ſiege of Ockzakow, and could not help burſting into tears to ſee his honoured maſter thus extended at his feet, a naked, lifeleſs, and deſerted corpſe. He forthwith cauſed the body to be covered, and interred. It was afterwards taken up, and decently buried by the curate of Hochkirchen; and, finally, removed to Berlin by order of the king of Pruſſia, who beſtowed upon it thoſe funeral honours that were due to the dignified rank and tranſcendent merit of the deceaſed; merit ſo univerſally acknowledged, that even the Saxons lamented him as their beſt friend and patron, who protected them from violence and outrage, even while he acted a principal part in ſubjecting them to the dominion of his ſovereign.

had been ſnatched from him by the wiles of ſtratagem, rather than by the hand of valour. Count Daun having nothing more to hope from the active operations of his own army, contented himſelf with amuſing the Pruſſian monarch in Luſatia, while the Auſtrian generals, Harſche and de Ville, ſhould proſecute the reduction of Neiſs and Coſel, in Sileſia, which they now actually inveſted. As the Pruſſian monarch could not ſpare detachments to oppoſe every different corps of his enemies that acted againſt him in different parts of his dominions, he reſolved to make up in activity what he wanted in number, and if poſſible to raiſe the ſiege of Neiſs in perſon. With this view he decamped from Dobreſchutz, and in ſight of the enemy marched to Gorlitz without the leaſt interruption. From thence he proceeded towards Sileſia with his uſual expedition, notwithſtanding all the endeavours and activity of general Laudohn, who harraſſed the rear of the Pruſſians, and gained ſome petty advantages over them. Count Daun not only ſent this detached corps to retard them in their march, but at the ſame time, by another rout, detached a ſtrong reenforcement to the army of the beſiegers. In the mean time having received intelligence that the army of prince Henry in Saxony was conſiderably weakened, he himſelf marched thither, in hopes of expelling the prince from that country, and reducing the capital in the king's abſence. Indeed, his deſigns were ſtill more extenſive, for he propoſed to reduce Dreſden, Leipſick, and Torgau at the ſame time; the firſt with the main body under his own direction, the ſecond by the army of the empire under the prince de Duxponts, and the third by a corps under general Haddick, while the forces directed by Laudohn ſhould exclude the king from Luſatia. In execution of this plan he marched directly to the Elbe, which he paſſed at Pirna, and advanced to Dreſden, which he hoped would ſurrender without putting him to the trouble of a formal ſiege. The army of prince Henry had already retired to the weſtward of this capital, before the prince de Deuxponts, who had found means to cut off his communication with Leipſick, and even inveſted that city. During theſe tranſactions, general Haddick advanced againſt Torgau.

The field-mareſchal count Daun appearing on the 6th day of November within ſight of Dreſden, at the head of 60,000 men, encamped next day at Lockowitz, and on the 8th his advanced troops attacked the Pruſſian huſſars and independent battalions, which were poſted at Strieſſen and Gruenewieſe. Count Schmettau, who commanded the garriſon, amounting to 10,000 men, apprehenſive that, in the courſe of ſkirmiſhing, the Auſtrian troops might enter the ſuburbs pellmell, poſted colonel Itzenplitz, with 700 men, in the redoubts that ſurrounded the ſuburbs, that in caſe of emergency they might ſupport the irregulars: at the ſame time, as the houſes that conſtituted the ſuburbs were generally ſo high as to overlook the ramparts, and command the city, he prepared combuſtibles and gave notice to the magiſtrates that they would be ſet on fire as ſoon as an Auſtrian ſhould appear within the place. This muſt have been a dreadful declaration to the inhabitants of theſe ſuburbs, which compoſe one of the moſt elegant towns in Europe. In theſe houſes, which were generally lofty and magnificent, the faſhionable and wealthy claſs of people reſided, and here a number of artiſts carried on a variety of curious manufactures. In vain the magiſtrates implored the mercy and forbearance of the Pruſſian governor, and repreſented, in the moſt ſubmiſſive ſtrain, that as they were unconcerned in the war, they hoped they ſhould be exempted from the horrors of devaſtation. In vain the royal family, who remained at Dreſden, conjured him to ſpare that laſt refuge of diſtreſſed royalty, and allow them at leaſt a ſecure reſidence, ſince they were deprived of every other comfort. He continued inflexible, or rather determined to execute the orders of his maſter, which indeed he could not diſobey with any regard to his own ſafety. On the 9th day of November, about noon, the Auſtrian vanguard attacked the advanced poſt of the garriſon, repelled the huſſars, drove the independent battalions into the ſuburbs, and forced three of the redoubts, while their cannon played upon the town. The governor expecting a vigorous attac next day, recalled his troops within the city, after they had ſet fire to the ſuburbs. At three in the morning the ſignal was made for this terrible conflagration, which in a little time reduced to aſhes the beautiful ſuburbs of Pirna, which had ſo lately flouriſhed as the ſeat of gaiety, pleaſure, and the ingenious arts. Every boſom warmed with benevolence muſt be affected at the recital of ſuch calamities. It excites not only our compaſſion for the unhappy ſufferers, but alſo our reſentment againſt the perpetrators of ſuch enormity. Next day mareſchal Daun ſent an officer to count Schmettau, with a meſſage, expreſſing his ſurpriſe at the deſtruction of the ſuburbs in a royal reſidence, an act of inhumanity unheard of among chriſtians. He deſired to know if it was by the governor's order this meaſure was taken, and aſſured him, that he ſhould be reſponſible, in his perſon, for whatever outrages had been or might be committed againſt a place in which a royal family reſided. Schmettau gave him to underſtand that he had orders to defend the town to the laſt extremity, and that the preſervation of what remained depended entirely on the conduct of his excellency; for, ſhould he think proper to attac the place, he (the governor) would defend himſelf from houſe to houſe, and from ſtreet to ſtreet, and even make his laſt effort in the royal palace, rather than abandon the city. He excuſed the deſtruction of the ſuburbs as a neceſſary meaſure, authoriſed by the practice of war; but he would have found it a difficult taſk to reconcile this ſtep to the laws of eternal juſtice, and far leſs to the dictates of common humanity. Indeed, if the ſcene had happened in an enemy's country, or if no other ſtep could have ſaved the lives and liberties of himſelf and his garriſon, ſuch a deſperate remedy might have ſtood excuſed by the law of nature and of nations: but on this occaſion he occupied a neutral city, over which he could exerciſe no other power and authority but that which he derived from illegal force and violence; nor was he at all reduced to the neceſſity of ſacrificing the place to his own ſafety, inaſmuch as he might have retired unmoleſted, by virtue of an honourable capitulation, which however he did not demand. Whether the peremptory order of a ſuperior will, in foro conſcientiæ, juſtify an officer who hath committed an illegal or inhuman action, is a queſtion that an Engliſh reader will ſcarce leave to the determination of a German caſuiſt with 150,000 armed men in his retinue. Be this as it will, mr. Ponickau, the Saxon miniſter, immediately after this tragedy was acted, without waiting for his maſter's orders, preſented a memorial to the diet of the empire, complaining of it as an action reſerved for the hiſtory of the war which the king of Pruſſia had kindled in Germany, to be tranſmitted to future ages. He affirmed, that, in execution of Schmettau's orders the ſoldiers had diſperſed themſelves in the ſtreets of the Pirna and Witchen ſuburbs, broke open the houſes and ſhops, ſet fire to the combuſtibles, added freſh fuel, and then ſhut the doors; that the violence of the flames was kept up by red-hot balls fired into the houſes, and along the ſtreets; that the wretched inhabitants, who forſook their burning houſes, were ſlain by the fire of the cannon and ſmall arms; that thoſe who endeavoured to ſave their perſons and effects were puſhed down and deſtroyed by the bayonets of the Pruſſian ſoldiers poſted in the ſtreets for that purpoſe: he enumerated particular inſtances of inhuman barbarity, and declared that a great number of people periſhed, either amidſt the flames, or under the ruins of the houſes. The deſtruction of 250 elegant houſes, and the total ruin of the inhabitants, were circumſtances in themſelves ſo deplorable, as to need no aggravation: but the account of the Saxon miniſter was ſhamefully exaggerated, and all the particular inſtances of cruelty falſe in every circumſtance. Baron Plotho, the miniſter of Brandenburgh, did not fail to anſwer every article of the Saxon memorial, and refute the particulars therein alledged, in a fair detail, authenticated by certificates under the hands of the magiſtrates, judges, and principal inhabitants of Dreſden. The moſt extraordinary part of this defence or vindication was the concluſion, in which the baron ſolemnly aſſured the diet, that the king of Pruſſia, from his great love to mankind, always felt the greateſt emotion of ſoul, and the moſt exquiſite concern, at the effuſion of blood, the devaſtation of cities and countries, and the horrors of war, by which ſo many thouſand fellow-creatures were overwhelmed; and that if his ſincere and honeſt inclination to procure peace to Germany, his dear country, had met with the leaſt regard, the preſent war, attended with ſuch bloodſhed and deſolation, would have beed prevented and avoided. He, therefore, declared that thoſe who excited the preſent troubles, who, inſtead of extinguiſhing, threw oil upon the flames, muſt anſwer to God for the ſeas of blood that had been, and would be ſhed, for the devaſtation of ſo many countries, and the entire ruin of ſo many innocent individuals. Such declarations coſt nothing to thoſe hardened politicians, who, feeling no eternal chec, are determined to ſacrifice every conſideration to the motives of rapacity and ambition. It would be happy, however, for mankind, were princes taught to believe that there is really an omnipotent and all

judging power, that will exact a ſevere account of their conduct, and puniſh them for their guilt, without any reſpect to their perſons; that pillaging a whole people is more cruel than robbing a ſingle perſon; and that the maſſacre of thouſands is, at leaſt, as criminal as a private murder.

While count Daun was employed in making a fruitleſs attempt upon the capital of Saxony, the king of Pruſſia proceeded in his march to Neiſs, which was completely inveſted on the 3d day of October. The operations of the ſiege were carried on with great vigour by the Auſtrian general, de Harſche, and the place was as vigorouſly defended by the Pruſſian governor, Theſkau, till the firſt day of November, when the Pruſſian monarch approached, and obliged the beſiegers to abandon their enterprize. M. de Harſche having raiſed the ſiege, the king detached general Fouquet with a body of troops acroſs the river Neiſs, and immediately the blockade of Coſel was likewiſe abandoned. De Harſche retired to Bohemia, and de Ville hovered about Jagernſdorf. The fortreſs of Neiſs was no ſooner relieved than the king of Pruſſia began his march on his return to Saxony, where his immediate preſence was required. At the ſame time, the two bodies under the generals Dohna and Wedel penetrated by different routs into that country. The former had been left at Cuſtrin, to watch the motions of the Ruſſians, who had by this time retreated to the Viſtula, and even croſſed that river at Thorn, and the other had, during the campaign, obſerved the Swedes, who had now entirely evacuatee the Pruſſian territories. ſo that Wedel was at liberty to co-operate with the king in Saxony. He accordingly marched to Torgau, the ſiege of which had been undertaken by the Auſtrian general, Haddick, who was repulſed by Wedel, and even purſued to the neighbourhood of Eulenbourg. Wedel, being afterwards joined by Dohna, drove him from thence with conſiderable loſs, and then raiſed the ſiege of Leipſick. Mean while, the king proſecuted his march towards the capital of Saxony, driving before him the body of Auſtrian troops, under Laudohn, who retreated to Zittau. On the 10th day of November count Daun retired from Dreſdren, and with the army of the empire fell bac towards Bohemia; and on the 20th the king arrived in that city, where he approved of the governor's conduct. The Ruſſian general foreſeeing that he ſhould not be able to maintain his ground during the winter in Pomerania, unleſs he could ſecure ſome ſea-port on the Baltick, by which he might be ſupplied with proviſions, detached general Palmbach, with 15,000 men, to beſiege the town of Colberg, an inconſiderable place, very meanly fortified. It was accordingly inveſted on the 3d day of October; but the beſiegers were ſo ill provided with proper implements, or ſo little acquainted with operations of this nature, that the garriſon, though feeble, maintained the place againſt all their attacs for 26 days; at the expiration of which they abandoned their enterprize, and cruelly ravaged the open country in their retreat. Thus, by the activity and valour of the Pruſſian monarch, his generals, and officers, ſix ſieges were raiſed almoſt at the ſame period, namely, thoſe of Colberg, Neiſs, Coſel, Torgau, Leipſick, and Dreſden.

The variety of fortune which the king of Pruſſia experienced in the courſe of this campaign was very remarkable; but the ſpirit of his conduct, and the rapidity of his motions, were altogether without example. In the former campaign we were dazzled with the luſtre of his victories; in this we admire his fortitude and ſkill in ſtemming the different torrents of adverſity, and riſing ſuperior to his evil fortune. One can hardly without aſtoniſhment recollect, that in the courſe of a few months he invaded Moravia, inveſted Olmutz, and was obliged to relinquiſh that deſign; that he marched through an enemy's country, in the face of a great army, which, though it harraſſed him in his retreat, could not, in a rout of an hundred miles, obtain any advantage over him; that, in ſpite of his diſaſter at Olmutz, and the difficulties of ſuch a march, he penetrated into Bohemia, drove the enemy from Koningſgratz, executed another dangerous and fatiguing march to the Oder, defeated a great army of Ruſſians, and returned by the way of Saxony, from whence he drove the Auſtrian and imperial armies; that after his defeat at Hochkirchen, where he loſt two of his beſt generals, and was obliged to leave his tents ſtanding, he baffled the vigilance and ſuperior number of the victorious army, ruſhed like a whirlwind to the relief of Silcſia, invaded by an Auſtrian army, which he compelled to retire with precipitation from that province; that, with the ſame rapidity of motion, he wheeled about to Saxony, and once more reſcued it from the hands of his adverſaries; that in one campaign he made twice the circuit of his dominions, relieved them all in their turns, and kept all his poſſeſſions entire againſt the united efforts of numerous armies, conducted by generals of conſumate ſkill and undaunted reſolution. His character would have been ſtill more complete, if his moderation had been equal to his courage; but in this particular we cannot applaud his conduct. Incenſed by the perſecuting ſpirit of his enemies, he wreaked his vengeance on thoſe who had done him no injury; and the cruelties which the Ruſſians had committed in his dominions were retaliated upon the unfortunate inhabitants of Saxony. In the latter end of September, the preſident of the Pruſſian military directory ſent a letter to the magiſtrates of Leipſick, requiring them in the king's name to pay a new contribution of 600,000 crowns, and to begin immediately with the payment of one-third part, on pain of military execution. In anſwer to this demand the magiſtrates repreſented that the city having been exhauſted by the enormous contributions already raiſed, was abſolutely incapable of furniſhing further ſupplies; that the trade was ſtagnated and ruined, and the inhabitants ſo impoveriſhed, that they could no longer pay the ordinary taxes. This remonſtrance made no impreſſion. At five in the morning the Pruſſian ſoldiers aſſembled, and were poſted in all the ſtreets, ſquares, market-places, cæmeteries, towers, and ſteeples; then the gates being ſhut, in order to exclude the populace of the ſuburbs from the city, the ſenators were brought into the town-hall, and accoſted by general Hauſs, who told them the king his maſter would have money; and if they refuſed to part with it the city ſhould be plundered. To this peremptory addreſs they replied to this effect: 'We have no more money—we have nothing left but life; and we recommend ourſelves to the king's mercy.' In conſequence of this declaration, diſpoſitions were made for giving up the city to be plundered. Cannon were planted in all the ſtreets, the inhabitants were ordered to remain within doors, and every houſe reſounded with diſmal cries and lamentations. The dreaded pillage, however, was converted into a regular exaction. A party of ſoldiers, commanded by a ſubaltern, went from houſe to houſe, ſignifying to every burgher that he ſhould produce all his ſpecie, on pain of immediate pillage and maſſacre; and every inhabitant delivered up his all without further heſitation. About ſix in the evening, the ſoldiers returned to their quarters; but the magiſtrates were detained in confinement, and all the citizens were overwhelmed with grief and conſternation. Happy Britain, who knoweſt ſuch grievances only by report! When the king of Pruſſia firſt entered Saxony, at the beginning of the war, he delared he had no deſign to make a conqueſt of that electorate, but only to keep it as a depoſitum for the ſecurity of his own dominions, until he could oblige his enemies to acquieſce in reaſonable terms of peace; but upon his laſt arrival at Dreſden he adopted a new reſolution. In the beginning of December the Pruſſian directory of war iſſued a decree to the deputies of the ſtates of the electorate, demanding a certain quantity of flour and forage, according to the convention formerly ſettled; at the ſame time ſignifying, that though the king of Pruſſia had hitherto treated the electorate as a country taken under his ſpecial protection, the face of affairs was now changed in ſuch a manner, that for the future he would conſider it in no other light than that of a conquered country. The Ruſſians had ſeiſed in Pruſſia all the eſtates and effects belonging to the king's officers: a retaliation was now made upon the effects of the Saxon officers who ſerved in the Ruſſian army. Seals were put on all the cabinets containing papers belonging to the privy-counſellors of his Poliſh majeſty, and they themſelves ordered to depart for Warſaw at a very ſhort warning. Though the city had been impoveriſhed by former exactions, and very lately ſubjected to military execution, the king of Pruſſia demanded freſh contributions, and even extorted them by dint of ſeverities that ſhoc humanity. He ſurrounded the exchange with ſoldiers, and confining the merchants to ſtraw-beds and naked apartments, obliged them to draw bills for very large ſums on their foreign correſpondents: a method of proceeding much more ſuitable to the deſpotiſm of a Perſian ſophi towards a conquered people who profeſſed a different faith, than reconcileable to the character of a proteſtant prince towards a peaceable nation of brethren, with whom he was connected by the common ties of neighbourhood and religion. Even if they had acted as declared enemies, and been ſubdued with arms in their hands, the exceſſes of war on the ſide of the conqueror ought to have ceaſed with the hoſtilities of the

conquered, who, by ſubmitting to his ſway, would have become his ſubjects, and in that capacity had a claim to his protection. To retaliate upon the Saxons, who had eſpouſed no quarrel, the barbarities committed by the Ruſſians, with whom he was actually at war, and to treat as a conquered province a neutral country, which his enemies had entered by violence, and been obliged to evacuate by force of arms, was a ſpecies of conduct founded on pretences which overturn all right, and confound all reaſon.

Having recorded all the tranſactions of the campaign, except thoſe in which the Swedes were concerned, it now remains that we ſhould particulariſe the progreſs which was made in Pomerania by the troops of that nation, under the command of count Hamilton. We have already obſerved, that in the beginning of the year the Pruſſian general, Lehwald, had compelled them to evacuate the whole province, except Stralſund, which was likewiſe inveſted. This, in all probability, would have been beſieged in form, had not Lehwald reſigned the command of the Pruſſians, on account of his great age and infirmities, and his ſucceſſor count Dohna been obliged to withdraw his troops, in order to oppoſe the Ruſſian army on the other ſide of Pomerania. The blockade of Stralſund being conſequently raiſed, and that part of the country entirely evacuated by the Pruſſians, the Swediſh troops advanced again from the iſle of Rugen, to which they had retired: but the ſupplies and re-enforcements they expected from Stockholm were delayed in ſuch a manner, either from a deficiency in the ſubſidies promiſed from France, or from the management of thoſe who were averſe to the war, that great part of the ſeaſon was elapſed before they undertook any important enterprize. Indeed, while they lay encamped under the cannon of Sralſund, waiting for theſe ſupplies, their operations were retarded by the exploſion of a whole ſhip-load of gunpowder intended for their uſe; an event imputed to the practices of the Pruſſian party in Sweden, which at this period ſeemed to gain ground, and even threatened a change in the miniſtry. At length the re-enforcement arrived about the latter end of June, and their general ſeemed determined to act with vigour. In the beginning of July, his army being put in motion, he ſent a detachment to diſlodge the few Pruſſian troops that were left at Anclam, Demmin, and other places, to guard that frontier; and they retreated accordingly. Count Hamilton having nothing further to oppoſe him in the field, in a very little time recovered all Swediſh Pomerania, and even made hot incurſions into the Pruſſian territories. Mean while, a combined fleet of 33 Ruſſian and ſeven Swediſh ſhips of war appeared in the Baltick, and anchored between the iſlands Dragoe and Amagh; but they neither landed troops nor committed hoſtilities. The Swediſh general advanced to Fehrbellin, ſent out parties that raiſed contributions within 25 miles of Berlin, and threw the inhabitants of that capital into the utmoſt conſternation. The king of Pruſſia, alarmed at their progreſs, diſpatched general Wedel from Dreſden, with a body of troops that were augmented on their march; ſo that, on the 20th of September, he found himſelf at Berlin with 11,000 effective men, at the head of whom he proceeded againſt count Hamilton, while the prince of Bevern, with 5000, advanced on the other ſide from Stetin. At their approach, the Swediſh commander retired, after having left a garriſon of 1400 men at Fehrbellin, in order to retard the Pruſſians, and ſecure the retreat of his army. The place was immediately attacked by general Wedel; and though the Swedes diſputed the ground from houſe to houſe with uncommon obſtinacy, he at laſt drove them out of the town, with the loſs of one-half their number either killed or taken priſoners. The body of the Swediſh army, without hazarding any other action, immediately evacuated the Pruſſian territories, and returned to the neighbourhood of Stralſund, intending to take winter-quarters in the iſle of Rugen. Count Hamilton, either diſguſted at the reſtrictions he had been laid under, or finding himſelf unable to act in ſuch a manner as might redound to the advantage of his reputation, threw up his command, retired from the army, and reſigned all his other employments.

The king of Pruſſia was not only favoured by a conſiderable party in Sweden, but he had alſo raiſed a ſtrong intereſt in Poland, among ſuch Palatines as had always oppoſed the meaſures of the reigning family. Theſe were now re-enforced by many patriots, who dreaded the vicinity, and ſuſpected the deſigns of the Ruſſian army. The diet of the republic was opened on the 2d day of November; and, after warm bebates, M. Malachowſki was unanimouſly elected mareſchal: but no ſooner had the chambers of nuncios begun their deliberations than a number of voices were raiſed againſt the encroachments of the Ruſſian troops, who had taken up their reſidence in Poland; and heavy complaints were made of the damages ſuſtained from their cruelty and rapine. Great pains were taken to appeaſe theſe clamours; and many were prevailed to refer theſe grievances to the king in ſenate; but when this difficulty ſeemed almoſt ſurmounted, Padhorſki, the nuncio of Volhinia, ſtood up, and declared that he would not permit any other point to be diſcuſſed in the diet while the Ruſſians maintained the leaſt footing within the territories of the republic. Vain were all the attempts of the courtiers to perſuade and mollify this inflexible patriot, he ſolemnly proteſted againſt their proceedings, and haſtily withdrew; ſo that the mareſchal was obliged to diſſolve the aſſembly, and recourſe was had to a ſenatus conſilium, to concert proper meaſures to be taken in the preſent conjuncture. The king of Poland was, on this occaſion, likewiſe diſappointed in his views of providing for his ſon, prince Charles, in the duchy of Courland. He had been recommended by the court of Ruſſia, and even approved by the ſtates of that country; but two difficulties occurred. The ſtates declared they could not proceed to a new election during the life of their former duke, count Biron, who was ſtill alive, though a priſoner in Siberia, unleſs their duchy ſhould be declared vacant by the king and republic of Poland; and, according to the laws of that country, no prince could be elected, until he ſhould have declared himſelf of the Augſburgh confeſſion. His Poliſh majeſty, however, being determined to ſurmount all obſtacles to his ſon's intereſt, ordered count Malachowſki, high-chancellor of Poland, to deliver to prince Charles a diploma, by which the king granted permiſſion to the ſtates of Courland to elect that prince for their duke, and appointed the day for his election and inſtalment, which accordingly took place in the month of January, notwithſtanding the clamour of many Poliſh grandees, who perſiſted in affirming that the king had no power to grant ſuch permiſſion without the conſent of the diet. The viciſſitudes of the campaign had produced no revolutions in the ſeveral ſyſtems adopted by the different powers in Europe. The czarina, who in the month of June had ſignified her ſentiments and deſigns againſt the king of Pruſſia, in a declaration delivered to all the foreign miniſters at Peterſburgh, ſeemed now, more than ever, determined to act vigorouſly in behalf of the empreſs-queen of Hungary, and the unfortunate king of Poland, who ſtill reſided at Warſaw. The court of Vienna diſtributed among the imperial miniſters at the ſeveral courts of the empire copies of a reſcript, explaining the conduct of her generals ſince the beginning of the campaign, and concluding with expreſſions of ſelf-approbation to this effect: 'though the iſſue of the campaign be not as yet entirely ſatisfactory, and ſuch as might be deſired, the imperial court enjoys, at leaſt, the ſincere ſatisfaction of reflecting, that, according to the change of circumſtances, it inſtantly took the moſt vigorous reſolutions; that it was never deficient in any thing that might contribute to the good of the common cauſe, and is now employed in making preparations, from which the moſt happy conſequences may be expected.'

We have already hinted at a decree of the aulick council of the empire, publiſhed in the month of Auguſt, enjoining all directors of circles, all imperial towns, and the nobleſſe of the empire, to tranſmit to Vienna an exact liſt of all thoſe who had diſobeyed the avocatoria of the empire, and adhered to the rebellion raiſed by the elector of Brandenburgh; that their revenues might be ſequeſtered, and themſelves puniſhed in their honours, perſons, and effects. As the elector of Hanover was plainly pointed out, and, indeed, expreſly mentioned in this decree, the king of Great-Britain, by the hands of baron Gemmegen, his electorial miniſter, preſented a memorial to the diet of the empire in the month of November, enumerating the inſtances in which he had exerted himſelf, and even expoſed his life, for the preſervation and aggrandiſement of the houſe of Auſtria. In return for theſe important ſervices, he obſerved, that the empreſs-queen had refuſed him the aſſiſtance ſtipulated in treaties againſt an invaſion planned by France, whoſe hatred he had drawn upon himſelf by his friendſhip to that princeſs; and his imperial majeſty even denied him the dictatorial letters which he ſollicited: that the court of Vienna had ſigned a treaty with the crown of France, in which it was ſtipulated that the French troops ſhould paſs the Weſer, and invade the electorate of Hanover, where they were joined by the troops of the empreſs-queen, who ravaged his Britannick majeſty's dominions with greater cru-

elty than even the French had practiſed; and the ſame duke of Cumberland, who had been wounded at Dettingen in the defence of her imperial majeſty, was obliged to fight at Haſtenbeck againſt the troops of that very princeſs, in defence of his father's dominions; that ſhe ſent commiſſaries to Hanover, who ſhared with the crown of France the contributions extorted from that electorate; rejected all propoſals of peace, and diſmiſſed from her court the miniſter of Brunſwick-Lunenbourg: that his imperial majeſty, who had ſworn to protect the empire, and oppoſe the entrance of foreign troops deſtined to oppreſs any of the ſtates of Germany, afterwards required the king of England to withdraw his troops from the countries which they occupied, that a French army might again have free paſſage into his dominions: that the emperor had recalled theſe troops, releaſed them from their allegiance to their ſovereign, enjoined them to abandon their poſts, their colours, and the ſervice in which they were embarked, on pain of being puniſhed in body, honour, and eſtate; and that the king of England himſelf was threatened with the ban of the empire. He took notice, that, in quality of elector, he had been accuſed of refuſing to concur with the reſolutions of the diet taken in the preceding year, of entering into alliance with the king of Pruſſia, joining his troops to the armies of of that prince, employing auxiliaries belonging to the ſtates of the empire, ſending Engliſh forces into Germany, where they had taken poſſeſſion of Embden, and exacting contributions in different parts of Germany. In anſwer to theſe imputations, he alledged that he could not, conſiſtent with his own ſafety, or the dictates of common ſenſe, concur with a majority, in joining his troops which were immediately neceſſary for his own defence, to thoſe which, from the arbitrary views of the court of Vienna, were led againſt his friend and ally, the king of Pruſſia, by a prince who did not belong to the generality of the empire, and on whom the command had been conferred, without a previous concluſum of the Germanick body; that, with reſpect to his alliance with the king of Pruſſia, he had a right, when deſerted by his former allies, to ſeek aſſiſtance whereſoever it could be procured: and ſurely no juſt grounds of complaint could be offered againſt that which his Pruſſian majeſty lent, to deliver the electoral ſtates of Brunſwick, as well as thoſe of Brunſwick-Wolfenbuttel, Heſſe, and Buckebourg, from the oppreſſions of their common enemy. Poſterity, he ſaid, would hardly believe, that at a time when the troops of Auſtria, the Palatinate, and Wirtemberg, were engaged to invade the countries of the empire, other members of the Germanick body, who employed auxiliaries in their defence, ſhould be threatened with outlawry and ſequeſtration. He owned, that, in quality of king, he had ſent over Engliſh troops to Germany, and taken poſſeſſion of Embden; ſteps for which he was accountable to no power upon earth, although the conſtitutions of the empire permit the co-eſtates to make uſe of foreign troops, not indeed for the purpoſe of invaſion or conqueſt in Germany, but for their defence and preſervation. He alſo acknowledged that he had reſented the conduct, and chaſtiſed the injuſtice, of thoſe co-eſtates who had aſſiſted his enemies, and helped to ravage his dominions; inferring, that if the crown of France was free to pillage the eſtates of the duke of Brunſwick, and the langrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, becauſe they had ſupplied the king of England with auxiliaries; if the empreſs-queen had a right to appropriate to herſelf half of the contributions raiſed by the French king in theſe countries, ſurely his Britannick majeſty had an equal right to make thoſe feel the burden of the war who had favoured the unjuſt enterprizes of his enemies. He expreſſed his hope, that the diet, after having duely conſidered theſe circumſtances, would, by way of advice, propoſe to his Imperial majeſty that he ſhould annul his moſt inconſiſtent mandates, and not only take effectual meaſures to protect the electorate and its allies, but alſo give orders for commencing againſt the empreſs-queen, as arch-ducheſs of Auſtria, the elector Palatine, and the duke of Wirtemberg, ſuch proceedings as ſhe wanted to enforce againſt his Britannick majeſty, elector of Brunſwick-Lunenbourg. For this purpoſe the miniſter now requeſted their excellencies to aſk immediately the neceſſary inſtructions for their principals. The reſt of this long memorial contained a juſtification of his Britannick majeſty's conduct in deviating from the capitulation of Cloſter-Seven; with a refutation of the arguments adduced, and a retortion of reproaches levelled againſt the king of England, in the paper or manifeſto compoſed and publiſhed under the direction of the French miniſtry, and intituled, 'A parallel of the conduct of the king of France with that of the king of England, relative to the breach of the capitulation of Cloſter-Seven by the Hanoverians.' But to this invective a more circumſtantial anſwer was publiſhed: in which, among other curious particulars, the letter of expoſtulation, ſaid to have been written by the Pruſſian monarch to the king of Great-Britain after the defeat at Colin, is treated as an infamous piece of forgery, produced by ſome venal pen employed to impoſe upon the public. The author alſo, in his endeavours to demonſtrate his Britannick majeſty's averſion to a continental war, very juſtly obſerves, that 'none but ſuch as are unacquainted with the maritime force of England can believe, that, without a diverſion on the continent, to employ part of the enemy's force, ſhe is not in a condition to hope for ſucceſs, and maintain her ſuperiority at ſea.' England, therefore, had no intereſt to foment quarrels or wars in Europe; but, for the ſame reaſon, there was room to fear that France would embrace a different ſyſtem: accordingly ſhe took no pains to conceal her views, and her envoys declared publicly that a war upon the continent was inevitable; and that the king's dominions in Germany would be its principal object.' He afterwards, in the courſe of his argumentation, adds, 'that they muſt be very ignorant, indeed, who imagine that the forces of England are not able to reſiſt thoſe of France, unleſs the latter be hindered from turning all her efforts to the ſea. In caſe of a war upon the continent, the two powers muſt pay ſubſidies; only with this difference, that France can employ her own land-forces, and aſpire at conqueſts.' Such were the profeſſed ſentiments of the Britiſh miniſtry, founded upon eternal truth and demonſtration, and openly avowed, when the buſineſs was to prove that it was not the intereſt of Great-Britain to maintain a war upon the continent; but, afterwards, when this continental war was eagerly eſpouſed, foſtered, and cheriſhed by the blood and treaſure of the Engliſh nation, then the partiſans of that very miniſtry, which had thus declared that England, without any diverſion on the continent of Europe, was an over match for France by ſea, which may be termed the Britiſh element; then their partiſans, their champions, declaimers, and dependents, were taught to riſe in rebellion againſt their former doctrine, and, in defiance of common ſenſe and reflection, affirm that a diverſion in Germany was abſolutely neceſſary to the ſucceſsful iſſue of England's operations in Aſia, Africa, and America. Notwithſtanding all the facts and arguments aſſembled in this elaborate memorial, to expoſe the ingratitude of the empreſs-queen, and demonſtrate the oppreſſive meaſures adopted by the Imperial power, it remains to be proved, that the member of a community is not obliged to yield obedience to the reſolution taken, and the decrees publiſhed, by the majority of thoſe who compoſe this community; eſpecially when reenforced with the authority of the ſupreme magiſtrate, and not repugnant to the fundamental conſtitution on which that community was eſtabliſhed.

If the empreſs-queen was not gratified to the extent of her wiſhes in the fortune of the campaign, at leaſt her ſelf-importance was flattered in another point, which could not fail of being intereſting to a princeſs famed for a glowing zeal and inviolable attachment to the religion of Rome. In the month of Auguſt the pope conferred upon her the title apoſtolical queen of Hungary, conveyed by a brief, in which he extolled her piety, and launched out into retroſpective eulogiums of her predeceſſors, the princes of Hungary, who had been always accuſtomed to fight and overcome for the catholic faith under this holy banner. This compliment, however, ſhe did not derive from the regard of Proſper Lampertini, who exerciſed the papal ſway under the aſſumed name of Benedict XIV. That pontiff, univerſally eſteemed for his good ſenſe, moderation, and humanity, had breathed his laſt in the month of April, in the 82d year of his age; and in July was ſucceeded in the papacy by cardinal Charles Rezzonico, biſhop of Padua, by birth a Venetian. He was formerly auditor, of the Rota; afterwards promoted to the purple by pope Clement XII. at the nomination of the republic of Venice; was diſtinguiſhed by the title of St. Maria d'Ara Gœli, the principal convent of the Cordeliers, and nominated protector of the Pandours, or Illyrians. When he aſcended the papal chair, he aſſumed the name of Clement XIII. in gratitude to the laſt of that name, who was his benefactor. Though of a diſagreeable perſon, and even deformed in his body, he enjoyed good health, and a vigorous conſtitution. As an eccleſiaſtic, his life was exemplary; his morals were pure and unimpeached: in his character he is ſaid to have been learned, diligent, ſteady, devout, and in every reſpect worthy to ſucceed ſuch a predeceſſor as Benedict.

The king of Spain wiſely perſiſted in reaping the advantages of a neutrality notwithſtanding the intrigues of the French partiſans at the court of Madrid, who endeavoured to alarm his jealouſy by the conqueſts which the Engliſh had projected in America. The king of Sardinia ſagaciouſly kept aloof, reſolving, in imitation of his predeceſſors, to maintain his power on a reſpectable footing, and be ready to ſeize all opportunities to extend and promote the intereſt of his crown, and the advantage of his country. As for the king of Portugal he had prudently embraced the ſame ſyſtem of forbearance: but in the latter end of the ſeaſon his attention was engroſſed by a domeſtic incident of a very extraordinary nature. Whether he had, by particular inſtances of ſeverity, exaſperated the minds of certain individuals, and exerciſed his dominion in ſuch acts of arbitrary power as excited a general ſpirit of diſaffection among his nobility; or, laſtly, by the vigorous meaſures purſued againſt the encroaching jeſuits in Paraguay, and their correſpondents in Portugul, had incurred the reſentment of that ſociety, we ſhall not pretend to determine: perhaps all theſe motives concurred in giving birth to a conſpiracy againſt his life, which was actually executed at this juncture with the moſt deſperate reſolution. On the 3d day of September, the king, according to cuſtom, going out in a carriage to take the air, accompanied by one domeſtic, was, in the night, at a ſolitary place near Belem, attacked by three men on horſebac, armed with muſquetoons, one of whom fired his piece at the coachman without effect. The man, however terrified both on his own account and that of his ſovereign's, drove the mules at full ſpeed; a circumſtance which in ſome meaſure diſconcerted the other two conſpirators, who purſued him at full gallop, and having no leiſure to take aim, diſcharged their pieces at random through the bac of the carriage. The ſlugs with which they were loaded happened to paſs between the king's right arm and his breaſt, dilacerating the parts from the ſhoulder to the elbow, but without damaging the bone, or penetrating into the cavity of the body. Finding himſelf grievouſly wounded, and the blood flowing apace, he, with ſuch preſence of mind as cannot be ſufficiently admired, inſtead of proceeding to the palace, which was at ſome diſtance, ordered the coachman to return to Junqueria, where his principal ſurgeon reſided, and there his wounds were immediately dreſſed. By this reſolution, he not only prevented the irreparable miſchief that might have ariſen from an exceſſive effuſion of blood; but, without all doubt, ſaved his life from the hands of other aſſaſſins, poſted on the road to accompliſh the regicide, in caſe he ſhould eſcape alive from the firſt attac. This inſtance of the king's recollection was magnified into a miracle, on a ſuppoſition that it muſt have been the effect of divine inſpiration; and, indeed, among a people addicted to ſuperſtition, might well paſs for a favourable interpoſition of providence. The king, being thus diſabled in his right arm, iſſued a decree, inveſting the queen with the abſolute power of government. In the mean time, no perſon had acceſs to his preſence but herſelf, the firſt miniſter, the cardinal de Saldanha, the phyſicians, and ſurgeons. An embargo was immediately laid on all the ſhipping in the port of Liſbon. Rewards were publicly offered, together with the promiſe of pardon to the accomplices, for detecting any of the aſſaſſins; and ſuch other meaſures uſed, that in a little time the whole conſpiracy was diſcovered: a conſpiracy the more dangerous, as it appeared to have been formed by perſons of the firſt quality and influence. The duke de Aveiro, of the family of Maſcarenhas; the marquis de Tavora, who had been viceroy of Goa, and now actually enjoyed the commiſſion of general of the horſe; the count de Attougui, the marquis de Alloria, together with their wives, children, and whole families, were arreſted immediately after the aſſaſſination, as principals in the deſign; and many other accomplices, including ſome jeſuits, were apprehended in the ſequel. The further proceedings on this myſterious affair, with the fate of the conſpirators, will be particulariſed among the tranſactions of the following year. At preſent, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that the king's wounds were attended with no bad conſequences; nor did the impriſonment of thoſe noblemen produce any diſturbance in the kingdom.

The domeſtic occurrences of France were tiſſued with a continuation of the diſputes between the parliaments and clergy, touching the bill Unigenitus. In vain the king had interpoſed his authority; firſt propoſing an accommodation; then commanding the parliament to forbear taking cognizance of a religious conteſt, which did not fall under their juriſdiction; and, thirdly, baniſhing their perſons, and abrogating their power. He afterwards found it neceſſary to the peace of his dominions to recall and re-inſtate thoſe venerable patriots; and being convinced of the intolerable inſolence and turbulent ſpirit of the archbiſhop of Paris, had exiled that prelate in his turn. He was no ſooner re-admitted to his function, than he reſumed his former conduct, touching the denial of the ſacraments to thoſe who refuſed to acknowledge the bull Unigenitus: he even acted with redoubled zeal; intrigued with the other prelates; caballed among the inferior clergy; and not only revived, but augmented, the troubles throughout the whole kingdom. Biſhops, curates, and monks preſumed to with-hold ſpiritual conſolations from perſons in extremity, and were puniſhed by the civil power. Other parliaments of the kingdom followed the example exhibited by that of Paris, in aſſerting their authority and privileges. The king commanded them to deſiſt, on pain of incurring his indignation; they remonſtrated, and perſevered; while the archbiſhop repeated his injunctions and cenſures, and continued to inflame the diſpute to ſuch a dangerous degree, that he was given to underſtand he ſhould be again obliged to quit the capital, if he did not proceed with more moderation. But the chief care of the French miniſtry was employed in regulating the finances, eſtabliſhing funds of credit for raiſing money to pay ſubſidies, and maintain the war in Europe and America. In the courſe of this year they had not only conſiderably reenforced their armies in Germany, but made ſurpriſing efforts to ſupply the colony of Canada with troops, artillery, ſtores, and ammunition, for its defence againſt the operations of the Britiſh forces, which greatly out-numbered the French upon the continent. The court of Verſailles practiſed every ſtratagem to elude the vigilance of the Engliſh cruiſers. The ſhips deſtined for America they detached, both ſingle and in convoys, ſometimes from the Mediterranean, ſometimes from their harbours in the channel. They aſſembled tranſports in one port, in order to withdraw the attention of their enemies from another, where their convoys lay ready for ſailing; and in boiſterous weather, when the Engliſh could no longer bloc up their harbours, their ſtore-ſhips came forth, and hazarded the voyage, for the relief of the American ſettlements. Thoſe that had the good fortune to arrive on the coaſt of that continent were obliged to have recourſe to different expedients for eſcaping the Britiſh ſquadrons ſtationed at Halifax, or cruiſing in the bay of St. Laurence. They either ventured to navigate the river before it was clear of the ice, ſo early in the ſpring, that the enemy had not yet quitted the harbour of Nova-Scotia; or they waited on the coaſt of Newfoundland for ſuch thic fogs as might ſcreen them from the notice of the Engliſh cruiſers, in ſailing up the gulf; or, laſtly, they penetrated through the Straits of Belleiſle, a dangerous paſſage, which, however, led them directly into the river St. Laurence, at a conſiderable diſtance above the ſtation of the Britiſh ſquadron. Though the French navy was by this time ſo reduced, that it could neither face the Engliſh at ſea, nor furniſh proper convoys for commerce, her miniſtry nevertheleſs attempted to alarm the ſubjects of Great-Britain with the project of an invaſion. Flat-bottomed boats were built, tranſports collected, large ſhips of the line equipped, and troops ordered to aſſemble on the coaſt for embarkation; but this was no more than a feint to arouſe the apprehenſion of the Engliſh, diſconcert the adminiſtration, prejudice the national credit, and deter the government from ſending forces to keep alive the war in Germany. A much more effectual method they took to diſtreſs the trade of England, by laying up their uſeleſs ſhips of war, and encouraging the equipment of ſtout privateers, which did conſiderable damage to the commerce of Great-Britain and Ireland, by cruiſing in the ſeas of Europe and America. Some of them lay cloſe in the harbours of the channel, fronting the coaſt of England, and darted out occaſionally on the trading ſhips of this nation, as they received intelligence from boats employed for that purpoſe. Some choſe their ſtation in the North-Seas, where a great number of captures were made on the coaſt of Scotland; others cruiſed in the chops of the channel, and even to the weſtward of Ireland; but the far greater number ſcoured the ſeas in the neighboured of the Leeward-Iſlands in the Weſt-Indies, where they took a prodigious number of Britiſh ſhips, ſailing to and from the ſugar-colonies, and conveyed them to their own ſettlements in Martinique, Gaudaloupe, or St. Domingo.

With reſpect to the war that raged in Germany, the king of Denmark wiſely purſued that courſe which happily preſerved him from being involved in thoſe troubles by

which great part of Europe was agitated, and terminated in that point of national advantage which a king ought ever to have in view for the benefit of his people. By obſerving a ſcrupulous neutrality, he enhanced his importance among his neighbours: he ſaw himſelf courted by all the belligerent powers: he ſaved the blood and treaſure of his ſubjects: he received large ſubſidies, in conſideration of his forbearance; and enjoyed, unmoleſted, a much more conſiderable ſhare of commerce than he could expect to carry on, even in times of univerſal tranquillity. He could not perceive that the proteſtant religion had any thing to apprehend from the confederacy which was formed againſt the Pruſſian monarch; nor was he miſled into all the expence, the perils, and diſquiets of a ſanguinary war, by that ignis fatuus which hath ſeduced and impoveriſhed other opulent nations, under the ſpecious title of the balance of power in Germany. Howſoever he might be ſwayed by private inclination, he did not think it was a point of conſequence to his kingdom whether Pomerania was poſſeſſed by Sweden or Puſſia; whether the French army was driven bac beyond the Rhine, or penetrated once more into the electorate of Hanover, whether the empreſs-queen was ſtripped of her remaining poſſeſſions in Sileſia, or the king of Pruſſia circumſcribed within the original bound of his dominion. He took it for granted that France, for her own ſake, would prevent the ruin of that enterprizing monarch; and that the houſe of Auſtria would not be ſo impolitic, and blind to its own intereſt, as to permit the empreſs of Ruſſia to make and retain conqueſts in the empire; but, even if theſe powers ſhould be weak enough to ſacrifice all the maxims of ſound policy to caprice or reſentment, he did not think himſelf ſo deeply concerned in the event, as, for the diſtant proſpect of what might poſſibly happen, to plunge headlong into a war that muſt be attended with certain and immediate diſadvantages. True it is, he had no hereditary electorate in Germany that was threatened with invaſion; nor, if he had, is it to be ſuppoſed that a prince of his ſagacity and patriotiſm would have impoveriſhed his kingdom of Denmark, for the precarious defence of a diſtant territory. It was reſerved for another nation to adopt the pernicious abſurdity of waſting its blood and treaſure, exhauſting its revenues, loading its own bac with the moſt grievous impoſitions, incurring an enormous debt, big with bankruptcy and ruin; in a word, of expending above 150,0000l. ſterling in fruitleſs efforts to defend a diſtant country, the entire property of which was never valued at one-twentieth part of that ſum; a country with which it had no natural connexion, but a common alliance ariſing from accident. The king of Denmark, though himſelf a prince of the empire, and poſſeſſed of dominions in Germany, almoſt contiguous to the ſcenes of the preſent war, did not yet think himſelf ſo nearly concered in the iſſue, as to declare himſelf either principal or auxiliary in the quarrel; yet he took care to maintain his forces by ſea and land upon a reſpectable footing: and, by this conduct, he not only provided for the ſecurity of his own country, but overawed the belligerent powers, who conſidered him as a prince capable of making either ſcale preponderate, juſt as he might chooſe to trim the balance. Thus he preſerved his wealth, commerce, and conſequence undiminiſhed; and, inſtead of being harraſſed as a party, was honoured as an umpire.

The United Provinces, though as adverſe as his Daniſh majeſty to any participation in the war, did not, however, ſo ſcrupulouſly obſerve the neutrality they profeſſed: at leaſt, the traders of that republic, either from an inordinate thirſt of lucre, or a ſecret biaſs in favour of the enemies of Great-Britain, aſſiſted the French commerce with all the appearance of the moſt flagrant partiality. We have, in the beginning of this year's tranſactions, obſerved, that a great number of their ſhips were taken by the Engliſh cruiſers, and condemned as legal prizes, for having French property on board: that the Dutch merchants, exaſperated by their loſſes, exclaimed againſt the Engliſh as pirates and robbers, petitioned the States for redreſs in very high terms, and even loudly clamoured for a war againſt Great-Britain. The charge of violence and injuſtice which they brought againſt the Engliſh, for taking and confiſcating the ſhips that tranſported to Europe the produce of the French iſlands in the Weſt-Indies, they founded on the tenth article of the treaty of commerce between Great-Britain and the ſtates-general of the United Provinces, concluded in the year 1668, ſtipulating, "That whatever ſhall be found on board the ſhips of the ſubjects of the United Provinces, though the lading, or part thereof, may belong to the enemies of Great-Britain, ſhall be free and unmoleſted; except theſe be prohibited goods, which are to be ſerved in the manner preſcribed by the foregoing articles." From this article the Dutch merchants argued, that, if there be no prohibited goods on board, the Engliſh had no right to ſtop or moleſt any of their ſhips, or make the leaſt enquiry to whom the merchandiſe belonged, whence it was brought, or whither bound. This plea the Engliſh caſuiſts would by no means admit, for the following reaſons: A general and perpetual licence to carry on the whole trade of their enemy would be ſuch a glaring abſurdity, as no convention could authoriſe: common ſenſe has dictated, and Grotius declared, that no man can be ſuppoſed to have conſented to an abſurdity; therefore, the interpretation given by the Dutch to this article could not be ſuppoſed to be its true and genuine meaning; which, indeed, relates to nothing more than the common courſe of trade, as it was uſually carried on in time of peace. But, even ſhould this interpretation be accepted, the article, and the treaty itſelf would be ſuperſeded and annulled by a ſubſequent treaty, concluded between the two nations in the year 1675, and often confirmed ſince that period, ſtipulating, in a ſecret article, That neither of the contracting parties ſhould give, nor conſent that any of their ſubjects and inhabitants ſhould give, any aid, favour, or council, directly or indirectly, by land or ſea, or on the freſh waters; nor ſhould furniſh, or permit the ſubjects or inhabitants of their reſpective territories to furniſh, any ſhips, ſoldiers, ſeamen, victuals, monies, inſtruments of war, gunpowder, or any other neceſſaries for making war, to the enemies of either party, of any rank or condition ſoever. Now, the Dutch have infringed this article in many inſtances during the preſent war, both in Europe and America; and, as they have ſo openly contravened one treaty, the Engliſh are not obliged to obſerve any other. They, moreover, fofeited all right to the obſervance of the treaty in queſtion, by refuſing the ſuccours with which they were bound, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to furniſh the king of Great-Britain, in caſe any of his territories in Europe ſhould be attacked: for nothing could be more weak and frivolous than the allegation upon which this refuſal was founded; namely, that the hoſtilities in Europe were commenced by the Engliſh, when they ſeized and confiſcated the veſſels of France; and they, being the aggreſſors, had no right to inſiſt upon the ſuccours ſtipulated in a treaty which was purely defenſive. If this argument had any weight, the treaty itſelf can have no ſignification. The French, as in the preſent caſe, will always commence the war in America; and when their ſhips containing re-enforcements and ſtores for the maintenance of that war, ſhall be taken on the European ſeas, perhaps in conſequence of their being expoſed for that purpoſe, they will exclaim that the Engliſh were the aggreſſors in Europe, conſequently deprived of all benefit accruing from the defenſive treaty ſubſiſting between them and the ſtates-general of the United-Provinces. It being impoſſible for the Engliſh to terminate the war, while their enemies derive the ſinews of it from their commerce carried on in neutral bottoms, they are obliged to ſuppreſs ſuch colluſions, by that neceſſity which Grotius himſelf hath allowed to be a ſufficient excuſe for deviating from the letter of any treaty whatſoever. In time of peace no Dutch ſhips were permitted to carry the produce of any French ſugar-iſland, or even to trade in any of the French ports in America or the Weſt-Indies; conſequently, the treaty which they quote can never juſtify them in carrying on a commerce, which, as it did not exiſt, and was not foreſeen, could not poſſibly be guarded againſt when that convention was ratified. Grotius whoſe authority is held in ſuch veneration among the Dutch, has determined that every nation has a right to ſeize and confiſcate the goods of any neutral power, which ſhall attempt to carry them into any place which is blocked up by that nation, either by land or ſea. The French iſlands in the Weſt-Indies were ſo blocked up by the Engliſh cruiſers, that they could receive no relief from their own government, conſequently no neutral power could attempt to ſupply them without falling under this predicament[t]. It was for theſe reaſons that the king of

[t] In the reign of king William, when the Engliſh and Dutch were engaged in a war againſt France, the northern powers of Sweden and Denmark attempted to carry on the French commerce, under the ſhade of neutrality; but the Dutch and Engliſh joined in ſeizing the veſſels that were thus employed. Complaints of theſe captures were made at London and the Hague, and the complaints were given to underſtand at both places, that they ſhould not be allowed to carry on any trade with France, but what was uſual in time of peace. In conſequence of this declaration, mr. Groning formed the deſign of writing a treatiſe on the freedom of navigation, and communicated the plan of his work to the celebrated Puffendorf, who ſignified his ſentiments in a letter, which is preſerved by the learned Barbeyrac, in his notes upon that author's treatiſe on the law of nature and nations.

England declared, by the mouth of mr. Yorke, his miniſter plenipotentiary at the Hague, in a conference held in the month of Auguſt with the deputies of the ſtates-general, that though he was ready to concur in every meaſure that ſhould be propoſed for giving ſatisfaction to their high-mightineſſes, with whom he had always ſtudied to live in the moſt perfect union, he was nevertheleſs determined not to ſuffer the trade of the French colonies in America to be carried on by the ſubjects of other powers, under the ſpecious pretext of neutrality: nor to permit words to be interpreted as a lincenſe to drive a trade with his enemies, which, though not particularly ſpecified in the articles of contraband, was nevertheleſs rendered ſuch in all reſpects, and in every ſenſe, by the nature of the circumſtances. It is not at all more ſurpriſing that the Dutch merchants ſhould complain, than that the Engliſh government ſhould perſiſt in confiſcating the ſhips that were found to contain the merchandize of their enemies. The individual traders of every merchantile nation will run conſiderable riſques in extending their particular commerce, even when they know it muſt be detrimental to the general intereſt of their country. In the war maintained by the confederates againſt Louis XIV. of France, the merchant ſhips of the Dutch carried on an uninterrupted trade to the French ports: and, notwithſtanding the repeated ſollicitations of England, the ſtates-general could never be prevailed upon to prohibit this commerce, which undoutedly enabled France to protract the war. The truth is, they gave the Britiſh miniſtry to underſtand, that unleſs they connived at this traffic, their ſubjects could not poſſibly defray their proportion of the expence at which the war was maintained. It is well known through all Europe, that the ſubjects of the United-Provinces reaped conſiderable advantage, not only from this branch of illicit trade, but alſo by providing for both armies in Flanders, and by the practiſe of ſtoc-jobbing in England; conſequently, it was not the intereſt, either of the ſtates-general, or the Engliſh general, between whom there was a very good underſtanding, to bring that war to a ſpeedy concluſion; nor, indeed, ought we to fix the imputation of partiality upon a whole nation, for the private conduct of individuals, influenced by motives of ſelf-intereſt, which co-operate with the ſame energy in Holland, and among the ſubjects of Great-Britain. In the courſe of the former war, ſuch a ſcandalous appetite for gain prevailed in different parts of the Britiſh dominions, that the French iſlands were actually ſupplied with proviſions, ſlaves, and lumber from Ireland and the Britiſh colonies in North-America; and Martinique, in particular, muſt have ſurrendered to the command of the Engliſh ſquadron, ſtationed in thoſe ſeas, had it not been thus ſupported by Engliſh ſubjects. Certain it is, the Dutch had ſome reaſon to complain that they were decoyed into this ſpecies of traffic by the article of a treaty, which, in their opinion, admitted of no limitation; and that the government of Great-Britain, without any previous warning, or explaining its ſentiments on this ſubject, ſwept the ſea at once of all their veſſels employed in this commerce, and condemned them, without mitigation, to the entire ruin of many thouſand families. Conſidering the intimate connexion of mutual intereſt ſubſiſting between Great-Britain and the ſtates of the United-Provinces, they ſeem to have had ſome right to an intimation of this nature, which, in all probability, would have induced them to reſign all proſpect of advantage from the proſecution of ſuch a traffic.

Beſides the univerſal clamour excited in Holland, and the famous memorial preſented to the ſtates-general, which we have already mentioned in another place, a deputation of merchants waited four times ſucceſſively on the princeſs regent, to explain their grievances, and demand her concurrence in augmenting the navy for the preſervation of their commerce. She promiſed to interpoſe her beſt offices with the court of Great-Britain; and theſe co-operating with repreſentations made by the ſtates-general, the Engliſh miniſter was empowered to open conferences at the Hague, in order to bring all matters in diſpute to an amicable accommodation. Theſe endeavours, however, proved ineffectual. The Britiſh cruiſers continued to take, and the Britiſh courts to condemn all Dutch veſſels containing the produce of the French ſugar iſlands. The merchants of Holland and Zealand renewed their complaints with redoubled clamour, and all the trading part of the nation, re-enforced by the whole party that oppoſed the houſe of Orange, cried aloud for an immediate augmentation of the marine, and repriſals upon the pirates of England. The princeſs, in order to avoid extremities, was obliged not only to employ all her perſonal influence with the ſtates-general, but alſo to play off one faction againſt another, in the way of remonſtrance and exclamation. As far bac as the month of June, ſhe preſented a memorial to the ſtates-general, reminding them, that in the beginning of the war between France and England, ſhe had adviſed an augmentation ſhould be made in their land-forces, to ſtrengthen the garriſons of the frontier towns, and cover the territories of the republic from invaſion. She gave them to underſtand, that the provinces of Gueldres and Overyſſel, intimidated by the proximity of two formidable armies, had reſolved to demand that the augmentation of their land-forces ſhould be taken into conſideration by the other provinces; and requeſted her to re-enforce their ſollicitations that this meaſure might immediately take place. This requeſt, ſhe ſaid, ſhe the more readily granted, as ſhe could not but be ſenſible of the imminent danger that threatened the republic, eſpecially ſince the Hanoverian army had paſſed the Rhine; and as it behoved the ſtate to put itſelf in a condition to hinder either army from retiring into the territories of the republic, if it ſhould be defeated; for, in that caſe, the conqueror being authoriſed to purſue his enemy wherever he can find him, would bring the war into the heart of their country. This repreſentation had no other effect than that of ſuſpending the meaſure which each party propoſed. The princeſs, in her anſwer to the fourth deputation of the merchants, declared that ſhe beheld the preſent ſtate of their trade with the moſt anxious concern; that its want of protection was not her fault, but that of the towns of Dort, Haerlem, Amſterdam, Torgau, Rotterdam, and the Bille, to whoſe conduct it was owing, that the forces of the ſtate, by ſea and land, were not now on a better footing. The deputies were afterwards referred to her miniſter, M. de la Larrey, to whom they repreſented, that the augmentation of the land-forces, and the equipment of a fleet, were matters as diſtinct from each other as light from darkneſs: that there was no preſſing motive for an augmentation of the army, whereas, innumerable reaſonable reaſons rendered the equipment of a fleet a matter of the moſt urgent neceſſity. In a few days after this repreſentation was made, the princeſs, in an aſſembly of the ſtates-general, requeſted their high-mightineſſes, that ſeeing their earneſt and repeated efforts to induce the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Frieſland, and Weſt-Frieſland, to acquieſce in the propoſed augmentation of forces by ſea and land had not hitherto met with ſucceſs, they would now conſider and deliberate upon ſome expedient for terminating this affair, and the ſooner the better, in order, on one hand, to ſatisfy the ſtrong and well-grounded inſtances made by the provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, Overyſſel and Groningen; and, on the other, to comply with the ardent juſt deſires expreſſed by the commercial inhabitants of the country. She told them that the deputation which waited on her conſiſted of 40 merchants, a number that merited attention no leſs than the ſpeech they pronounced, of which a great number of printed copies were diſtributed through all parts of the country. Without making any particular remarks on the harangue, ſhe only obſerved, that the drift of it did not tend to facilitate the negotiation begun with Great-Britain, nor to induce the nation to prefer a convention to a rupture with that crown. From this circumſtance ſhe inferred it was more than time to finiſh the deliberations on the propoſal for augmenting the forces both by ſea and land; a meaſure, without which ſhe was convinced in her conſcience the ſtate was, and would always remain, expoſed to all ſorts of misfortune and danger, both now and hereafter.

In conſequence of this interpoſition, the ſtates-general that ſame day ſent a letter to the ſtates of Holland and Weſt-Frieſland, communicating the ſentiments of the princes regent, and inſiſting upon the neceſſity of complying with her propoſal of the double augmentation. They obſerved, that an augmentation of the land-forces, for the defence of the frontiers, was unavoidable, as well as an equipment by ſea for the ſecurity of commerce: that the ſtates of the provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, Overyſſel, and Groningen joined with them in the ſame opinion; and accordingly had inſiſted, by divers letters and propoſitions, on thoſe two points ſo eſſential to the public intereſt. They repreſented the danger of delay, and the fatal effects of diſcord: they propoſed, that by a reciprocal indulgence one party ſhould comply with the ſentiments of the other, in order to avoid a ſchiſm and dangerous diviſion among the confederates, the conſequences of which would be very deplorable; while the republic, in the mean time, would remain in a defence-

leſs condition, both by ſea and land, and depend upon the arbitrary power of its neighbours. They conjured them, therefore, as they valued the ſafety of their country, and all that was dear to them, as they regarded the protection of the good inhabitants, the concord and harmony which at all times, but eſpecially at the preſent critical juncture, was of the laſt neceſſity, that they would ſeriouſly reflect upon the exhortations of her royal highneſs, as well as on the repeated inſtances of the majority of the confederates; and take a wiſe and ſalutary reſolution with regard to the propoſed augmentation of the land-forces, ſo that this addition, together with an equipment at ſea, might, the ſooner the better, be unanimouſly brought to a concluſion. It was undoubtedly the duty of all who wiſhed well to their country to moderate the heat and precipitation of thoſe, who, provoked by their loſſes, and ſtimulated by reſentment, endeavoured at this period to involve their nation in a war with Great-Britain. Had matters been puſhed to this extremity, in a few months the republic would, in all probability, have been brought to the brink of ruin. The Dutch were diſtracted by internal diviſions; they were altogether unprovided for hoſtilities by ſea; the ocean was covered with their trading veſſels; and the naval armaments of Great-Britain were ſo numerous and powerful as to render all reſiſtance on that element equally vain and pernicious. The Engliſh could not only have ſcoured the ſeas, and made prize of their ſhipping, but were alſo in a condition to reduce or demoliſh all their towns in Zealand, where they would hardly have met with any oppoſition.

While the operations of the war were proſecuted through the four quarters of the globe, the iſland of Great-Britain, which may be termed the centre that gave motion to this vaſt machine, enjoyed all the tranquillity of the moſt profound peace, and ſaw nothing of war but the preparations and trophies, which ſerved only to animate the nation to a deſire of further conqueſt; for the dejection occaſioned by the misfortune at St. Cas ſoon vaniſhed before the proſpect of victory and ſucceſs. Conſidering the agitation naturally produced among the common people by the practice of preſſing men into the ſervice of the navy, which in the beginning of the year had been carried on with unuſual violence, the levy of ſo many new corps of ſoldiers, and the endeavours uſed in forming the national militia, very few diſturbances happened to interrupt the internal repoſe of the nation. From private acts of malice, fraud, violence, and rapine, no community whatſoever is exempted. In the month of April, the temporary wooden-bridge over the Thames, built for the conveniency of carriages and paſſengers, while the workmen ſhould be employed in widening and repairing London-bridge, was maliciouſly ſet on fire in the night, and continued burning till noon next day, when the ruins of it fell into the river. The deſtruction of this conveniency proved very detrimental to the commerce of the city, notwithſtanding the vigilancy and diſcretion of the magiſtrates, in applying remedies for this misfortune. A promiſe of the king's pardon was offered in a public advertiſement, by the ſecretary of ſtate, and a reward of 200l. by the city of London to any perſon who ſhould diſcover the perpetrator of ſuch wicked outrage; but nevertheleſs he eſcaped detection. No individual, nor any ſociety of men, could have the leaſt intereſt in the execution of ſuch a ſcheme, except the body of London watermen; but as no diſcovery was made to the prejudice of any perſon belonging to that ſociety, the deed was imputed to the malice of ſome ſecret enemy to the public. Even after a new temporary bridge was erected, another attempt was made (in all probability by the ſame incendiary) to reduce the whole to aſhes, but happily miſcarried, and a guard was appointed, to prevent any ſuch atrocious efforts in the ſequel. Dangerous tumults were raiſed in and about Mancheſter, by a prodigious number of manufacturers, who had left off working, and entered into a combination to raiſe, by force, the price of their labour. They had formed a regular plan, and collected large ſums for the maintenance of the poorer ſort, while they refuſed to work for their families. They inſulted and abuſed all thoſe who would not join in this defection; diſperſed inſendiary letters, and denounced terrible threats againſt all ſuch as ſhould preſume to oppoſe their proceedings. But theſe menaces had no effect upon the magiſtrates and juſtices, who did their duty with ſuch diſcretion and courage, that the ringleaders being ſingled out, and puniſhed by law, the reſt were ſoon reduced to order.

In the month of June Florence Henſy, an obſcure phyſician, and native of Ireland, who had been apprehended for treaſonable practices, was tried in the court of king's-bench on an indictment for high-treaſon. In the courſe of the trial it appeared that he had been employed as a ſpy for the French miniſtry: to which, in conſideration of a paltry penſion, he ſent intelligence of every material occurrence in Great-Britain. The correſpondence was managed by his brother, a jeſuit, who acted as chaplain and ſecretary to the Spaniſh embaſſador at the Hague. The Britiſh reſident at that court having learned from the Spaniſh miniſter ſome ſecrets relating to England, even before they were communicated to him from the Engliſh miniſtry, was induced to ſet on foot an enquiry touching the ſource of this information, and ſoon received an aſſurance, that the ſecretary of the Spaniſh embaſſador had a brother, a phyſician in London. The ſuſpicion naturally ariſing from this circumſtance being imparted to the miniſtry of England, Henſy was narrowly watched, and 29 of his letters were intercepted. From the contents of theſe he was convicted of having given the French court the firſt notice of the expedition to North-America, the capture of the two ſhips, the Alcide and Lys, the ſailing and deſtination of every ſquadron and armament, and the difficulties that occurred in raiſing money for the ſervice of the public. He had even informed them that the ſecret expedition of the foregoing year was intended againſt Rochefort, and adviſed a deſcent upon Great-Britain, at a certain time and place, as the moſt effectual method of diſtreſſing the government, and effecting the public credit. After a long trial he was found guilty of treaſon, and received the ſentence of death uſually pronounced on ſuch occaſions: but whether he earned forgiveneſs by ſome material diſcovery, or the miniſter found him ſo inſenſible and inſignificant that he was aſhamed to take his life, he eſcaped execution, and was pardoned, on condition of going into perpetual exile. The ſeverity of the government was much about the ſame period exerciſed on dr. Shebbeare, a public writer, who, in a ſeries of printed letters to the people of England, had animadverted on the conduct of the miniſtry in the moſt acrimonious terms, ſtigmatiſed ſome great names with all the virulence of cenſure, and even aſſaulted the throne itſelf with oblique inſinuation and ironical ſatire. The miniſtry, incenſed at the boldneſs, and ſtill more enraged at the ſucceſs of this author, whoſe writings were brought with avidity by the public, determined to puniſh him ſeverely for his arrogance and abuſe, and he was apprehended by a warrant from the ſecretary's office. His ſixth letter to the people of England was pitched upon as the foundation of a proſecution. After a ſhort trial in the court of king's-bench, he was found guilty of having written the ſixth letter to the people of England, adjudging a libellous pamphlet, ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory, to pay a ſmall fine, to be impriſoned three years, and give ſecurity for his future good behaviour: ſo that, in effect, this good man ſuffered more for having given vent to the unguarded effuſions of miſtaken zeal, couched in the language of paſſion and ſcurrility, than was inflicted upon Henſy, a convicted traitor, who had acted as a ſpy for France, and betrayed his own country for hire.

Amidſt a variety of crimes and diſorders, ariſing from impetuoſity of temper, unreined paſſion, luxury, extravagance, and an almoſt total want of police and ſubordination, the virtues of benevolence are always ſpringing up to an extraordinary growth in the Britiſh ſoil; and here charities are often eſtabliſhed by the humanity of individuals, which in any other country would be honoured as national inſtitutions: witneſs the great number of hoſpitals and infirmaries in London and Weſtminſter, erected and maintained by voluntary contributions, or raiſed by the princely donations of private founders. In the courſe of this year the public began to enjoy the benefit of ſeveral admirable inſtitutions. Mr Henry Raine, a private gentleman of Middleſex, had, in his life-time, built and endowed an hoſpital for the maintenance of 40 poor maidens. By his will he bequeathed a certain ſum of money to accumulate at intereſt, under the management of truſtees, until the yearly produce ſhould amount to 210l. to be given in marriage-portions to two of his maidens educated in his hoſpital, at the age of 22, who ſhould be the beſt recommended for piety and induſtry by the maſters or miſtreſſes whom they had ſerved. In the month of March, the ſum deſtined for this laudable purpoſe was completed; when the truſtees, by public advertiſement, ſummoned the maidens educated in the hoſpital to appear on a certain day, with proper certificates of their behaviour and circumſtances, that ſix of the moſt deſerving might be ſelected to draw lots for the prize of 100l. to be paid as her marriage portion, provided ſhe married a man of an unblemiſhed character, a member of the church of England, reſiding within certain ſpecified pariſhes, and approved by the truſtees. Accordingly, on the

first of May the candidates appeared, and the prize being gained by one young woman, in presence of a numerous assembly of all ranks, attracted by curiosity, the other five maidens, with a sixth, added in lieu of her who had been successful, were marked for a second chance on the same day of the following year, when a second prize of the same value would be presented: thus a new candidate will be added every year, that every maiden who has been educated in this hospital, and preserved her character without reproach, may have a chance for the noble donation, which is also accompanied with the sum of 5l. to defray the expence of the wedding entertainment. One scarce knows whether most to admire the plan, or commend the humanity of this excellent institution. Of equal and perhaps superior merit was another charitable establishment, which also took effect about this period. A small number of humane individuals, chiefly citizens of London, deeply affected with the situation of common prostitutes, who are certainly the most forlorn of all human creatures, formed a generous resolution in their favour, such as even the best men of the kingdom had never before the courage to avow. They considered that many of these unhappy creatures, so wretched in themselves, and so productive of mischief to society, had been seduced to vice in their tender years by the perfidious artifice of the other sex, or the violence of unruly passion, before they had acquired experience to guard against the one, or foresight to perceive the fatal consequences of the other: that the jewel, reputation, being thus irretrievably lost, perhaps in one unguarded moment, they were covered with shame and disgrace, abandoned by their families, excluded from all pity, regard, and assistance: that, stung by self-conviction, insulted with reproach, denied the privilege of penitence and contrition, cut off from all hope, impelled by indigence, and maddened with despair, they had plunged into a life of infamy, in which they were exposed to deplorable vicissitudes of misery, and the most excruciating pangs of reflection that any human being could sustain: that, whatever remorse they might feel, howsoever they might detest their own vice, or long for an opportunity of amendment, they were entirely destitute of all means of reformation: they were not only deprived of all possibility of profiting by those precious moments of repentance, and becoming again useful members of society; but, in order to earn a miserable subsistence, were obliged to persevere in the paths of prostitution, and act as the instruments of heaven's vengeance in propagating distemper and profligacy, in ruining the bodies and debauching the minds of their fellow-creatures. Moved to sympathy and compassion by these considerations, this virtuous band of associates determined to provide a comfortable asylum for female penitents, to which they might fly for shelter from the receptacles of vice, the miseries of life, and the scorn of mankind; where they might indulge the salutary sentiments of remorse, make their peace with heaven, accustom themselves to industry and temperance, and be profitably re-united to society, from which they had been so unhappily dissevered. The plan of this excellent institution being formed, was put in execution by means of voluntary subscription, and the house opened in Goodman's-fields, under the name of the Magdalen-hospital, in the month of August; when 50 petitions were presented by penitent prostitutes, soliciting admittance. Another asylum was also opened by the hand of private charity, on the Surrey-side of Westminster-bridge, for the reception and education of female orphans, and children abandoned by their parents.

Nor was encouragement refused to those who distinguished themselves by extraordinary talents in any branch of the liberal and useful arts and sciences, though no mæcenas appeared among the ministers, and not the least ray of patronage glimmered from the throne. The protection, countenance, and gratification secured in other countries by the institution of academies, and the liberalities of princes, the ingenious in England derived from the generosity of a public, endued with taste and sensibility, eager for improvement, and proud of patronizing extraordinary merit. Several years had already elapsed since a society of private persons was instituted at London, for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce. It consisted of a president, vice-president, secretary, register, collector, and other officers, elected from a very considerable number of members, who pay a certain yearly contribution for the purposes of the institution. In the course of every year they held eight general meetings in a large assembly-room, built and furnished at the common expence; besides the ordinary meetings of the society, held every week, from the 2d. Wednesday in November to the last Wednesday in May; and, in the intermediate time, on the 1st. and 3d. Wednesday of every month. At these ordinary meetings, provided the number then present exceeded 10, the members had a right to proceed on business, and power to appoint such committees as they should think necessary. The money contributed by this association, after the necessary expence of the society had been deducted, was expended in premiums for planting and husbandry; for discoveries and improvements in chemistry, dying, and mineralogy; for promoting the ingenious arts of drawing, engraving, casting, painting, statuary, and sculpture; for the improvement of manufactures and machines in the various articles of hats, crapes, druggets, mills, marbled-paper, shipblocs, spinning-wheels, toys, yarn, knitting, and weaving. They likewise allotted sums for the advantage of the British colonies in America, and bestowed premiums on those settlers who should excel in curing cochineal, planting logwood-trees, cultivating olive-trees, producing myrtle-wax, making pot-ash, preserving raisins, curing safflour, making silk and wines, importing sturgeon, preparing isinglass, planting hemp and cinnamon, extracting opium and the gum of the persimon-tree, collecting stones of the mango, which should be found to vegetate in the West-Indies; raising silk-grass, and laying out provincial gardens. They, moreover, allowed a gold medal, in honour of him who should compose the best treatise on the arts of peace, containing an historical account of the progressive improvements of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce in the kingdom of England, with the effects of those improvements on the morals and manners of the people, and pointing out the most proper means for their future advancements. In a word, the society is so numerous, the contributions so considerable, the plan so judicially laid, and executed with such discretion and spirit, as to promise much more effectual and extensive advantage to the public than ever accrued from all the boasted academies of Christendom. The artists of London had long maintained a private academy for the improvement in the art of drawing from living figures; but, in order to extend this advantage, which was not attained without difficulty and expence, the duke of Richmond, a young nobleman of the most amiable character, provided a large apartment at Whitehall, for the use of those who studied the arts of painting, sculpture, and engraving; and furnished it with a collection of original plaister casts from the best antique statues and busts at Rome and Florence. Here any learner had liberty to draw, or make models, under the eye and instructions of two eminent artists; and twice a year the munificent founder bestowed premiums of silver medals on the four pupils who excelled the rest in drawing from a certain figure, and making the best model of it in bassorelievo[u].

[u] Among other transactions that distinguish the history of Great-Britain, scarce a year glides away without producing some incident that strongly marks the singular character of the English nation. A very extraordinary instance of this nature, relating to the late duke of Marlborough, we shall record among the events of this year although it derived its origin from the latter end of the last, and cannot be properly enumerated among those occurrences that appertain to general history. Towards the end of November, in the preceding year, the above mentioned nobleman received, by the post, a letter directed "To his grace the duke of Marlborough, with care and speed," and containing this address:

"My LORD,

"As ceremony is an idle thing upon most occasions, more especially to persons in my state of mind, I shall proceed immediately to acquaint you with the motive and end of addressing this epistle to you, which is equally interesting to us both. You are to know then, that my present situation in life is such, that I should prefer annihilation to a continuance in it. Desperate diseases require desperate remedies; and you are the man I have pitched upon, either to make me or unmake yourself. As I never had the honour to live among the great, the tenor of my proposals will not be very courtly; but let that be an argument to enforce a belief of what I am going to write. It has employed my invention for some time to find out a method of destroying another without exposing my own life; that I have accomplished, and defy the law. Now, for the application of it. I am desperate, and must be provided for. You have it in your power; it is my business to make it your inclination to serve me, which you must determine to comply with, by procuring me a genteel support for my life, or your own will be at a period before this sessions of parliament is over. I have more motives than one for singling you out upon this occasion; and I give you this fair warning, because the means I shall make use of are too fatal to be eluded by the power of physics. If you think this of any consequence, you will not fail to meet the author on Sunday next, at ten in the morning or on Monday (if the weather should be rainy on Sunday) near the first tree beyond the stile in Hyde-Park, in the foot-walk to Kensington. Secresy and compliance may preserve you from a double danger of this sort, as there is a certain part of the world where your death has more than been wished for upon other motives. I know the world too well to trust this secret in any breast but my own. A few days will determine me your friend or enemy.

"FELTON.

"You will apprehend that I mean you should, be alone, and depend upon it, that a discovery of any artifice in this affair will be fatal to you. My safety is insured by my silence, for confession only can condemn me."

The duke, in compliance with this strange remonstrance, appeared at

On the 23d day of November both houſes of parliament met at Weſtminſter, when his majeſty being indiſpoſed, the ſeſſion was opened by commiſſion, and the lord-keeper harrangued them to this effect. He told them, his majeſty had directed the lords of the commiſſion to aſſure his parliament that he always received the higheſt ſatisfaction in being able to lay before them any events that might promote the honour and intereſt of his kingdoms: that, in conſequence of their advice, and enabled by the aſſiſtance which they unanimouſly gave, his majeſty had exerted his endeavours to carry on the war in the moſt vigorous manner, in order to attain that deſirable end, always to be wiſhed, a ſafe and honourable peace[x]: that it had pleaſed the Divine Providence to bleſs his meaſures and arms with ſucceſs in ſeveral parts, and to make the enemies of the nation feel that the ſtrength of Great-Britain is not to be provoked with impunity: that the conqueſt of the ſtrong fortreſs of Louiſbourg, with the iſland of Cape-Breton and St. John; the demolition of Frontenac, of the higheſt importance to his operations in America, and the reduction of Senegal, could not fail to bring great diſtreſs on the French commerce and colonies, and, in proportion, to procure a great advantage to thoſe of Great-Britain. He obſerved, that France had alſo been made ſenſible, that whilſt her forces are ſent forth to invade and ravage the dominions of her neighbours, her own coaſts are not inacceſſible to his majeſty's fleets and armies: a truth which ſhe had experienced in the demolition of the works at Cherbourg, erected at a great expence, with a particular view to annoy England, as well as in the loſs of a great number of ſhips and veſſels; but no treatment, however injurious to his majeſty, could tempt him to make retaliation on the innocent ſubjects of that crown. He told them, that in Germany his majeſty's good brother, the king of Pruſſia, and prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, had found full employment for the enemies of France and her confederates, from which the Engliſh operations, both by ſea and in America, had derived the moſt evident advantage; their ſucceſſes, owing, under God, to their able conduct, and the bravery of his majeſty's troops, and thoſe of his allies, having been ſignal and glorious. The king, moreover, commanded them to declare, that the common cauſe of liberty and independency was ſtill making noble and glorious efforts againſt the unnatural union formed to oppreſs it: that the commerce of his ſubjects, the ſource of national riches, had, by the vigilant protection received from his majeſty's fleet, flouriſhed in a manner not to be paralleled during ſuch troubles: in this ſtate of things, he ſaid, the king, in his wiſdom, thought it unneceſſary to uſe many words to perſuade them to bear up againſt all difficulties, effectually to ſtand by and defend his majeſty, vigorouſly to ſupport the king of Pruſſia, and the reſt of his majeſty's allies, and to exert themſelves to reduce their enemies to equitable terms of accommodation. He obſerved to the

the time and place appointed, on horſebac and alone, with piſtols before him, and the ſtar of his order diſplayed, that he might be the more eaſily known. He had likewiſe taken the precaution of engaging a friend to attend in the Park, at ſuch a diſtance, however, as ſcarce to be obſervable. He continued ſome time on the ſpot without ſeeing any perſon he could ſuſpect of having wrote the letter, and then rode away; but chancing to turn his head when he reached Hyde-Park corner, he perceived a man ſtanding at the bridge, and looking at the water, within twenty yards of the tree which was deſcribed in the letter. He forthwith rode bac at a gentle pace, and paſſing by the perſon expected to be addreſſed, but as no advance of this kind was made, he, in repaſſing, bowed to the ſtranger, and aſked if he had not ſomething to communicate. The man replying, "No, I don't know you;" the duke told him his name, adding, "Now you know me, I imagine you have ſomething to ſay to me." But he ſtill anſwered in the negative, and the duke rode home. In a day or two after this tranſaction another letter was brought to him, couched in the following terms:

"MY LORD,

"YOU receive this as an acknowledgement of your punctuality as to the time and place of meeting on Sunday laſt, though it was owing to you it anſwered no purpoſe. The pageantry of being armed, and the enſign of your order were uſeleſs, and too conſpicuous. You needed no attendant, the place was not calculated for miſchief, nor was any intended. If your walk in the weſt iſle of Weſtminſter-Abbey, towards 11 o'clock on Sunday next, your ſagacity will point out the perſon whom you will addreſs, by aſking his company to take a turn or two with you. You will not fail, on enquiry, to be acquainted with the name and place of aboad. According to which direction you will pleaſe to ſend 2 or 300l. bank-notes the next day by the penny-poſt. Exert not your curioſity too early: it is in your power to make me grateful on certain terms. I have friends who are faithful, but they do not bark before they bite. "I am, &c. F."

The duke, determined, if poſſible, to unveil this myſtery, repaired to the Abbey at the time preſcribed, and, after having walked up and down for five or ſix minutes, ſaw the very ſame perſon to whom he had ſpoken in Hyde-Park enter the Abbey, with another man of creditable appearance. This laſt, after they had viewed ſome of the monuments, went into the choir, and the other turned bac, advanced towards the duke, who accoſting him, aſked if he had any thing to ſay to him, or any commands for him? He replied, "No, my lord, I have not."—"Sure you have," ſaid the duke, but he perſiſted in his denial. Then the duke leaving him, took ſeveral turns in the iſle, while the ſtranger walked on the other ſide. But nothing further paſſed between them, and although the duke had provided ſeveral perſons in diſguiſe to apprehend the delinquent, he forbore giving the ſignal, that, notwithſtanding appearances, he might run no riſque of injuring an innocent perſon. Not long after this ſecond diſappointment he received a third letter, to the following effect:

"MY LORD

"I AM fully convinced you had a companion on Sunday: I interpret it as owing to the weakneſs of human nature, but ſuch proceeding is far from being ingenuous, and may produce bad effects, whilſt it is impoſſible to anſwer the end propoſed. You will ſee me again ſoon, as it were by accident, and may eaſily find where I go to; in conſequence of which, by being ſent to, I ſhall wait on your grace, but expect to be quite alone, and to converſe in whiſpers: you will likewiſe give your honour, upon meeting, that no part of the converſation ſhall tranſpire. Theſe and the former terms complied with will enſure your ſafety: my revenge, in caſe of non-compliance (or any ſcheme to expoſe me) will be ſlower, but not the leſs ſure; and ſtrong ſuſpicion the utmoſt that can poſſibly enſue upon it, while the chances would be ten-fold againſt you. You will poſſibly be in doubt after the meeting, but it is quite neceſſary the outſide ſhould be a maſk to the in. The family of the Bloods is not extinct, though they are not in my ſcheme."

The expreſſions, "you will ſee me again ſoon, as it were by accident," plainly pointed at the perſon to whom he had ſpoke in the Park, and in the Abbey; nevertheleſs, he ſaw him not again, nor did he hear any thing further of the affair for two months, at the expiration of which the poſt brought him the following letter:

"May it pleaſe your Grace,

"I have reaſon to believe that the ſon of one Barnard, a ſurveyor, in Abingdon-Buildings, Weſtminſter, is acquainted with ſome ſecrets that nearly concern your ſafety: his father is now out of town, which will give you an opportunity of queſtioning him more privately; it would be uſeleſs to your grace, as well as dangerous to me, to appear more publicly in this affair.

"Your ſincere friend,

"ANONYMOUS.

"He frequently goes to Storey's-Gate coffee-houſe."

In about a week after this intimation was received, the duke ſent a perſon to the coffee-houſe, to enquire for mr. Barnard, and tell him he would be glad to ſpeak to him. The meſſage was delivered, and Barnard declared he would wait upon his grace next Thurſday, at half an hour after 10 in the the morning. He was punctual to his appointment, and no ſooner appeared than the duke recogniſed him to be the perſon to whom he had ſpoke in the Park and the Abbey. Having conducted him into an apartment, and ſhut the door, he aſked, as before, if he had any thing to communicate; and was anſwered, as formerly, in the negative. Then the duke repeated every circumſtance of this ſtrange tranſaction; to which Barnard liſtened with attention and ſurpriſe, yet without exhibiting any marks of conſcious guilt or confuſion. The duke obſerving that it was matter of aſtoniſhment to ſee letters of ſuch import written with the correctneſs of a ſcholar, the other replied, that a man might be very poor and very learned at the ſame time. When he ſaw the fourth letter, in which his name was mentioned, with the circumſtance of his father's abſence, he ſaid, 'It is very odd, my father was then out of town.' An expreſſion the more remarkable, as the letter was without date, and he could not, as an innocent man, be ſuppoſed to know at what time it was written. The duke having made him acquainted with the particulars, told him, that if he was innocent he ought to uſe his endeavours to detect the writer of the letters, eſpecially of the laſt, in which he was expreſly named. To this admonition he returned no other anſwer but a ſmile, and then withdrew.—He was afterwards taken into cuſtody, and tried at the Old-Bailey, for ſending a threatening letter, contrary to the ſtatute; but no evidence could be found to prove the letters were of his hand-writing; nor did any preſumption appear againſt him, except his being in Hyde-Park, and in Weſtminſter-Abbey, at the time and place appointed in the two firſt letters. On the other hand, mr. Barnard proved, that on the Sunday, when he ſaw the duke in Hyde-Park, he was on his way to Kenſington, on particular buſineſs, by his father's order, ſignified to him that very morning: that he accordingly went thither, and dined with his uncle, in company with ſeveral other perſons, to whom he related what had paſſed between the duke of Marlborough and him in the Park: that his being afterwards in Weſtminſter-Abbey was the effect of mere accident: that mr. James Greenwood, his kinſman, who had lain the preceding night at his father's houſe, deſired him to dreſs himſelf, that they might walk together in the Park; and he did not comply with his requeſt till after much ſollicitation: that he propoſed to enter the Park without paſſing through the Abbey, but was prevailed upon by mr. Greenwood, who expreſſed a deſire of ſeeing the newly-erected monument of general Hargrave: that as he had formerly communicated to his friend the ſtrange circumſtance of the duke's ſpeaking to him in Hyde-Park, mr. Greenwood no ſooner ſaw that noblemaſ in the Abbey, than he gave notice to mr. Barnard, who was very ſhort-ſighted: and that, from his paſſing them ſeveral times, concluding he wanted to ſpeak with mr. Barnard alone, he quitted him, and retired into the choir, that they might commune together without interruption. It likewiſe appeared from undoubted evidence, that Barnard had often mentioned openly, to his friends and acquaintance, the circumſtances of what paſſed between him and the duke in the Park and in the Abbey: that his father was a man of unblemiſhed reputation, and in affluent circumſtances: that he himſelf was never reduced to any want, or ſuch exigence as might impel him to any deſperate methods of obtaining money: that his fidelity had been often tried, and his life always irreproachable. For theſe reaſons he was acquitted of the crime laid to his charge, and the myſtery remains to this day undiſcovered.

After all, the author of the letters does not ſeem to have had any real deſign to extort money, becauſe the ſcheme was very ill calculated for that purpoſe, and, indeed, could not poſſibly take effect, without the moſt imminent riſque of detection. Perhaps his aim was nothing more than to gratify a petulance and peculiarity of humour, by alarming the duke, exciting the curioſity of the public, puzzling the multitude, and giving riſe to a thouſand ridiculous conjectures. If any thing more was intended, and the duke earneſtly deſired to know the extent of the ſcheme, he might, when he cloſeted the perſon ſuſpected, have encouraged him to a declaration, by promiſing inviolable ſecrecy on his word and honour, in which any man would have confided as a ſacred obligation. On the whole, it is ſurpriſing that the death of the duke, which happened in the courſe of this year, was never attributed to the ſecret practices of this incendiary correſpondent who had given him to underſtand, that his vengeance, though ſlow, would not be the leſs certain.

[x] In the month of Auguſt, the king in quality of elector of Hanover, having occaſion for 200,000l. a loan by ſubſcription for that ſum was opened at the Bank, and filled immediately by ſeven or eight money dealers of London.

houſe of commons, that the uncommon extent of this war, in different parts, occaſioned it to be uncommonly expenſive: that the king had ordered them to declare to the commons, that he ſincerely lamented, and deeply felt for the burthens of his people: that the ſeveral eſtimates were ordered to be laid before them; and that he deſired only ſuch ſupplies as ſhould be requiſite to puſh the war with advantage, and be adequate to the neceſſary ſervices. In the laſt place, he aſſured them the king took ſo much ſatisfaction in that good harmony which ſubſiſted among his faithful ſubjects, that it was more proper for him now to thank them for it, than to repeat his exhortation to it: that this union, neceſſary at all times, was more eſpecially ſo in ſuch critical conjunctures; and his majeſty doubted not but the good effects the nation had found from it would be the ſtrongeſt motives to them to purſue it.—The reader will, no doubt, be ſurpriſed to find this harangue abound with harſhneſs of period and inelegancy of expreſſion: he will wonder that, in particulariſing the ſucceſſes of the year in America, no mention is made of the reduction of fort Du Queſne on the river Ohio; a place of great importance, both from its ſtrength and ſituation, the erection of which had been one great motive to the war between the two nations: but he will be ſtill more ſurpriſed to hear it declared from the throne, that the operations, both by ſea and in America, had derived the moſt evident advantage from the war in Germany. An aſſertion the more extraordinary, as the Britiſh miniſtry, in their anſwer to the parallel, which we have already mentioned, had expreſly affirmed, that 'none but ſuch as are acquainted with the maritime force of England can believe, that without a diverſion on the continent, to employ part of the enemy's force, ſhe is not in a condition to hope for ſucceſs, and maintain her ſuperiority at ſea.—That they muſt be very ignorant, indeed, who imagine that the forces of England are not able to reſiſt thoſe of France, unleſs the latter be hindered from turning all her efforts to the ſea.' It is very remarkably, that the Britiſh miniſtry ſhould declare that the war in Germany was favourable to the Engliſh operations by ſea and in America; and almoſt in the ſame breath accuſe the French king of having fomented that war. Let us ſuppoſe that France had no war to maintain in Europe; and aſk in what manner ſhe, in that caſe, would have oppoſed the progreſs of the Britiſh arms by ſea, and in America? Her navy was reduced to ſuch a condition that it durſt not quit her harbours; her merchant-ſhips were all taken, her mariners confined in England, and the ſea was covered with Britiſh cruizers: in theſe circumſtances, what expedients could ſhe have contrived for ſending ſupplies, and re-enforcements to America, or for oppoſing the naval armaments of Great-Britain in any other part of the world?—None. Without ſhips and mariners, her troops, ammunition, and ſtores were, in this reſpect, as uſeleſs as money to a man ſhip-wrecked on a deſolate iſland. But, granting that the war in Germany had, in ſome meaſure, diverted the attention of the French miniſtry from the proſecution of their operations in America (and this is granting more than ought to be allowed) the queſtion is not, whether the hoſtilities upon the continent of Europe prevented France from ſending a great number of troops to Canada; but whether the war in Germany was either neceſſary or expedient for diſtreſſing the French more effectually in other parts of the world? Surely every intelligent man of candour muſt anſwer in the negative. The expence incurred by England for ſubſidies and armies in the empire exceeded 3,000,000l. ſterling annually; and this enormous expence, without being able to protect Hanover, only ſerved to keep the war alive in different parts of Germany. Had one-half of this ſum been employed in augmenting and extending the naval armaments of Great-Britain, and in re-enforcing her troops in America and the Weſt-Indies, France would have been, at this day, deprived of all her ſugar colonies, as well as of her ſettlements on the continent of America; and being abſolutely cut off from theſe ſources of wealth, would have found it impracticable either to gratify her ſubſidiaries, or to maintain ſuch formidable armies to annoy her neighbours. Theſe are truths, which will appear to the conviction of the public, when the illuſive ſpells of unſubſtantial victory are diſſolved, and time ſhall have diſperſed the thic miſts of prejudice, which now ſeem to darken and perplex the underſtanding of the people.

The conduct of the adminiſtration was ſo agreeable to both houſes of parliament, that in their addreſs to the throne they expreſſed their unſhaken zeal and loyalty to his majeſty's perſon, congratulated him on the ſucceſs of his arms, and promiſed to ſupport his meaſures and allies with ſteadineſs and alacrity [y]. It was proabably in conſequence of this aſſurance that a new treaty between Great-Britain and Pruſſia was concluded at London on the ſeventh day of December, importing, That as the burthenſome war in which the king of Pruſſia is engaged lays him under the neceſſity of making freſh efforts to defend himſelf againſt the multitude of enemies who attac his dominions, he is obliged to take new meaſures with the king of England, for their reciprocal defence and ſafety; and his Britannick majeſty hath, at the ſame time, ſignified his earneſt deſire to ſtrengthen the friendſhip ſubſiſting between the two courts, and, in conſequence thereof, to conclude a formal convention, for granting to his Pruſſian majeſty ſpeedy and powerful aſſiſtance, their majeſties have nominated and authoriſed their miniſters to concert and ſettle the following articles:—All formal treaties between the two crowns, particularly that ſigned at Weſtminſter on the 16th day of January, in the year 1756, and the convention of the 11th of April, in the year 1758, are confirmed by the preſent convention of the 11th of April, in the year 1758, in their whole tenor, as if they were herein inſerted word for word. The king of Great-Britain ſhall cauſe to be paid at London, to ſuch perſon or perſons as ſhall be authoriſed by the king of Pruſſia for that end, the ſum of 4,000,000 of rix-dollars, making 670,000l. ſterling, at one payment, immediately on the exchange of the ratifications, if the king of Pruſſia ſhall ſo require. His Pruſſian majeſty ſhall employ the ſaid ſum in ſupporting and augmenting his forces, which ſhall act in ſuch manner as ſhall be of the greateſt ſervice to the common cauſe, and contribute moſt to the mutual defence and ſafety of their ſaid majeſties. The king of Great-Britain, both as king and elector, and the king of Pruſſia, reciprocally bind themſelves not to conclude with the powers that have taken part in the preſent war any treaty of peace, truce, or other ſuch like convention, but by common advice and conſent, each expreſly including therein the other. The ratification of the preſent convention ſhall be exchanged within ſix weeks, or ſooner, if poſſible. In effect, this treaty was no other than a renewal of the ſubſidy from year to year, becauſe it was not thought proper to ſtipulate in the firſt ſubſidiary convention an annual ſupply of ſuch importance until the war ſhould be terminated, leſt the people of England ſhould be alarmed at the proſpect of ſuch ſucceſſive burthens, and the complaiſance of the commons be in ſome future ſeſſion exhauſted. On the whole, this was perhaps the moſt extraordinary treaty that ever was concluded; for it contains no ſpecification of articles, except the payment of the ſubſidy: every other article was left to the interpretation of his Pruſſian majeſty.

[1759] The parliament, having performed the ceremony of addreſſes to the throne, immediately proceeded to the great work of the ſupply. The two committees in the houſe of commons were immediately eſtabliſhed, and continued by adjournments to the month of May, by the 23d day of which all their reſolutions were taken. They voted 60,000 men, including 14,845 marines, for the ſervice of the enſuing year; and for the operations by land, a body of troops amounting to 52,553 effective men, beſides the auxiliaries of Hanover, Heſſe, Brunſwick, Saxe-Gotha, and Buckebourg, to the number of 50,000, and five battalions on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, in actual ſervice in America and Africa. For the maintenance of the 60,000 men employed in the ſea-ſervice, they granted 3,120,000l. for the land-forces, 1,256,130l. 15s. 2d. for the charge of the additional five battalions, 40,879l. 13s. 9d. for the pay of the general and ſtaff-officers, and hoſpitals of the land-forces, 52,484l. 1s. 8d. for maintaining the garriſons in the plantations, Gibraltar, Nova-Scotia, Newfoundland, Providence, Cape-Breton, and Senegal, the ſum of 742,531l. 5s. 7d. for the charge of ordnance for land-ſervice, 220,789l. 11s. 9d. for extraordinary ſervice performed by the ſame office, and not provided for by parliament in

[y] That the charge of diſaffection to the king's perſon, which was ſo loudly trumpeted by former miniſters and their adherents againſt thoſe who had honeſty and courage to oppoſe the meaſures of a weak and corrupt adminiſtration, was entirely falſe, and without foundation, appeared at this juncture, when in the midſt of a cruel, oppreſſive, and continental war, maintained by the blood and treaſure of Great-Britain, all oppoſition ceaſed in both houſes of parliament. The addreſſes of thanks to his majeſty, which are always dictated by the immediate ſervants of the crown, were unanimouſly adopted in both houſes, and not only couched in terms of applauſe, but even inflated with expreſſions of rapture and admiration. They declared themſelves ſenſible, that the operations of Great-Britain, both by ſea and in America, had received the moſt evident and important advantages from the maintenance of the war in Germany, and ſeemed eager to eſpouſe any meaſure that might gratify the inclinations of the ſovereign.

the courſe of the preceding year, 323,987l. 13s. 3d. for the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to ſea officers, 238,491l. 9s. 8d. towards the ſupport of Greenwich-hoſpital, and for the out-penſioners of Chelſea-college, the ſum of 36,000l. They allotted for one year's expence incurred by the foreign troops in the pay of Great-Britain, 1,238,177l. 19s. 10d. over and above 60,000l. for enabling his majeſty to fulfil his engagements with the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, purſuant to the ſeperate article of a new treaty concluded between them in the month of January of this current year, ſtipulating that this ſum ſhould be paid to his ſerene highneſs, in order to facilitate the means by which he might again fix his reſidence in his own dominions, and by his preſence give freſh courage to his faithful ſubjects. Eighty thouſand pounds were granted for enabling his majeſty to diſcharge the like ſum, raiſed in purſuance of an act paſſed in the preceding ſeſſion, and charged upon the firſt aids or ſupplies to be granted in this ſeſſion of parliament. The ſum of 200,000l. was voted towards the building and repairing ſhips of war for the enſuing year. Fifteen thouſand pounds were allowed for improving London-bridge; and 40,000l. on account for the Foundling-hoſpital. For the charge of tranſports to be employed in the courſe of the year they aſſigned 667,721l. 19s. 7d. for maintaining the colonies of Nova-Scotia and Georgia they beſtowed 25,238l. 13s. 5d. To replace ſums taken from the ſinking-fund, 33,252l. 18s. 10½d. for maintaining the Britiſh forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, 10,000l. and for paying off the mortgage on an eſtate deviſed for the endowment of a profeſſorſhip in the univerſity of Cambridge, the ſum of 1280l. For the expence of the militia they voted 90,000l. for extraordinary expences relating to the land-forces, incurred in the courſe of laſt year, and unprovided for by parliament, the ſum of 466,785l. 10s. 5¾d. For the purchaſe of certain lands and hereditaments, in order to ſecure the king's docs at Portſmouth, Chatham, and Plymouth, they granted 36,966l. 2s. 10d. They voted 200,000l. for enabling his majeſty to give proper compenſations to the reſpective provinces in North-America for the expences they had incurred in levying and maintaining troops for the ſervice of the public. They granted 20,000l. to the Eaſt-India company, towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their ſettlements; and the ſame ſum was granted for carrying on the fortifications to ſecure the harbour of Milford. To make good ſeveral ſums iſſued by his majeſty, for indemnifying the innholders and victuallers of Hampſhire for the expences they had incurred in quartering the Heſſian auxiliaries in England; for an addition to the ſalaries of judges, and other leſs conſiderable purpoſes, they allowed the ſum of 26,178l. 16s. 6d. Finally, they voted one million, upon account, for enabling the king to defray any extraordinary expence of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the ſervice of the current year; and to take all ſuch meaſures as might be neceſſary to diſappoint or defeat any enterprizes or deſigns of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs ſhould require. The ſum of all the grants voted by the committee of ſupply amounted to 12,761,310l. 19s. 5d.

The commons were ſtill employed in deliberations on ways and means on the 22d day of May, when mr. ſecretary Pitt communicated to them a meſſage from the king, couched in theſe terms: 'His majeſty, relying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful commons, and conſidering that, in this critical conjuncture, emergencies may ariſe, which may be of the utmoſt importance, and be attended with the moſt pernicious conſequences, if proper means ſhould not immediately be applied to prevent or defeat them, is deſirous that this houſe will enable him to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the ſervice of the year 1759, and to take all ſuch meaſures as may be neceſſary to diſappoint or defeat any enterprizes or deſigns of his enemies, and as the exigencies of affairs may require.' This meſſage being read, a motion was made, and agreed to nem. con. that it ſhould be referred to the committee, who forthwith formed upon it the reſolution, whereby one million was granted, to be raiſed by loans or exchequer-bills chargeable on the firſt aids that ſhould be given in the next ſeſſion. This produced a bill enabling his majeſty to raiſe the ſum of one million, for the uſes and purpoſes therein mentioned, comprehending a clauſe, allowing the Bank of England to advance, on the credit of the loan therein mentioned, any ſum not exceeding a million, notwithſtanding the act of the 5th and 6th years in the reign of William and Mary, by which the Bank was eſtabliſhed.

The bills relating ſolely to the ſupply being diſcuſſed and expedited, the houſe proceeded as uſual to enact other laws for the advantage of the community. Petitions having been preſented by the cities of Briſtol and New-Sarum, alledging, that ſince the laws prohibiting the making of low wines and ſpirits from grain, meal, and flour had been in force, the commonality appeared more ſober, healthy, and induſtrious; repreſenting the ill conſequences which they apprehend would attend the repeal of theſe laws, and therefore praying their continuance; a committee of the whole houſe reſolved that the prohibition to export corn ſhould be continued to the 24th day of December, in the year 1759; ſubject nevertheleſs to ſuch proviſions for ſhortening the ſaid term of its continuance as ſhould therefore be made by any act of that ſeſſion, or by his majeſty, with the advice of his privy-council, during the receſs of parliament; that the act for diſcontinuing the duties upon corn and flour imported, or brought in as prize, was not proper to be further continued; and that the prohibition to make low wines or ſpirits from any ſort of grain, meal, or flour ſhould be continued to the 24th day of December, in the year 1759. Before the bill was formed on theſe reſolutions, petitions arrived from Liverpool and Bath, to the ſame purport as thoſe of Briſtol and Sarum; while, on the other hand, a remonſtrance was preſented by a great number of the malt diſtillers of the city and ſuburbs of London, alledging, that it having been deemed expedient to prohibit the diſtilling of ſpirits from any ſort of grain to the 24th day of December then inſtant, ſome of the petitioners had entirely ceaſed to carry on the buſineſs of diſtilling, while others, merely with a view to preſerve their cuſtomers, the compound diſtillers, and employ ſome of their ſervants, horſes, and utenſils, had ſubmitted to carry on the diſtillation of ſpirits from melaſſes and ſugars under great diſadvantages, in full hope that the ſaid reſtraint would ceaſe at the expiration of the limited time, or at leaſt when the neceſſity which occaſioned that reſtraint ſhould be removed; that it was with great concern they obſerved a bill would be brought in for protracting the ſaid prohibition, at a time when the price of all manner of grain, and particularly of wheat and barley, was conſiderably reduced, and, as they humbly conceived, at a reaſonable medium. They expatiated on the great loſs they, as well as many traders and artificers dependents upon them, muſt ſuſtain, in caſe the ſaid bill ſhould be paſſed into a law. They prayed the houſe to take theſe circumſtances into conſideration, and either permit them to carry on the diſtillation from wheat, malt, and other grain, under ſuch reſtrictions as ſhould be judged neceſſary; or to grant them ſuch other relief, in reſpect of their ſeveral loſſes and incumbrances, as to the houſe ſhould ſeem reaſonable and expedient. This petition, though ſtrenuouſly urged by a powerful and clamorous body without doors, did not meet with great encouragement within. It was ordered to lie upon the table, and an inſtruction was given to the committee, empowering them to receive a clauſe or clauſes to allow the tranſportation of certain quantities of meal, flour, bread, and biſcuit to the iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey, for the ſole uſe of the inhabitants; and another to prohibit the making of low wines and ſpirits from bran. Much more attention was paid to a petition of ſeveral farmers in the county of Norfolk, repreſenting, that their farms conſiſted chiefly of arable land, which produced much greater quantities of corn than could be conſumed within that county; that in the laſt harveſt there was a great and plentiful crop of all ſorts of grain, the greateſt part of which had, by unfavourable weather, been rendered unfit for ſale at London, or other markets, for home conſumption; that large quantities of malt were then lying at London, ariſing chiefly from the crops of barley growing in the year 1757, the ſale of which was ſtagnated; that the petitioners being informed the houſe had ordered in a bill to continue the prohibition of corn exported, they begged leave to obſerve, that, ſhould it paſs into a law, it would be extremely prejudicial to all, and ruin many farmers of that county, as they had offered their corn for ſale at divers ports and markets of the ſaid county; but the merchants refuſed to buy it at any price, alledging its being unfit for the London market, the great quantity of corn with which that market was already overſtocked, and their not being allowed either to export it, or make it into malt for exportation: they, therefore, prayed this prohibition might be removed, or they the petitioners indulged with ſome other kind of relief. Although this remonſtrance was duely conſidered, the bill paſſed with the amendments, becauſe of the proviſo, by which his majeſty

in council was empowered to ſhorten the date of the prohibition, with reſpect to the exportation of corn, during the receſs of parliament: but the temporary reſtraint laid upon diſtillation was made abſolute, without any ſuch condition, to the no ſmall diſappointment and mortification of the diſtillers, who had ſpared no pains and expence, by private ſollicitation and ſtrenuous diſpute in the public papers, to recommend their cauſe to the favour of the community. They urged, that malt-ſpirits, when uſed in moderation, far from being prejudicial to the health of individuals, were in many damp and marſhy parts of the kingdom abſolutely neceſſary for preſerving the field-labourers from agues, and other diſtempers produced by the cold and moiſture of the climate; that if they were debarred the uſe of malt-ſpirits, they would have recourſe to French brandy, with which, as they generally reſided near the ſea coaſt, the ſmugglers would provide them almoſt as cheap as the malt-ſpirits could be afforded: thus the increaſed conſumption of French ſpirit would drain the nation of ready money to a conſiderable amount, and prejudice the king's revenue in the ſame proportion. They obſerved, that many diſtillers had already quitted that branch of trade, and diſpoſed of their material; and all of them would probably take the ſame reſolution, ſhould the bill paſs into a law, as no man could foreſee when the prohibition would ceaſe, ſhould it be continued at a time when all ſorts of grain abounded in ſuch plenty; that the very waſte of materials by diſuſe, over and above the lying out of the money, would be of great prejudice to the proprietor: thus the buſineſs of diſtilling, by which ſo many families were ſupported, would be baniſhed from the kingdom entirely: eſpecially, as the expence of eſtabliſhing a large diſtillery was ſo great, that no man would chooſe to employ his money for this purpoſe, judging from experience, that ſome future accidental ſcarcity of corn might induce the legiſlature to interpoſe a ruinous delay in this branch of buſineſs. They affirmed, that, from the exceſſive uſe of malt-ſpirits, no good argument could be drawn againſt this branch of traffic, no more than againſt any other conveniency of life; that the exceſſive uſe of common beer or ale was prejudicial to the health and morals of the people, yet no perſon ever thought of putting an end to the practice of brewing, in order to prevent the abuſe of brewed liquors. They urged, that in all parts of Great-Britain there are ſome parcels of land that produce nothing to advantage, but a coarſe kind of barley, called big, which, though neither fit for brewing or for baking, may nevertheleſs be uſed in the diſtillery, and is accordingly purchaſed by thoſe concerned in this branch, at ſuch an encouraging price, as enables many farmers to pay a higher rent to their landlords than they could otherwiſe afford: that there are every year ſome parcels of all ſorts of grain ſo damaged by unſeaſonable weather, or other accidents, as to be rendered altogether unfit for bread or brewery, and would prove a very great misfortune to the farmer, if there was no diſtillery, for the uſe of which he could ſell his damaged commodity. They aſſerted, that malt-ſpirits were abſolutely neceſſary for proſecuting ſome branches of foreign commerce, particularly the trade to the coaſt of Africa, for which traffic no aſſortment could be made up without a large quantity of geneva, of which the natives are ſo fond, that they will not traffic with any merchant who has not a conſiderable quantity, not only for ſale, but alſo for preſents to their chiefs and rulers: that the merchants of Great-Britain muſt either have this commodity of their own produce, or import it at a great national expence from Holland: that the charge of this importation, together with the duties payable upon it, ſome part of which is not to be drawn bac on exportation, will render it impoſſible for the traders to ſell it ſo cheap on the coaſt of Africa as it might be ſold by the Dutch, who are the great rivals of Great-Britain in this branch of commerce. To theſe arguments, all of which were plauſible, and ſome of them unanſwerable, it was replied, that malt-ſpirits might be conſidered as a fatal and bewitching poiſon, which had actually debauched the minds and enervated the bodies of the common people to a very deplorable degree; that, without entering further into a compariſon between the uſe and abuſe of the two liquors, beer and geneva, it would be ſufficient to obſerve, that the uſe beer and ale had produced none of thoſe dreadful effects which were the conſequences of drinking geneva; and ſince the prohibition of the diſtillery of malt-ſpirits had taken place, the common people were become apparently more ſober, decent, healthy, and induſtrious: a circumſtance ſufficient to induce the legiſlature not only to intermit, but even totally to aboliſh the practice of diſtillation, which has ever been productive of ſuch intoxication, riot, diſorder, and diſtemper among the lower claſs of the people, as might be deemed the greateſt evils incident to a well regulated common-wealth. Their aſſertion with reſpect to the courſe kind of barley, called big, was contradicted as a deviation from truth, inaſmuch as it was uſed in making malt, as well as in making bread: and with reſpect to damaged corn: thoſe who underſtood the nature of grain affirmed, that if it was ſpoiled to ſuch a degree as to be altogether unfit for either of theſe purpoſes, the diſtillers would not purchaſe it at ſuch a price as would indemnify the farmer for the charge of threſhing and carriage; for the diſtillers are very ſenſible that their greateſt profit is derived from their diſtilling the malt made from the beſt barley, ſo that the increaſe of the produce far exceeded in proportion the advance of the price. It was not however, an eaſy matter to prove that the diſtillation of malt-ſpirits was not neceſſary to an advantageous proſecution of the commerce on the coaſt of Guinea, as well as among the Indians in ſome parts of North-America. Certain it is, that in theſe branches of traffic the want of geneva may be ſupplied by ſpirits diſtilled from ſugars and melaſſes. After all, it muſt be owned, that the good and ſalutary effects of the prohibition were viſible in every part of the kingdom, and no evil conſequences enſued, except a diminution of the revenue in this article: a conſideration which, at all times, ought to be ſacrificed to the health and morals of the people; nor will this conſideration be found of any great weight, when we reflect that the leſs the malt-ſpirit is drunk, the greater quantity of beer and ale will be conſumed, and the produce of the duties and exciſe upon the brewery be augmented accordingly.

In the mean time, all ſorts of grain continuing to fall in price, and great plenty appearing in every part of the kingdom, the juſtices of the peace, and of the grand-juries aſſembled at the general quarter ſeſſions of the peace held for the county of Norfolk, compoſed and preſented to the houſe of commons, in the beginning of February, a petition, repreſenting, that the weather proving unfavourable in the harveſt, great part of the barley raiſed in that county was much damaged, and rendered unfit for any other uſe than that of being made into malt for exportation; that, unleſs it ſhould be ſpeedily manufactured for that purpoſe, it would be entirely ſpoiled, and periſh in the hands of the growers; a loſs that muſt be very ſenſibly felt by the land-owners: they, therefore, entreated that leave might be given for the exportation of malt; and that they might be favoured with ſuch further relief, as to the houſe ſhould ſeem juſt and reaſonable. In conſequence of this petition, the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee, to deliberate upon the ſubject; and as it appeared, upon examination, that the price of grain was reduced very low, and great abundance diffuſed through the kingdom, they reſolved, that the continuance of that part of the act, prohibiting the exportation of grain, ought to be abridged and ſhortened, and the exportation of theſe commodities allowed, under proper regulations with reſpect to the time of ſuch exportation, and the allowance of bounties thereupon. A bill being founded on theſe reſolutions, was diſcuſſed, and underwent ſeveral amendments: at length, it was ſent with a new title to the lords, who paſſed it without further alteration, and then it obtained the royal ſanction.

While this affair was under the deliberation of the committee, the commons unanimouſly iſſued an order for leave to bring in a bill to continue, for a limited time, the act of laſt ſeſſion, permitting the importation of ſalted beef from Ireland into Great-Britain, with an inſtruction to receive a clauſe extending this permiſſion to all ſorts of ſalted pork or hog meat, as the officers of the cuſtom-houſe had refuſed to admit hams from Ireland to an entry. The bill likewiſe received another conſiderable alteration, importing, that inſtead of the duty of 1s. 3d. charged by the former act on every hundred weight of ſalted beef or pork imported from Ireland, which was found not adequate to the duty payable for ſuch a quantity of ſalt as is requiſite to be uſed in curing and ſalting thereof; and to prevent as well the expence to the revenue, as the detriment and loſs which would accrue to the owner and importer, from opening the caſks in which the proviſion is generally depoſited, with the pickle or brine proper for preſerving the ſame, in order to aſcertain the net weight of the proviſion liable to the ſaid duties—for theſe reaſons it was enacted, that from and after the 24th day of laſt December, and during the continuance of this act, a duty of 3s. 4d. ſhould be paid upon importation for every barrel or caſk of ſalted beef or pork

containing 32 gallons; and 1s. 3d. for every hundred weight of ſalted beef, called dried beef, dried neats tongues, or dried hog-meat, and ſo in proportion for any greater or leſſer quantity.

Repeated complaints having been made to the government by neutral nations, eſpecially the Dutch, that their ſhips had been plundered, and their crews mal-treated, by ſome of the Engliſh privateers, the legiſlature reſolved to provide effectually againſt any ſuch outrageous practices for the future: and with this the commons ordered a bill to be brought in, for amending and explaining an act of the 29th year of his late majeſty's reign, intituled, "An act for the encouragement of ſeamen, and more "ſpeedy and effectual manning of his majeſty's navy." While the committee was employed in peruſing commiſſions and papers relative to private ſhips of war, that they might be fully acquainted with the nature of the ſubject, a conſiderable number of merchants and others, inhabiting the iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey, preſented a petition to the houſe, alledging, that the inhabitants of thoſe iſlands, which lie in the Britiſh channel, within ſight of the French coaſt, had now, as well as in former wars, embarked their fortunes in equipping ſmall privateers, which uſed to run in cloſe with the French ſhore, and being diſguiſed like fiſhing-boats, had not only taken a conſiderable number of prizes, to the great annoyance of the enemy, but alſo obtained material intelligence of their deſigns, on many important occaſions; that theſe ſervices could not be performed by large veſſels, which durſt not approach ſo near the coaſt, and indeed could not appear without giving the alarm, which was communicated from place to place by appointed ſignals. Being informed that a bill was depending, in order to prohibit privateers of ſmall burthen, they declared that ſuch a law, if extended to privateers equipped in thoſe iſlands, would ruin ſuch as had inveſted their fortunes in ſmall privateers; and not only deprive the kingdom of the before-mentioned advantages, but expoſe Great-Britain to infinite prejudice from the ſmall armed veſſels of France, which the enemy in that caſe would pour abroad over the whole channel, to the great annoyance of navigation and commerce. They prayed, therefore, that ſuch privateers as belonged to the iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey might be wholly excepted from the penalties contained in the bill, or that they (the petitioners) might be heard by their counſel, and be indulged with ſuch relief as the houſe ſhould judge expedient. This repreſentation being referred to the conſideration of the committee, produced divers amendments to the bill, which, at length, obtained the royal aſſent, and contained theſe regulations: That, after the 1ſt day of January in the preſent year, no commiſſion ſhould be granted to a privateer in Europe under the burthen of 100 tons, the force of ten carriage guns, being three-pounders or above, with 40 men at the leaſt, unleſs the lords of the admiralty, or perſons authoriſed by them, ſhould think fit to grant the ſame to any ſhip of inferior force or burthen, the owners thereof giving ſuch bail or ſecurity as ſhould be preſcribed: that the lords of the admiralty might at any time revoke, by an order in writing under their hands, any commiſſion granted to a privateer; this revocation being ſubject to an appeal to his majeſty in council, whoſe determination ſhould be final: that, previous to the granting any commiſſion, the perſons propoſing to be bound, and give ſecurity, ſhould ſeverally make oath of their being reſpectively worth more money than the ſum for which they were then to be bound, over and above the payment of all their juſt debts: that perſons applying for ſuch commiſſions ſhould make application in writing, and therein ſet forth a particular and exact deſcription of the veſſel, ſpecifying the burthen, and the number and nature of the guns on board, to what place belonging, as well as the name or names of the principal owner or owners, and the number of men: theſe particulars to be inſerted in the commiſſion, and every commander to produce ſuch commiſſion to the cuſtom-houſe officer who ſhould examine the veſſel, and, finding her anſwer the deſcription, give a certificate thereof gratis, to be deemed a neceſſary clearance, without which the commander ſhould not depart: that if, after the 1ſt day of July, any captain of a privateer ſhould agree for the ranſom of any neutral veſſel, or the cargo, or any part thereof, after it ſhould have been taken as prize, and in purſuance of ſuch agreement ſhould actually diſcharge ſuch prize, he ſhould be deemed guilty of piracy; but that with reſpect to contraband merchandiſe, he might take it on board his own ſhip, with the conſent of the commander of the neutral veſſel, and then ſet her at liberty; and that no perſon ſhould purloin or embezzle the ſaid merchandiſe before condemnation: that no judge, or other perſon belonging to the court of admiralty, ſhould be concerned in any privateer: that owners of veſſels, not being under 50, or above 100 tons, whoſe commiſſions are declared void, ſhould be indemnified for their loſs by the public: that a court of oyer and terminer, and gaol delivery, for the trial of offences committed within the juriſdiction of the Admiralty, ſhould be held twice a-year in the Old-Bailey at London, or in ſuch other place within England as the board of admiralty ſhould appoint: that the judge of any court of admiralty, after an appeal interpoſed, as well as before, ſhould, at the requeſt of the captor or claimant, iſſue an order for appraiſing the capture, when the parties do not agree upon the value, and an inventory to be taken; then exact ſecurity for the full value, and the cauſe of capture, to be delivered to the perſon giving ſuch ſecurity: but, ſhould objection be made to the taking ſuch ſecurity, the judge ſhould, at the requeſt of either party, order ſuch merchandiſe to be entered, landed, and ſold at public auction, and the produce be depoſited at the Bank, or in ſome public ſecurities; and in caſe of ſecurity being given, the judge ſhould grant a paſs in favour of the capture. Finally, the force of this act was limited to the duration of the then war with France only. This regulation very clearly demonſtrated, that whatever violences might have been committed on the ſhips of neutral nations, they were by no means countenanced by the legiſlature, or the body of the people.

Every circumſtance relating to the reformation of the marine muſt be an important object to a nation whoſe wealth and power depend upon navigation and commerce: but a conſideration of equal weight was the eſtabliſhment of the militia, which, notwithſtanding the repeated endeavours of the parliament, was found ſtill incomplete, and in want of further aſſiſtance from the legiſlature. His majeſty having, by the chancellor of the exchequer, recommended to the houſe the making ſuitable proviſion for defraying the charges of the militia during the current year, the accounts of the expence already incurred by this eſtabliſhment were referred to the committee of ſupply, who, after having duly peruſed them, reſolved, that 90,000l. ſhould be granted on account, towards defraying the charges of pay and clothing for the militia, from the laſt day of the laſt year to the twenty-fifth day of March in the year 1760, and for repaying a ſum advanced by the king for this ſervice. Leave was given to bring in one bill purſuant to this reſolution, and another to enforce the execution of the laws relating to the militia, remove certain difficulties, and prevent the inconveniencies by which it might be attended. So intent were the majority on both ſides upon this national meaſure, that they not only carried both bills to the throne, where they received the royal aſſent; but they preſented an addreſs to the king, deſiring his majeſty would give directions to his lieutenants of the ſeveral counties, ridings, and places in England, to uſe their utmoſt diligence and attention for carrying into execution the ſeveral acts of parliament relating to the militia. By this time all the individuals that conſtituted the repreſentatives of the people, except ſuch as actually ſerved in the army, were become very well diſpoſed towards this inſtitution. Thoſe who really wiſhed well to their country had always exerted themſelves in its favour: and it was now likewiſe eſpouſed by thoſe who foreſaw that the eſtabliſhment of a national militia would enable the adminiſtration to ſend the greater number of regular troops to fight the battles of Germany. Yet how zealous ſoever the legiſlature might be in promoting this inſtitution, and notwithſtanding the ſucceſs with which many patriots exerted their endeavours through different parts of the kingdom in raiſing and diſciplining the militia, it was found not only difficult, but almoſt impracticable to execute the intention of the parliament in ſome particular counties, where the gentlemen were indolent and enervated, or in thoſe places where they looked upon their commander with contempt. Even Middleſex itſelf, where the king reſides, was one of the laſt counties in which the militia could be arrayed. In alluſion to this backwardneſs, the preamble or firſt clauſe in one of the preſent acts imported, that certain counties, ridings, and places in England had made ſome progreſs in eſtabliſhing the militia, without completing the ſame, and that in certain other counties little progreſs had been made therein, his majeſty's lieutenants and the deputy lieutenants, and all others within ſuch counties or diſtricts, were therefore ſtrictly required ſpeedily and diligently to put

theſe acts in execution. The truth is, ſome of theſe unwarlike commanders failed through ignorance and inactivity; others gave or offered commiſſions to ſuch people as threw a ridicule and contempt upon the whole eſtabliſhment, and conſequently hindered many gentlemen of worth, ſpirit, and capacity from engaging in the ſervice. The mutiny-bill, and that for the regulation of the marine-forces while on ſhore, paſſed through the uſual forms, as annual meaſures, without any diſpute or alteration. [z]

A committee having been appointed to enquire what laws were expired, or near expiring, and to report their opinion to the houſe touching the revival or continuation of theſe laws, they agreed to ſeveral reſolutions; in conſequence of which the following bills were brought in, and enacted into laws; namely, an act for regulating the laſtage and ballaſtage of the river Thames; an act for continuing the law relating to the puniſhment of perſons going armed or diſguiſed; an act for continuing ſeveral laws near expiring; an act concerning the admeaſurement of coals, and an act for the relief of debtors, with reſpect to the impriſonment of their perſons. This laſt was almoſt totally metamorphoſed by alterations, amendments and additions, among which the moſt remarkable were theſe: that where more creditors than one ſhall charge any priſoner in execution, and deſire to have him detained in priſon, they ſhall only reſpectively pay him each ſuch weekly ſum, not exceeding 1s. 6d. per week, as the court, at the time of his being remanded, ſhall direct: that if any priſoner, deſcribed by the act, ſhall remain in priſon three months after being committed, any creditor may compel him to give into court, upon oath, an account of his real and perſonal eſtate, to be diſpoſed of for the benefit of his creditors, they conſenting to his being diſcharged. Why the humanity of this law was confined to thoſe priſoners only who are not charged in execution with any debt exceeding 100l. cannot eaſily be conceived. A man, who, through unavoidable misfortunes, hath ſunk from affluence to miſery and indigence, is generally a greater object of compaſſion than he who never knew the delicacies of life, nor ever enjoyed credit ſufficient to contract debts to any conſiderable amount: yet the latter is by this law entitled to his diſcharge, or at leaſt to a maintenance in priſon; while the former is left to ſtarve in gaol, or undergo perpetual impriſonment, amidſt all the horrors of miſery, if he owes above 100l. to a revengeful and unrelenting creditor. Wherefore, in a country, the people of which juſtly pique themſelves upon charity and benevolence, an unhappy fellow-citizen, reduced to a ſtate of bankruptcy by unforeſeen loſſes in trade, ſhould be ſubjected to a puniſhment, which, of all others, muſt be the moſt grievous to a free-born Briton, namely, the entire loſs of liberty; a puniſhment which the moſt flagrant crime can hardly deſerve, in a nation that diſclaims the torture; for, doubtleſs, perpetual impriſonment muſt be a torture infinitely more ſevere than death, becauſe protracted through a ſeries of years ſpent in miſery and deſpair, without one glimmering ray of hope, without the moſt diſtant proſpect of deliverance? Wherefore the legiſlature ſhould extend its humanity to thoſe only who are the leaſt ſenſible of the benefit, becauſe the moſt able to ſtruggle under misfortune; and wherefore many valuable individuals ſhould, for no guilt of their own, be not only ruined to themſelves, but loſt to the community? are queſtions which we cannot reſolve to the ſatisfaction of the reader. Of all impriſoned debtors, thoſe who are confined for large ſums may be deemed the moſt wretched and forlorn, becauſe they have generally fallen from a ſphere of life where they had little acquaintance with neceſſity and were altogether ignorant of the arts by which the ſeverities of indigence are alleviated. On the other hand, thoſe of the lower claſs of mankind, whoſe debts are ſmall in proportion to the narrowneſs of their former credit, have not the ſame delicate feelings of calamity. They are inured to hardſhip, and accuſtomed to the labour of their hands, by which, even in a priſon, they can earn a ſubſiſtence. Their reverſe of fortune is not ſo great, nor the tranſition ſo affecting. Their ſenſations are not delicate; nor are they, like their betters in misfortune, cut off from hope, which is the wretch's laſt comfort. It is the man of ſentiment and ſenſibility, who, in this ſituation, is overwhelmed with a complication of miſery and ineffable diſtreſs. The mortification of his pride, his ambition blaſted, his family undone, himſelf deprived of liberty, reduced from opulence to extreme want, from the elegancies of life to the moſt ſqualid and frightful ſcenes of poverty and affliction; diveſted of comfort, deſtitute of hope, and doomed to linger out a wretched being in the midſt of inſult, violence, riot, and uproar: theſe are reflections ſo replete with horror, as to render him in all reſpects, the moſt miſerable object on the face of the earth. He, alas! though poſſeſſed of talents that might have eſſentially ſerved, and even adorned ſociety, while thus reſtrained in priſon, and affected in mind, can exert no faculty, nor ſtoop to any condeſcenſion, by which the horrors of his fate might be aſſuaged. He ſcorns to execute the loweſt offices of menial ſervices, particularly in attending thoſe who are the objects of contempt or abhorrence: he is incapable of exerciſing any mechanic art, which might afford a happy though a ſcanty independence. Shrunk within his diſmal cell, ſurrounded by haggard poverty, and her gaunt attendants, hollow eyed famine, ſhivering cold, and wan diſeaſe, he wildly caſts his eyes around; he ſees the tender partner of his heart weeping in ſilent woe; he hears his helpleſs babes clamorous for ſuſtenance; he feels himſelf the importunate cravings of human nature, which he cannot ſatisfy; and groans with all the complicated pangs of internal anguiſh, horror, and deſpair. Theſe are not the fictions of idle fancy, but real pictures, drawn from nature, of which almoſt every priſon in England will afford but too many orignals.

Among other new meaſures, a ſucceſsful attempt was made in favour of Ireland, by a bill, permitting the free importation of cattle from that kingdom for a limited time. This, however, was not carried through both houſes without conſiderable oppoſition, ariſing from the particular intereſts of certain counties and diſtricts in ſeveral parts of Great-Britain, from whence petitions againſt the bill were tranſmitted to the commons. Divers artifices were alſo uſed within doors to ſaddle the bill with ſuch clauſes as might overcharge the ſcheme, and render it odious or alarming to the public: but the promoters of it being aware of the deſign, conducted it in ſuch a manner as to fruſtrate all their views, and convey it ſafely to the throne, where it was enacted into a law. The like ſucceſs attended another effort in behalf of our fellow-ſubjects of Ireland. The bill for the importation of Iriſh cattle was no ſooner ordered to be brought in, than the houſe proceeded to take into conſideration the duties then payable on the importation of tallow from the ſame kingdom, and ſeveral witneſſes being examined, the committee agreed to a reſolution that theſe duties ſhould ceaſe and determine for a limited time. A bill being formed accordingly, paſſed through both houſes without oppoſition; though in the preceding ſeſſion a bill to the ſame purpoſe had miſcarried among the peers: a miſcarriage probably owing to their being unacquainted with the ſentiments of his majeſty, as ſome of the duties upon tallow conſtituted part of one of the branches appropriated for the civil liſt revenue. This objection, however, was obviated in the caſe of the preſent bill, by the king's meſſage to the houſe of commons, ſignifying his majeſty's conſent, as far as his intereſt was concerned in the affair. By this new act the free importation of Iriſh tallow was permitted for the term of five years.

In the month of February the commons preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, requeſting that he would give direc-

[z] The next bill that fell under the cognizance of the houſe related to a law tranſaction, and was ſuggeſted by a petition preſented in the name of the ſheriffs, and grantees of poſt-fines under the crown of England. They enumerated and explained the difficulties under which they laboured, in raiſing and collecting theſe fines within the reſpective counties; particularly when the eſtate conveyed by fine was no more than a right of reverſion, in which caſe they could not poſſibly levy the poſt-fine, unleſs the purchaſer ſhould obtain poſſeſſion within the term of the ſheriffalty, or pay it of his own free will, as they could not diſtrain while the lands were in the poſſeſſion of the donee. They, therefore, propoſed a method for raiſing theſe poſt-fines by a proper officer, to be appointed for that purpoſe; and prayed that leave might be given to bring in a bill accordingly. This petition was ſeconded by a meſſage from the king, importing, that his majeſty, as far as his intereſt was concerned, gave his conſent that the houſe might act in this affair as they ſhould think proper.

The commons, in a committee of the whole houſe, having taken into conſideration the merits of the petition, formed ſeveral reſolutions; upon which a bill was founded for the more regular and eaſy collecting, accounting for, and paying of poſt-fines, which ſhould be due to the crown, or to the grantees thereof under the crown, and for the eaſe of the ſheriffs, in reſpect to the ſame. Before it paſſed into a law, however, it was oppoſed by a petition in favour of one William Daw, a lunatic, clerk of the king's ſilver office, alledging, that ſhould the bill paſs, it would deprive the ſaid Daw and his ſucceſſors of an ancient fee belonging to his office, on ſearches made for poſt-fines by the under-ſheriffs of the ſeveral counties; therefore, praying that ſuch proviſion might be made for the ſaid lunatic as to the houſe ſhould ſeem juſt and reaſonable. This, and divers other petitions reſpecting the bill, being diſcuſſed in the committee, it underwent ſeveral amendments, and was enacted into a law; the particulars of which cannot be properly underſtood without a previous explanation of this method of conveying eſtates: a ſubject obſcure in itſelf, founded upon a ſeeming ſubterfuge of law, ſcarce reconcileable with the dictates of common ſenſe, and conſequently improper for the pen of an hiſtorian.

tions for laying before the houſe an account of what had been done, ſince the beginning of laſt year, towards ſecuring the harbour of Milford, in purſuance of any directions from his majeſty. Theſe accounts being peruſed, and the king having, by the chancellor of the exchequer, exhorted them to make proviſion for fortifying the ſaid harbour, a bill was brought in to explain, amend, and render more effectual, the act of the laſt ſeſſion relating to this ſubject; and, paſſing through both houſes, received the royal aſſent without oppoſition. By this act ſeveral engineers were added to the commiſſioners formerly appointed; and it was ordained that fortifications ſhould be erected at Peter-church-point, Weſtlanyon-point, and Neyland-point, as being the moſt proper and beſt ſituated places for fortifying the interior parts of the harbour. It was alſo enacted that the commiſſioners ſhould appoint proper ſecretaries, clerks, aſſiſtants, and other officers, for carrying the two acts into execution; and that an account of the application of the money ſhould be laid before parliament, within twenty days of the opening of every ſeſſion. What next attracted the attention of the houſe was an affair of the utmoſt importance to the commerce of the kingdom, which equally affected the intereſt of the nation, and the character of the natives. In the latter end of February complaint was made to the houſe, that, ſince the commencement of the war, an infamous traffic had been ſet on foot by ſome merchants of London, of importing French cloths into ſeveral ports of the Levant, on account of Britiſh ſubjects. Five perſons were ſummoned to attend the houſe, and the fact was fully proved, not only by their evidence, but alſo by ſome papers ſubmitted to the houſe by the Turkey company. A bill was immediately contrived for putting a ſtop to this ſcandalous practice, reciting in the preamble, that ſuch traffic was not only a manifeſt diſcouragement and prejudice to the woolen manufactures of Great-Britain, but alſo a relief to the enemy, in conſequence of which they were enabled to maintain the war againſt theſe kingdoms.

The next object that employed the attention of the commons was to explain and amend a law made in the laſt ſeſſion for granting to his majeſty ſeveral rates and duties upon offices and penſions. The directions ſpecified in the former act for levying this impoſition having been found inconvenient in many reſpects, new regulations were now eſtabliſhed, importing that thoſe deductions ſhould be paid into the hands of receivers appointed by the king for that purpoſe; that all ſums deducted under this act ſhould be accounted for to ſuch receivers, and the accounts audited and paſſed by them, and not by the auditors of the impreſts, or of the exchequer; that all diſputes relating to the collection of this duty ſhould be finally, and in a ſummary way, determined by the barons of the exchequer in England and Scotland reſpectively; that the commiſſioners of the land-tax ſhould fix and aſcertain the ſum total or amount of the perquiſites of every office and employment within their reſpective diſtricts, diſtinct from the ſalary thereunto belonging, to be deducted under the ſaid act, independently of any former valuation or aſſeſſment of the ſame to the land-tax; and ſhould rate or aſſeſs all offices and employments, the perquiſites whereof ſhould be found to exceed the ſum of 100l. per annum, at one ſhilling for every twenty thence ariſing; that the receivers ſhould tranſmit to the commiſſioners in every diſtrict where any office or employment is to be aſſeſſed, an account of ſuch offices and employments, that upon being certified of the truth of their amount they might be rated and aſſeſſed accordingly; that in all future aſſeſſments of the land-tax the ſaid offices and employments ſhould not be valued at higher rates than thoſe at which they were aſſeſſed towards the land-tax of the 31ſt year of the preſent reign; that the word perquiſite ſhould be underſtood to mean ſuch profits of offices and employments as ariſe from fees eſtabliſhed by cuſtom or authority, and payable either by the crown or the ſubjects, in conſideration of buſineſs done in the courſe of executing ſuch offices and employments; and that a commiſſioner poſſeſſed of any office or employment might not interfere in the execution of the ſaid act, except in what might relate to his own employment. By the four laſt clauſes ſeveral ſalaries were exempted from the payment of this duty. The objections made without doors to this new law were the acceſſion of pecuniary influence to the crown, by the creation of a new office and officers, whereas this duty might have been eaſily collected and received by the commiſſioners of the land-tax already appointed, and the inconſiſtency that appeared between the 5th and 7th clauſes: in the former of theſe, the commiſſioners of the land-tax were veſted with the power of aſſeſſing the perquiſites of every office within their reſpective diſtricts, independent of any former valuation or aſſeſſment of the ſame to the land-tax; and by the latter, they are reſtricted from aſſeſſing any office at a higher rate than that of the 31ſt year of the reign of George II.

In the beginning of March petitions were offered to the houſe by the merchants of Birmingham, in Warwickſhire, and Sheffield, in Yorkſhire, ſpecifying that the toy trade of theſe and many other towns conſiſted generally of articles in which gold and ſilver might be ſaid to be manufactured, though in ſmall propotion, inaſmuch as the ſale of them depend upon ſlight ornaments of gold and ſilver: that by a clauſe paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, obliging every perſon who ſhould ſell goods or wares in which gold or ſilver was manufactured, to take out an annual licence of 40s. they the petitioners were laid under great difficulties and diſadvantages: that not only the firſt ſeller, but every perſon through whoſe hands the goods or wares paſſed to the conſumer, was required to take out the ſaid licence; they, therefore, requeſted that the houſe would take theſe hardſhips and inequalities into conſideration, and indulge them with reaſonable relief. The committee, to which this affair was referred, having reſolved that this impoſition was found detrimental to the toy and and cutlery trade of the kingdom, the houſe agreed to the reſolution, and a bill being prepared, under the title of 'an act to amend the act made in the laſt ſeſſion, for repealing the duty granted by an act of the 6th year of the reign of his late majeſty on ſilver plate, and for granting a duty on licences to be taken out by all perſons dealing in gold and ſilver plate,' was enacted into a law by the royal function. By this new regulation, ſmall quantities of gold and ſilver plate were allowed to be ſold without licence. Inſtead of the duty before payable upon licences, another was granted to be taken out by certain dealers in gold and ſilver plate, pawnbrokers, and refiners. This affair being diſcuſſed, the houſe took into conſideration the claims of the propietors of lands purchaſed for the better ſecuring of his majeſty's docs, ſhips, and ſtores at Chatham, Portſmouth, and Plymouth; and for better fortifying the town of Portſmouth, and citadel of Plymouth, in purſuance of an act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion. We have already ſpecified the ſum granted for this purpoſe, in conſequence of a reſolution of the houſe, upon which a bill being founded, ſoon paſſed into a law, without oppoſition.[a]

In the month of April, a bill was brought in for the more effectual preventing the fraudulent importation of cambricks; and while it was under deliberation, ſeveral merchants and wholeſale drapers of the city of London preſented a petition, repreſenting the grievances to which they, and many thouſands of other traders, would be ſubjected, ſhould the bill, as it then ſtood, be paſſed into a law Accordingly to their requeſt, they were heard by their counſel on the merits of this remonſtrance, and ſome amendments were made to the bill in their favour. At length it received the royal aſſent, and became a law to the following effect: It enacted, that no cambricks, French lawns, or linens of this kind uſually entered under the denomination of cambricks, ſhould be imported after the 1ſt day of Auguſt, but in bales, caſes, or boxes, covered with ſackcloth or canvas, containing each 100 whole pieces, or 200 half pieces, on penalty of forfeiting the whole: that cambricks and French lawns ſhould be imported for exportation only, lodged in the king's warehouſe, and delivered out under like ſecurity and reſtrictions as prohibited Eaſt-India merchandiſe; and, on importation, pay only the half ſubſidy: that all cambricks and French lawns in the cuſtody of any perſons ſhould be depoſited, by the 1ſt of Auguſt, in the king's warehouſes, the bonds thereupon be delivered up, and the drawbac on the exportation paid; yet the goods ſhould not be delivered out again but for exportation: that cambricks and French lawns expoſed to ſale, or found in the poſſeſſion of private perſons, after the ſaid day, ſhould be forfeited, and liable to be ſearched for, and ſeized, in like manner as other prohibited and un-

[a] The next bill which was brought into the houſe related to the ſummons iſſued by the commiſſioners of the exciſe, and juſtices of the peace, for the appearance of perſons offending againſt, or for forfeitures incurred by the laws of exciſe. As ſome doubts had ariſen with reſpect to the method of ſummoning in ſuch caſes, this bill, which obtained the royal aſſent in due courſe, enacted, that the ſummons left at the houſe, or uſual place of reſidence, or with the wife, child, or menial ſervants of the perſon ſo ſummoned ſhould be held as legal notice, as well as the leaving ſuch notice at the houſe, workhouſe, warehouſe, ſhop, cellar, vault, or uſual place of reſidence of ſuch perſon, directed to him by his right or aſſumed name; and all dealers in coffee, tea, or chocolate were ſubjected to the penalty of twenty pounds as often as they ſhould neglect to attend the commiſſioners of exciſe, when ſummoned in this manner.

cuſtomed goods are; and the offender ſhall forfeit 200l. over and above all other penalties and forfeitures inflicted by any former act: that if any doubt ſhould ariſe concerning the ſpecies or quality of the goods, or the place where they were manufactured, the proof ſhould lie on the owner: finally, that the penaly of 5l. inflicted by a former act, and payable to the informer, on any perſon that ſhould wear any cambrick or French lawns, ſhould ſtill remain in force, and be recoverable, on conviction, by oath of one witneſs, before one juſtice of the peace.—The laſt ſucceſsful bill which this ſeſſion produced was that relating to the augmentation of the ſalaries of the judges in his majeſty's ſuperior courts of juſtice. A motion having been made for an inſtruction to the committee of ſupply, to conſider of the ſaid augmentation, the chancellor of the exchequer acquainted the houſe that this augmentation was recommended to them by his majeſty. Nevertheleſs, the motion was oppoſed, and a warm debate enſued. At length, however, being carried in the affirmative, the committee agreed to certain reſolutions, on which a bill was founded. While it remained under diſcuſſion, a motion was made for an inſtruction to the committee, that they ſhould have power to receive a clauſe or clauſes for reſtraining the judges, comprehended within the proviſions of the bill, from receiving any fee, gift, preſent, or entertainment from any city, town, borough, or corporation, or from any ſheriff, jailer, or other officer, upon their ſeveral reſpective circuits, and from taking any gratuity from any office or officer of any of the courts of law. Another motion was made, for a clauſe reſtraining ſuch judges, barons, and juſtices, as were comprehended within the proviſions of the bill, from interfering, otherwiſe than by giving their own votes, in any election of members to ſerve in parliament; but both theſe propoſals, being put to the vote, were carried in the negative. Theſe two motions being over-ruled by the majority, the bill underwent ſome amendments; and, having paſſed through both houſes in the ordinary courſe, was enacted into a law by the royal ſanction. With reſpect to the import of this act, it is no other than the eſtabliſhment of the ſeveral ſtamp-duties, applied to the augmentation; and the appropriation of their produce in ſuch a manner, that the crown cannot alter the application of the ſums thus granted in parliament. But, on this occaſion, no attempt was made in favour of the independency of the the judges, which ſeems to have been invaded by a late interpretation of, or rather by a deviation from, the act of ſettlement; in which it is expreſly ordained, that the commiſſions of the judges ſhould continue in force quam diu ſe bene geſſerint; that their ſalaries ſhould be fixed, and none of them removeable but by an addreſs of both houſes of parliament. It was then, without all doubt, the intention of the legiſlature that every judge ſhould enjoy his office during life, unleſs convicted by legal trial of ſome miſbehaviour, or unleſs both houſes of parliament ſhould concur in deſiring his removal: but the doctrine now adopted imports, that no commiſſion can continue in force longer than the life of the king by whom it was granted; that therefore the commiſſions of the judges muſt be renewed by a new king at his acceſſion, who ſhould have it in his power to employ either thoſe whom he finds acting as judges at his acceſſion, or confer their offices on orhers, with no other reſtraint than that the condition of the new commiſſions ſhould be quam diu ſe bene geſſerint. Thus the office of a judge is rendered more precarious, and the influence of the crown receives a conſiderable re-enforcement.

Among the bills that miſcarried in the courſe of this ſeſſion, we may number a ſecond attempt to carry into execution the ſcheme which was offered laſt year for the more effectual manning the navy, preventing deſertion, and relieving and encouraging the ſeamen of Great-Britain. A bill was accordingly brought in, couched in nearly the ſame terms which had been rejected in the laſt ſeſſion; and it was ſupported by a conſiderable number of members, animated with a true ſpirit of patriotiſm: but to the trading part of the nation it appeared one of thoſe plauſible projects, which, though agreeable in ſpeculation, can never be reduced into practice without a concomitancy of greater evils than thoſe they were intended to remove. While the bill remained under the conſideration of the houſe, petitions were preſented againſt it by the merchants of Briſtol, Scarborough, Whitby, Kingſton-upon-Hull, and Lancaſter, repreſenting, That, by ſuch a law, the trade of the kingdom, which is the nurſery and ſupport of ſeamen at all times, and that ſpirit of equipping private ſhips of war, which had been of diſtinguiſhed ſervice to the nation, would be laid under ſuch difficulties as might cauſe a great ſtagnation in the former, and a total ſuppreſſion of the latter; the bill, therefore, would be highly prejudicial to the marine of the kingdom, and altogether ineffectual for the purpoſes intended. A great number of books and papers, relating to trading ſhips and veſſels as well as to ſeamen, and other perſons protected or preſſed into the navy, and to expences occaſioned by preſſing men into the navy, were examined in a committee of the whole houſe, and the bill was improved with many amendments: nay, after, it was printed and engroſſed, ſeveral clauſes were added by way of rider; yet ſtill the experiment ſeemed dangerous. The motion for its being paſſed was violently oppoſed; warm debates enſued; they were adjourned, and reſumed; and the arguments againſt the bill appeared at length in ſuch a ſtriking light, that, when the queſtion was put, the majority declared for the negative. The regulations which had been made in parliament during the 26th, the 28th, and 30th years of the preſent reign, for the preſervation of the public roads, being attended with ſome inconveniencies in certain parts of the kingdom, petitions were brought from ſome counties in Wales, as well as from the freeholders of Herefordſhire, the farmers of Middleſex, and others enumerating the difficulties attending the uſe of broad wheels in one caſe, and the limitation of horſes uſed in drawing carriages with narrow wheels in the other. The matter of theſe remonſtrances was conſidered in a committee of the whole houſe, which reſolved that the weight to be carried by all waggons and carts travelling on the turnpike roads ſhould be limited. On this reſolution a bill was framed, for amending and reducing into one act of parliament the three acts before mentioned for the preſervation of the public highways: but ſome objections being ſtarted, and a petition interpoſed by the land-owners of Suffolk and Norfolk, alledging that the bill, if paſſed into a law, would render it impoſſible to bring freſh proviſions from thoſe counties to London, as the ſupply depended abſolutely upon the quickneſs of conveyance, the further conſideration of it was poſtponed to a longer day, and never reſumed in the ſequel: ſo that the attempt miſcarried.

Of all the ſubjects which, in the courſe of this ſeſſion, fell under the cognizance of parliament, there was none that more intereſted the humanity or challenged the redreſs of the legiſlature than did the caſe of the poor inſolvent debtors, who languiſhed under all the miſeries of indigence and impriſonment. In the month of February a petition was offered to the commons in behalf of bankrupts, who repreſented, that having ſcrupulouſly conformed to the laws made concerning bankruptcy, by ſurrendering their all upon oath for the benefit of their creditors, they had nevertheleſs been refuſed their certificates, without any probability of relief; that by this cruel refuſal, many bankrupts have been obliged to abſcond, while others were immured in priſon, and theſe unhappy ſufferers groaned under the particular hardſhip of being excluded from the benefit of laws occaſionally made for the relief of inſolvent debtors; that the power veſted in creditors of refuſing certificates to their bankrupts was, as the petitioners conceived, founded upon a preſumption that ſuch power would be tenderly exerciſed, and never but in notorious caſes; but the great increaſe in the number of bankrupts within two years paſt, and the ſmall proportion of thoſe who had been able to obtain their certificates, ſeemed to demonſtrate that the power had been uſed for cruel and unjuſt purpoſes, contrary to the intention of the legiſlature: that as the greater part of the petitioners, and their fellow-ſufferers, muſt inevitably and ſpeedily periſh, with their diſtreſſed families, unleſs ſeaſonably relieved by the interpoſition of parliament, they implored the compaſſion of the houſe, from which they hoped immediate favour and relief. This petition was accompanied with a printed caſe, explaining the nature of the laws relating to bankrupts, and pointing out their defects in point of policy as well as humanity; but little regard was ſeemingly paid to either remonſtrance. Other petitions, however, being preſented by inſolvent debtors impriſoned in different gaols within the kingdom, leave was given to bring in a bill for their relief, and a committee appointed to examine the laws relating to bankruptcy.

Among other petitionary remonſtrances on this ſubject, the members were ſeparately preſented with the printed caſe of captain George Walker, a priſoner in the gaol of the King's-Bench, who had been declared a bankrupt, and complained, that he had been ſubjected to ſome flagrant acts of injuſtice and oppreſſion. The caſe contained ſuch extraordinary allegations, and the captain's character was ſo remarkably fair and intereſting, that the committee, which were empowered to ſend for perſons, papers, and

records, resolved to enquire into the particulars of his misfortune. A motion was made and agreed to, that the marshal of the prison should bring the captain before the committee, and the speaker's warrant was issued accordingly. The prisoner was produced, and examined at several sittings; and some of the members expressed a laudable eagerness to do him justice: but his antagonists were very powerful, and left no stone unturned to frustrate the purpose of the enquiry, which was dropped of course at the end of the session. Thus the unfortunate captain Walker, who had, in the late war, remarkably distinguished himself at sea by his courage and conduct, repeatedly signalised himself against the enemies of his country, was sent bac, without redress, to the gloomy mansions of a gaol, where he had already pined for several years, useless to himself, and lost to the community, while he might have been profitably employed in retrieving his own fortune, and exerting his talents for the general advantage of the nation. While this affair was in agitation, the bill for the relief of insolvent debtors was prepared, printed, and read a second time; but, when the motion was made for its being committed, a debate arose, and this was adjourned from time to time till the end of the session. In the mean time, the committee continued to deliberate upon the laws relating to bankruptcy; and in the beginning of June reported their resolution to the house, that, in their opinion, some amendments might be made to the laws concerning bankruptcy; to the advantage of creditors, and relief of insolvents. Such was the notice vouchsafed to the cries of many British subjects, deprived of liberty, and destitute of the common necessaries of life.

It would engage us in a long digressive discussion, were we to enquire how the spirit of the laws in England, so famed for lenity, has been exasperated into such severity against insolvent debtors; and why, among a people so distinguished for generosity and compassion, the gaols should be more filled with prisoners than they are in any other part of Christendom. Perhaps both these deviations from a general character are violent efforts of a wary legislature made in behalf of trade, which cannot be too much cherished in a nation that principally depends upon commerce. The question is, whether this laudable aim may not be more effectually accomplished, without subjecting individuals to oppression, arising from the cruelty and revenge of one another. As the laws are modelled at present, it cannot he denied that the debtor, in some cases, lies in a peculiar manner at the mercy of his creditor. By the original and common law of England, no man could be imprisoned for debt. The plaintiff in any civil action could have no execution upon his judgement against either the body or the lands of the defendant: even with respect to his goods and chattels, which were subject to execution, he was obliged to leave him such articles as were necessary for agriculture. But, in process of time, this indulgence being found prejudicial to commerce, a law was enacted, in the reign of Edward I. allowing execution on the person of the debtor, provided his goods and chattels were not sufficient to pay the debt which he had contracted. This law was still attended with a very obvious inconvenience. The debtor who possessed an estate in lands was tempted to secret his moveable effects, and live in concealment on the produce of his lands, while the sheriff connived at his retirement. To remove this evil, a second statute was enacted in the same reign, granting immediate execution against the body, lands, and goods of the debtor; yet his effects could not be sold for the benefit of his creditor till the expiration of three months, during which he himself could dispose of them for ready money, in order to discharge his incumberances. If the creditor was not satisfied in this manner, he continued in possession of the debtor's lands, and detained the debtor himself in prison, where he was obliged to supply him with bread and water for his support, until the debt was discharged. Other severe regulations were made in the sequel, particularly in the reign of Edward III. which gave rise to the writ of capias ad satisfaciendum. This, indeed, rendered the preceding laws, called statute-merchant, and statute-staple, altogether unnecessary. Though the liberty of the subject, and the security of the landholder, were thus, in some measure, sacrificed to the advantage of commerce, an imprisoned debtor was not left entirely at the mercy of an inexorable creditor. If he made all the satisfaction in his power, and could show that his insolvency was owing to real misfortunes, the court of chancery interposed on his petition, and actually ordered him to be discharged from prison, when no good reason for detaining him could be assigned. This interposition, which seems naturally to belong to a court of equity, constituted with a view to mitigate the rigour of the common law, ceased, in all probability, after the restoration of Charles II. and of consequence the prisons were filled with debtors. Then the legislature charged themselves with the extension of a power, which perhaps a chancellor no longer thought himself safe in exercising; and in the year 1670, passed the first act for the relief of insolvent debtors, granting a release to all prisoners for debt, without distinction or enquiry. By this general indulgence, which has even in a great measure continued in all subsequent acts of the same kind, the lenity of the parliament may be sometimes misapplied, inasmuch as insolvency is often criminal, arising from profligacy and extravagance, which deserve to be severely punished. Yet, even for this species of insolvency, perpetual imprisonment, aggravated by the miseries of extreme indigence, and the danger of perishing through famine, may be deemed a punishment too severe. How cruel then must it be to leave the most innocent bankrupt exposed to this punishment, from the revenge or sinister design of a merciless creditor; a creditor, by whose fraud perhaps the prisoner became a bankrupt, and by whose craft he is detained in gaol; left, by his discharge from prison, he should be enabled to seek that redress in chancery to which he is entitled on a fair account! The severity of the law was certainly intended against fraudulent bankrupts only; and the statute of bankruptcy is, doubtless, favourable to insolvents, as it discharges from all former debts those who obtain their certificates. As British subjects, they are surely entitled to the same indulgence which is granted to other insolvents. They were always included in every act passed for the relief of insolvent debtors, till the 6th year of George I. when they were first excepted from this benefit. By a law enacted in the reign of queen Anne, relating to bankruptcy, any creditor was at liberty to object to the confirmation of the bankrupt's certificate; but the chancellor had power to judge whether the objection was frivolous or well founded: yet, by a later act, the chancellor is obliged to confirm the certificate, if it is agreeable to four-fifths in number and value of the creditors; whereas he cannot confirm it, should he be opposed, even without any reason assigned, by one creditor to whom the greatest part of the debt is owing. It might, therefore, deserve the consideration of parliament, whether, in extending their clemency to the poor, it should not be equally diffused to bankrupts and other insolvents; whether proper distinction ought not to be made between the innocent bankrupt who fails through misfortunes in trade, and him who becomes insolvent from fraud or profligacy: and finally, whether the enquiry and trial of all such cases would not properly fall within the province of chancery, a tribunal instituted for the mitigation of common law.

The house of commons seems to have been determined on another measure, which, however, does not admit of explanation. An order was made in the month of February, that leave should be given to bring in a bill to explain, amend, and render effectual so much of an act, passed in the thirteenth year of George II. against the excessive increase of horse-races, and deceitful gaming, as related to that increase. The bill was accordingly presented, read, printed, and ordered to be committed to a committee of the whole house; but the order was delayed from time to time till the end of the session. Some progress was likewise made in another affair of greater consequence to the community. A committee was appointed in the month of March, to take into consideration the state of the poor in England, as well as the laws enacted for their maintenance. The clerks of the peace belonging to all the counties, cities, and towns in England and Wales, were ordered to transmit, for the perusal of the house, an account of the annual expence of passing vagrants through their respective divisions and districts for four years: and the committee began to deliberate on this important subject. In the latter end of May the house was made acquainted with their resolutions, importing, that the present method of relieving the poor in the respective parishes, where no workhouses have been provided for their reception and employment, are, in general, very burthensome to the inhabitants, and tend to render the poor miserable to themselves, and useless to the community: that the present method of giving money out of the parochial rates to persons capable of labour, in order to prevent them from claiming an entire subsistence for themselves and their families, is contrary to the spirit and intention of the laws for the relief of the poor, is a dangerous power in the hands of parochial offi-

cers, a misapplication of the public money, and a great encouragement to idleness and intemperance: that the employment of the poor, under proper direction and management, in such works and manufactures as are suited to their respective capacities, would be of great utility to the public: that settling the poor in workhouses, to be provided in the several counties and ridings in England and Wales, under the direction and management of governors and trustees to be appointed for that purpose, would be the most effectual method of relieving such poor persons, as, by age, infirmities, or diseases, are rendered incapable of supporting themselves by their labour; of employing the able and industrious, reforming the idle and profligate, and of educating poor children in religion and industry: that the poor in such workhouses would be better regulated and maintained, and managed with more advantage to the public, by guardians, governors, or trustees, to be specially appointed, or chosen for that purpose, and incorporated with such powers, and under such restrictions, as the legislature should deem proper, than by the annual parochial officers: that erecting workhouses upon waste lands, and appropriating a certain quantity of such lands to be cultivated, in order to produce provision for the poor in the said houses, would not only be a means of instructing and employing many of the said poor in agriculture, but lessen the expence of the public: that controversies and law-suits concerning the settlements of poor persons occasioned a very great, and, in general, an useless expence to the public, amounting to many thousand pounds per annum; and that often more money is expended in ascertaining such settlements, by each of the contending parishes, than would be sufficient to maintain the paupers: that should workhouses be established for the general reception of the poor, in the respective counties and ridings of England, the laws relating to the settlements of the poor, and the passing of vagrants, might be repealed: that while the present laws relating to the poor subsist, the compelling parish-officers to grant certificates to the poor would, in all probability, prevent the hardships they now suffer, in being debarred gaining their livelihood, where they can do it most usefully to themselves and the public. From these sensible resolutions, the reader may conceive some idea of the misconduct that attends the management of the poor in England, as well as of the grievous burthens entailed upon the people by the present laws which constitute this branch of the legislature. The committee's resolves being read at the table, an order was made that they should be taken into consideration on a certain day, when the order was again put off, and in the interim the parliament was prorogued. While the committee deliberated upon this affair, leave was given to prepare a bill for preventing tenants under a certain yearly rent from gaining settlements in any particular parish, by being there rated in any land-tax assessment, and paying for the landlord the money so charged. This order was afterwards discharged; and another bill brought in, to prevent any person from gaining a settlement, by being rated by virtue of an act of parliament for granting any aid to his majesty by a land-tax, and paying the same. The bill was accordingly presented, read, committed, and passed the lower-house; but among the lords it miscarried. It can never be expected that the poor will be managed with œconomy and integrity, while the execution of the laws relating to their maintenance is left in the hands of low tradesmen, who derive private advantage from supplying them with necessaries, and often favour the imposition of one another with the most scandalous collusion. This is an evil which will never be remedied, until persons of independent fortune, and unblemished integrity, actuated by a spirit of true patriotism, shall rescue their fellow-citizens from the power of such interested miscreants, by taking the poor into their own management and protection. Instead of multiplying laws with respect to the settlement and management of the poor, which serve only to puzzle and perplex the parish and peace officers, it would become the sagacity of the legislature to take some effectual precautions to prevent the increase of paupers and vagrants, which is become an intolerable nuisance to the common-wealth. Towards this salutary end, surely nothing would more contribute than a reformation of the police, that would abolish those infamous places of entertainment, which swarm in every corner of the metropolis, seducing people of all ranks to extravagance, profligacy, and ruin; that would restrict within due bounds the number of public-houses, which are augmented to an enormous degree, affording so many asylums for riot and debauchery, and corrupting the morals of the common people to such a pitch of licentious indecency, as must be a reproach to every civilized nation. Let it not be affirmed, to the disgrace of Great-Britain, that such receptacles of vice and impunity subsist under the connivance of the government, according to the narrow views and confined speculation of those shallow politicians, who imagine that the revenue is increased in proportion to the quantity of strong liquors consumed in such infamous recesses of intemperance. Were this in reality the case, that administration would deserve to be branded with eternal infamy, which could sacrifice to such a base consideration the health, the lives, and the morals of their fellow-creatures: but nothing can be more fallacious, than the supposition, that the revenue of any government can be increased by the augmented intemperance of the people; for intemperance is the bane of industry, as well as of population; and what the government gains in the articles of the duty on malt, and the excise upon liquors, will always be greatly over-balanced by the loss in other articles, arising from the diminution of hands, and the neglect of labour.

Reflections on the management of the Poor Laws.

Exclusive of the bills that were actually prepared, though they did not pass in the course of this session, the commons deliberated on other important subjects, which, however, were not finally discussed. In the beginning of the session, a committee being appointed to resume the enquiry touching the regulation of weights and measures, a subject we have mentioned in the history of the preceding session, the box which contained a Troy pound weight, locked up by order of the house, was again produced by the clerk in whose custody it had been deposited. This affair being carfully investigated, the committee agreed to fourteen resolutions [b]. In the mean time it was ordered, that all the weights referred to in the report, should be delivered to

Enquiry about weights and measures

[b] As the curiosity of the reader may be interested in these resolutions, we shall here insert them for his satisfaction. The committee resolved, that the ell ought to contain one yard and one quarter, according to the yard mentioned in the third resolution of the former committee upon the subject of weights and measures: that the pole, or perch, should contain in length five such yards and a half; the furlong 220; and the mile 1760: that the superficial perch should contain 30 square yards and a quarter: the rood 1210; and the acre 4840: that according to the fourth, fifth, and sixth resolutions of the former committee, upon the subject of weights and measures, agreed to by the house on the 2d day of June in the preceding year, the quart ought to contain 70 cubical inches and one half; the pint 35 and one quarter; the peck 564; and the bushel 2256. That the several parts of the pound, mentioned in the eighth resolution of the former committee, examined and adjusted in presence of this committee, viz. the half pound or six ounces, quarter of a pound or three ounces, two ounces, one ounce, two half ounces, the five-penny weight, three-penny weight, two-penny weight, and one-penny weight, the twelve grains, six grains, three grains, two grains, and two of one grain each, ought to be the models of the several parts of the said pound, and to be used for sizing or adjusting weights for the future. That all weights exceeding a pound should be of brass, copper, bell-metal, or cast-iron; and all those of cast-iron should be made in the form, and with a handle of hammered iron, such as the pattern herewith produced, having the mark of the weight cast in the iron; and all weights of a pound, or under, should be of gold, silver, brass, copper, or bell-metal. That all weights of cast-iron should have the initial letters of the name of the maker upon the upper bar of the handle; and all other weights should have the same, together with the mark of the weight, according to this standard, upon some convenient part thereof. That the yard, mentioned in the second resolution of the former committee, upon the subject of weights and measures, agreed to by the house in the last session, being the standard of length, and the pound, mentioned in the eighth resolution, being the standard of weight, ought to be deposited in the court of the receipt of the exchequer, and there safely kept under the seals of the chancellor of the said exchequer; and of the chief baron, and the seal of office of the chamberlain of the exchequer, and not to be opened but by the order and in the presence of the chancellor of the exchequer and chief barons for the time being. That the most effectual means to ascertain uniformity in measures of length and weight, to be used throughout the realm, would be to appoint certain persons at one particular office, with clerks and workmen under them, for the purpose only of sizing and adjusting, for the use of the subjects, all measures of length, and all weights, being parts, multiples, or certain proportions of the standards to be used for the future. That a model or pattern of the said standard yard, mentioned in the second resolution of the former committee, and now in the custody of the clerk of the house, and a model or pattern of the standard pound, mentioned in the eighth resolution of that committee, together with models or patterns of the parts of the said pound, now presented to the house, and also of the multiples of the said pound, mentioned in this report (when the same are adjusted) should be kept in the said office, in custody of the said persons to be appointed for sizing weights and measures, under the seal of the chief baron of the exchequer for the time being, to be opened only by order of the said chief baron, in his presence, or the presence of one of the barons of the exchequer, on the application of the said persons, for the purpose of correcting and adjusting, as occasion should require, the patterns or models used at the said office, for sizing measures of length and weight, delivered out to the subjects. That models or patterns of the said standard yard and standard pound aforesaid, and also models and patterns of the parts and multiples aforesaid of the said pound, should be lodged in the said office for the sizing of such measures of length or weight, as being parts, multiples, or proportions of the said standards, should hereafter be required by any of his majesty's subjects. That all measures of length and weight, sized at the said office, should be marked in some convenient part thereof with such marks as should be thought expedient, to show the identity of the measures and weights sized at the said office, and to discover any frauds that may be committed therein. That the said office should be kept within a convenient dis-

the clerk of the houſe, to be locked up, and brought forth again occaſionally.

The houſe of commons, among other articles or domeſtic œconomy, beſtowed ſome attention on the hoſpital for foundlings, which was now, more than ever, become a matter of national conſideration. The accounts relating to this charity having been demanded, and ſubjected to the inſpection of the members, were, together with the king's recommendation, referred to the committee of ſupply, where they produced the reſolutions which we have already ſpecified among the other grants of the year. The houſe afterwards reſolved itſelf into a committee to deliberate on the ſtate of the hoſpital, and examine its accounts. On the 3d day of May their reſolutions were reported on the following effect: That the appointing, by the governors and guardians of the ſaid hoſpital, places in the ſeveral counties, ridings, or diviſions in this kingdom, for the firſt reception of expoſed and deſerted young children would be attended with many evil conſequences; and that the conveying of children from the country to the ſaid hoſpital is attended with many evil conſequences; and ought to be prevented. A bill was ordered to be brought in, founded upon this laſt reſolution; but never preſented, therefore the enquiry produced no effect. Notwithſtanding the inſtitution of this charity, for the ſupport of which great ſums are yearly levied on the public, it does not appear that the bills of mortality, reſpecting new-born children, are decreaſed, not the ſhocking crime of infant-murder rendered leſs frequent than heretofore. It may, therefore, be not improperly ſtiled a heavy additional tax for the propagation of baſtardy, and encouragement of idleneſs, among the common people: beſides the tendency it has to extinguiſh the feelings of the heart, and diſſolve thoſe family ties of blood by which the charities are connected.

In the month of March leave was given to bring in a bill for the more effectual preventing of the melting down and exporting the gold and ſilver coin of the kingdom, and perſons were nominated to prepare it; but the bill never appeared, and no further enquiry was made about the matter. Perhaps it was ſuppoſed that ſuch meaſures might be thought an encroachment on the prerogative of the crown, which hath always exerciſed the power of fixing the ſtandard and regulating the currency of the coin. Perhaps ſuch a ſtep was deferred on the account of the war, during which a great quantity of gold and ſilver was neceſſarily exported to the continent, for the ſupport of the allies and armies in the pay of Great-Britain. The legiſlature, however, would do well to conſider this eternal maxim in computation, that when a greater quantity of bullion is exported, in waſte, than can be replaced by commerce, the nation muſt be haſtening to a ſtate of inſolvency. Over and above theſe proceedings in this ſeſſion of parliament, it may not be unneceſſary to mention ſeveral meſſages which were ſent by the king to the houſe of commons. That relating to the vote of credit we have already ſpecified in our account of the ſupply. On the 26th day of April the chancellor of the exchequer preſented to the houſe two meſſages, ſigned by his majeſty, one in favour of his ſubjects in North-America, and the other in behalf of the Eaſt-India company: the former recommending to their conſideration the zeal and vigour with which his faithful ſubjects in North-America had exerted themſelves, in defence of his juſt rights and poſſeſſions; deſiring he might be enabled to give them a proper compenſation for the expences incurred by the reſpective provinces in levying, cloathing, and paying the troops raiſed in that country, according as the active vigour and ſtrenuous efforts of the ſeveral colonies ſhould appear to merit. In the latter, he deſired the houſe would empower him to aſſiſt the Eaſt-India company in defraying the expence of a military force in the Eaſt-Indies to be maintained by them, in lieu of a battalion of regular troops withdrawn from thence, and returned to Ireland. Both theſe meſſages were referred to a committee of ſupply, and produced the reſolutions upon each ſubject which we have already explained. The meſſage relating to a projected invaſion by the enemies of Great-Britain we ſhall particularize in its proper place, when we come to record the circumſtances and miſcarriage of that deſign. In the mean time, it may not be improper to obſerve, that the thanks of the houſe of commons were voted and given to admiral Boſcawen and major-general Amherſt for the ſervices they had done their king and country in North-America; and the ſame compliment was paid to admiral Oſborne, for the ſucceſs of his cruiſe in the Mediterranean.

The ſeſſion was cloſed on the ſecond day of June with a ſpeech to both houſes, from the commiſſioners appointed by his majeſty for that purpoſe. In this harangue the parliament was given to underſtand, that the king approved of their conduct, and returned them his thanks for their condeſcenſion; that the hopes he had conceived of their ſurmounting the difficulties which lay in the way were founded on the wiſdom, zeal, and affection of ſo good a parliament, and that his expectations were fully anſwered; that they had conſidered the war in all its parts, and notwithſtanding its long continuance, through the obſtinacy of the enemy, had made ſuch proviſion for the many different operations as ought to convince the adverſaries of Great-Britain, that it would be for their intereſt, as well as for the eaſe and relief of all Europe, to embrace equitable and honourable terms of accommodation. They were told that, by their aſſiſtance, the combined army in Germany had been completed; powerful ſquadrons, as well as numerous bodies of land-forces, were employed in America, in order to maintain the Britiſh rights and poſſeſſions, and annoy the enemy in the moſt ſenſible manner in that country: that, as France was making conſiderable preparations in her different ports, he had taken care to put his fleet at home in the beſt condition, both of ſtrength and ſituation, to guard againſt and repel any attempts that might be meditated againſt his kingdoms: that all his meaſures had been directed to aſſert the honour of his crown; to preſerve the eſſential intereſts of his faithful ſubjects; to ſupport the cauſe of the proteſtant religion, and public liberty: he, therefore, truſted that the uprightneſs of his intenſions would draw down the bleſſings of heaven upon his endeavours. He expreſſed his hope, that the precautions they had taken to prevent and correct the exceſſes of the privateers would produce the deſired effect: a conſideration which the king had much at heart; for, though ſenſible of the utility of that ſervice, when under proper regulations, he was determined to do his utmoſt to prevent any injuries or hardſhips which might be ſuſtained by the ſubjects of neutral powers, as far as might be practicable and conſiſtent with his majeſty's juſt right to hinder the trade of his enemies from being colluſively and fraudulently covered. He not only thanked the commons, but applauded the firmneſs and vigour with which they had acted, as well as their prudence in judging, that, notwithſtanding the preſent burthens, the making ample proviſion for carrying on the war was the moſt probable means to bring it to an honourable and happy concluſion. He aſſured them that no attention ſhould be wanting, on his part, for the faithful application of what had been granted. They were informed he had nothing further to deſire, but that they would carry down the ſame good diſpoſitions, and propogate them in their ſeveral counties, which they had ſhown in their proceedings during the ſeſſion. Theſe declarations being pronounced, the parliament was prorogued.

The people of England, provoked on one hand by the intrigues, the hoſtilities, and menaces of France, and animated on the other by the pride of triumph and ſucceſs, which never fails to reconcile them to difficulties, however great, and expence, however enormous, at this period breathed nothing but war, and diſcourſed about nothing but new plans of conqueſt. We have ſeen how liberally the parliament beſtowed the nation's money: and the acquieſcence of the ſubjects in general under the additional burthens which had being impoſed, appeared in the remarkable eagerneſs with which they embarked in the ſubſcription planned by the legiſlature; in the vigorous aſſiſtance they contributed towards manning the navy, recruiting the army, and levying additional forces; and the warlike ſpirit which began to diffuſe itſelf through all ranks of the people. This was a ſpirit which the miniſtry carefully

ſtance of the court of exchequer at Weſtminſter; and that all meaſures of length and weight, within a certain diſtance of London, ſhould be corrected and re-aſſized, as occaſion ſhould require, at the ſaid office. That, in order to enforce the uniformity in weights and meaſures to be uſed for the future, all perſons to be appointed by the crown to act as juſtices of the peace in any county, city, or town corporate, being reſpectively counties within themſelves, throughout the realm, ſhould be empowered to hear and determine, and put the law in execution, in reſpect to weights and meaſures only, without any of them being obliged to ſue out a dedimus, or to act in any other matter, and the ſaid commiſſioners ſhould be empowered to ſue, impriſon, inflict, or mitigate ſuch penalties as ſhould be thought proper: and have ſuch other authorities as ſhould be neceſſary for compelling the uſe of weights and meaſures, agreeable to the aforeſaid ſtandard. That models or patterns of the ſaid ſtandard yard and pound, and of the parts and multiples thereof, before mentioned, ſhould be diſtributed in each county, in ſuch a manner as to be readily uſed for evidence in all caſes where meaſures and weights ſhould be queſtioned before the ſaid commiſſioners, and for adjuſting the ſame in a proper manner.

cherished and cultivated, for the support of the war, which, it must be owned, was prosecuted with an ardour and efficacy peculiar to the present administration. True it is, the German war had been for some time adopted as an object of importance by the British councils, and a resolution was taken to maintain it without flinching: at the same time, it must be allowed, that this consideration had not hitherto weakened the attention of the ministry to the operations in America, where alone the war may be said to have been carried on and prosecuted on British principles, so as to distress the enemy in their most tender part, and at the same time acquire the most substantial advantages to the subjects of Britain. For these two purposes, every preparation was made that sagacity could suggest, or vigour execute. The navy was repaired and augmented, and in order to man the different squadrons, the expedient of pressing, that disgrace to a British administration, was practised both by land and water with extraordinary rigour and vivacity. A proclamation was issued, offering a considerable bounty for every seaman and even landman that should, by a certain day, enter voluntarily into the service. As an additional encouragement to this class of people, the king promised his pardon to all seamen who had deserted from the respective ships to which they belonged, provided they should return to their duty by the 3d day of July; but at the same time he declared, that those who should neglect this opportunity, at a time when their country so much required their service, would, upon being apprehended, incur the penalty of a court-martial, and, if convicted, be deemed unfit objects of the royal mercy. All justices of the peace, mayors, and magistrates of corporations throughout Great-Britain were commanded to make particular search for straggling seamen fit for the service, and to send all that should be found to the nearest sea-port, that they might be sent on board by the sea-officer there commanding. Other methods more gentle and effectual were taken to levy and recruit the land-forces. New regiments were raised, on his majesty's promise, that every man should be entitled to his discharge at the end of three years, and the premiums for enlisting were increased. Over and above these indulgencies, considerable bounties were offered and given by cities, towns, corporations, and even by individuals, so universally were the people possessed with a spirit of chivalry and adventure. The example was set by the metropolis, where the common-council resolved that voluntary subscriptions should be received in the chamber of London, to be appropriated as bounty-money to such persons as should engage in his majesty's service. The city subscribed a considerable sum for that purpose; and a committee of aldermen and commoners was appointed to attend at Guildhall, to receive and apply the subscriptions. As a further encouragement to volunteers, they moreover resolved, that every person so entering should be intitled to the freedom of the city, at the expiration of three years, or sooner, if the war should be brought to a conclusion. These resolutions being communicated to the king, he was pleased to signify his approbation, and return his thanks to the city, in a letter from the secretary of state to the lord-mayor. Large sums were immediately subscribed by different companies, and some private persons; and, in imitation of the capital, bounties were offered by many different communities in every quarter of the united kingdom. At the same time, such care and diligence were used in disciplining the militia, that before the close of the year, the greater part of those truly constitutional battalions rivalled the regular troops in the perfection of their exercise, and seemed to be in all respects as fit for actual service.

Before we proceed to record the transactions of the campaign that succeeded these preparations, we shall take notice of some domestic events, which, though not very important in themselves, may nevertheless claim a place in the history of England. In the beginning of the year, the court of London was overwhelmed with affliction at the death of the princess-dowager of Orange and Nassau, gouvernante of the United Provinces in the minority of her son, the present stadtholder. She was the eldest daughter of his Britannick majesty, possessed of many personal accomplishments and exemplary virtues, pious, moderate, sensible, and circumspect. She had exercised her authority with equal sagacity and resolution, respected even by those who were no friends to the house of Orange, and died with great fortitude and resignation[c]. In her will she appointed the king her father, and the princess-dowager of Orange, her mother-in-law, honorary tutors, and prince Louis of Brunswick acting tutor to her children. In the morning after her decease, the states-general and the states of Holland were extraordinarily assembled, and having received notice of this event, proceeded to confirm the regulations which had been made for the minority of the stadtholder. Prince Louis of Brunswick was invited to assist in the assembly of Holland, where he took the oaths, as representing the captain-general of the union. Then he communicated to the assembly the act by which the princess had appointed him guardian of her children. He was afterwards invited to the assembly of the states-general, who agreed to the resolution of Holland with respect to his guardianship; and in the evening, the different colleges of the government sent formal deputations to the young stadtholder, and the princess Caroline, his sister, in whose names and presence they were received, and answered by their guardian and representative. A formal intimation of the death of the princess was communicated to the king her father, in a pathetic letter, by the states-general, who condoled with him on the irreparable loss which he as well as they had sustained by this melancholy event, and assured him they would employ all their care and attention in securing and defending the rights and interests of the young stadtholder, and the princess his sister, whom they considered as the children of the republic. The royal family of England suffered another disaster in the course of this year, by the decease of the princess Elizabeth-Caroline, second daughter of his late royal highness Frederick prince of Wales, a lady of the most amiable character, who died at Kew in the month of September, before she had attained the 18th year of her age.

Certain privateers continuing their excesses at sea, and rifling neutral ships without distinction or authority, the government resolved to vindicate the honour of the nation, by making examples of those pirates, who, as fast as they could be detected and secured, were brought to trial, and upon conviction sacrificed to justice. While these steps were taken to rescue the nation from the reproach of violence and rapacity, which her neighbours had urged with such eagerness, equal spirit was exerted in convincing neutral powers that they should not, with impunity, contravene the law of nations, in favouring the enemies of Great-Britain. A great number of causes were tried relating to disputed captures, and many Dutch vessels, with their cargoes, were condemned after a fair hearing, notwithstanding the loud clamours of that people, and the repeated remonstrances of the states-general.

The reputation of the English was not so much affected by the irregularities of her privateers, armed for rapine, as by the neglect of internal police, and an ingredient of savage ferocity mingled in the national character; an ingredient that appeared but too conspicuous in the particulars of several shocking murders brought to light about this period.—One Halsey, who commanded a merchant-ship in the voyage from Jamaica to England, having conceived some personal dislike to a poor sailor, insulted him with such abuse, exposed him to such hardships, and punished him with such wantonness of barbarity, that the poor wretch leaped overboard in despair. His inhuman tyrant envying him that death, which would have rescued a miserable object from his brutality, plunged into the sea after him, and brought him on board, declaring he should not escape so, while there were any torments left to inflict. Accordingly, he exercised his tyranny upon him with redoubled rigour, until the poor creature expired, in consequence of the inhuman treatment he had sustained. This savage ruffian was likewise indicted for the murder of another mariner, but being convicted on the first trial, the second was found unnecessary, and the criminal suffered death according to the law, which is perhaps too mild to malefactors convicted of such aggravated cruelty. Another barbarous murder was perpetrated in the country, near Birmingham, upon a sheriff's officer, by the sons of one Darby, whose effects the bailiff had seized, on a distress

[c] Feeling her end approaching, she delivered a key to one of her attendants, directing him to fetch two papers, which she signed with her own hand. One was a contract of marriage between her daughter and the prince of Nassau-Weisburg; the other was a letter to the states-general, beseeching them to consent to this marriage, and preserve inviolate the regulations she had made, touching the education and tutelage of the young stadtholder. These two papers being signed and sealed, she sent for her children, exhorted them to make proper improvements on the education they had received, and to live in harmony with each other. Then she implored heaven to shower its blessings on them both, and embraced them with the most affecting marks of maternal tenderness. She afterwards continued to converse calmly and deliberately with her friends, and in a few hours expired.

for rent. The two young aſſaſſins, encouraged by the father, attacked the unhappy wretch with clubs, and mangled him in a terrible manner, ſo that he hardly retained any ſigns of life. Not contented with this cruel execution, they ſtripped him naked, and dragged him out of the houſe, ſcourged him with a waggoner's whip, until the fleſh was cut from his bones. In this miſerable condition he was found weltering in his blood, and conveyed to a neighbouring houſe, where he immediately expired. The three barbarians were apprehended, after having made a deſperate reſiſtance. They were tried, convicted, and executed: the ſons were hung in chains, and the body of the father diſſected. The widow of a timber-merchant at Rotherhithe being cruelly murdered in her own houſe, Mary Edmonſon, a young woman, her niece, ran out into the ſtreet with her own arms cut acroſs, and gave the alarm, declaring her aunt had been aſſaſſinated by four men, who forced their way into the houſe, and that ſhe (the niece) had received thoſe wounds, in attempting to defend her relation. According to the circumſtances that appeared, this unnatural wretch had cut the throat of her aunt and benefactreſs with a caſe-knife, then dragged the body from the waſh-houſe to the parlour; that ſhe had ſtolen a watch and ſome ſilver ſpoons, and concealed them, together with the knife and her own apron, which was ſoaked with the blood of her parent. After having acted this horrid tragedy, the bare recital of which the humane reader will not peruſe without horror, ſhe put on another apron, and wounded her own fleſh, the better to conceal her guilt. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions ſhe was ſuſpected, and committed to priſon. Being brought to trial, ſhe was convicted and condemned upon circumſtantial evidence, and finally executed on Kennington-Common, though ſhe denied the fact to the laſt moment of her life. At the place of execution ſhe behaved with great compoſure, and, after having ſpent ſome minutes in devotion, proteſted ſhe was innocent of the crime laid to her charge. What ſeemed to corroborate this proteſtation, was the condition and character of the young woman, who had been educated in a ſphere above the vulgar, and maintained a reputation without reproach in the country, where ſhe was actually betrothed to a clergyman. On the other hand, the circumſtances that appeared againſt her almoſt amounted to a certainty, though nothing weaker than proof poſitive ought to determine a jury in capital caſes to give a verdict againſt the perſon accuſed. After all, this is one of thoſe problematic events which elude the force of all evidence, and ſerve to confound the pride of human reaſon. A miſcreant, whoſe name was Haines, having eſpouſed the daughter of a farmer in the neighbourhood of Gloceſter, who poſſeſſed a ſmall eſtate, which he intended to divide among ſeven children, was ſo abandoned as to form the deſign of poiſoning the whole family, that by virtue of his wife he might enjoy the whole inheritance. For the execution of this infernal ſcheme, he employed his own father to purchaſe a quantity of arſenic; part of which he adminiſtered to three of the children, who were immediately ſeized with the dreadful ſymptoms produced by this mineral, and the eldeſt expired. He afterwards mixed it with three apple-cakes, which he bought for the purpoſe, and preſented to the other three children, who underwent the ſame violence of operation which had proved fatal to the eldeſt brother. The inſtantaneous effects of the poiſon created a ſuſpicion of Haines, who being examined, the whole ſcene of villainy ſtood diſcloſed. Nevertheleſs, the villain found means to eſcape. The uncommon ſpirit of aſſaſſination which raged at this period ſeemed to communicate itſelf even to foreigners, who breathed Engliſh air. Five French priſoners, confined on board the king's ſhip the Royal Oak, were convicted of having murdered one Jean de Manaux, their countryman and fellow-priſoner, in revenge for his having diſcovered that they had forged paſſes to facilitate their eſcape. Exaſperated at this detection, they ſeized this unfortunate informer in the place of their confinement, gagged his mouth, ſtripped him naked, tied him with a ſtrong cord to a ring bolt, and ſcourged his body with the moſt brutal perſeverance. By dint of ſtruggling the poor wretch diſengaged himſelf from the cord with which he had been tied: then they finiſhed the tragedy, by leaping and ſtamping on his breaſt, till the cheſt was broke, and he expired. They afterwards ſevered the body into ſmall pieces, and theſe they conveyed at different times into the ſea, through the funnel of a convenience to which they had acceſs; but one of the other priſoners gave information of the murder, in conſequence of which they were ſecured, brought to trial, condemned, and puniſhed with death.

Nor were the inſtances of cruel aſſaſſination which prevailed at this juncture confined to Great-Britain. At the latter end of the foregoing year, an atrocious maſſacre was perpetrated by two Genoeſe mariners upon the maſter and crew of an Engliſh veſſel, among whom they were enrolled. Theſe monſters of cruelty were in different watches, a circumſtance that favoured the execution of the horrid plan they had concerted. When one of them retired to reſt with his fellows of the watch, conſiſting of the mate and two ſeamen, he waited till they were faſt aſleep, and then butchered them all with a knife. Having ſo far ſucceeded without diſcovery, he returned to the dec, and communicated the exploit to his aſſociate: then they ſuddenly attacked the maſter of the veſſel, and cleft his head with a hatchet, which they likewiſe uſed in murdering the man that ſtood at the helm; a third was likewiſe diſpatched, and no Engliſhman remained alive but the maſter's ſon, a boy, who lamented his father's death with inceſſant tears and cries for three days, at the expiration of which he was likewiſe ſacrificed, becauſe the aſſaſſins were diſturbed by his clamour. This barbarous ſcene was acted within 60 leagues of the roc of Liſbon; but the veſſel was taken between the capes Ortugal and Finiſterre, by the captain of a French privateer called La Favourite, who ſeeing the dec ſtained with blood, and finding all the papers of the ſhip deſtroyed, began to ſuſpect that the maſter and crew had been murdered. He accordingly taxed them with the murder, and they confeſſed the particulars. The privateer touched at Vigo, where the captain imparted this detail to the Engliſh conſul; but the prize, with the two villains on board, was ſent to Bayonne in France, where they were brought to condign puniſhment.

We ſhall cloſe this regiſter of blood with the account of a murder remarkable in all its circumſtances, for which a perſon, called Eugene Aram, ſuffered at York, in the courſe of this year. This man, who exerciſed the profeſſion of a ſchoolmaſter at Knareſborough, had, as far bac as the year 1745, been concerned with one Houſeman, in robbing and murdering Daniel Clarke, whom they had previouſly perſuaded to borrow a conſiderable quantity of valuable effects from different perſons in the neighbourhood on falſe pretences, that he might retire with the booty. He had accordingly filled a ſac with theſe particulars, and began his retreat with his two perfidious aſſociates, who ſuddenly fell upon him, deprived him of life, and, having buried the body in a cave, took poſſeſſion of the plunder. Though Clarke diſappeared at once in ſuch a myſterious manner, no ſuſpicion fell upon the aſſaſſins; and Aram, who was the chief contriver and agent in the murder, moved his habitation to another part of the country. In the ſummer of the preſent year, Houſeman being employed, among other labourers, in repairing the public highway, they, in digging for gravel by the road ſide, diſcovered the ſkeleton of a human creature, which the majority ſuppoſed to be the bones of Daniel Clarke. This opinion was no ſooner broached, than Houſeman, as it were by ſome ſupernatural impulſe which he could not reſiſt, declared that it was not the ſkeleton of Clarke, inaſmuch as his body had been interred in a place called ſir Robert's Cave, where they would find it, with the head turned to a certain corner. He was immediately apprehended, examined, admitted as evidence for the crown, and diſcovered the particulars of the murder. The ſkeleton of Clarke being found exactly in the place and manner he had deſcribed, Eugene Aram, who now acted as uſher to a grammar-ſchool in the county of Norfolk, was ſecured, and brought to trial at the York aſſizes. There, his own wife corroborating the teſtimony of Houſeman, he was found guilty, and received ſentence of death, notwithſtanding a very artful and learned defence, in which he proved, from argument and example, the danger of convicting a man upon circumſtantial evidence. Finding all his remonſtrances ineffectual, he recommended himſelf in pathetic terms to the king's mercy; and if ever murder was entitled to indulgence, perhaps it might have been extended, not improperly, to this man, whoſe genius, in itſelf prodigious, might have exerted itſelf in works of general utility. He had, in ſpite of all the diſadvantages attending low birth and ſtraitened circumſtances, by the dint of his own capacity and inclination made conſiderable progreſs in mathematicks and philoſophy, acquired all the languages ancient and modern, and executed part of a Celtick dictionary, which, had he lived to execute it, might have thrown ſome eſſential light upon the origin and obſcurities of the European hiſtory. Convinced, at laſt, that he had nothing to hope from the clemency of the govern-

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GEORGE FRIDERIC HANDEL

Goldar sculp.

In the Collection of the Hon.ble John Spencer Esq.r

Publish'd as the Act directs Sept.r 10. 1795.

ment, he wrote a ſhort poem in defence of ſuicide; and, on the day fixed for his execution, opened the veins of his left arm with a razor, which he had concealed for that purpoſe. Though he was much weakened by the effuſion of blood, before this attempt was diſcovered; yet, as the inſtrument had miſſed the artery, he did not expire until he was carried to the gibbet, and underwent the ſentence of the law. His body was conveyed to Knareſborough-foreſt, and hung in chains, near the place where the murder was perpetrated. Theſe are ſome of the moſt remarkable that appeared among many other inſtances of homicide: a crime that prevails to a degree alike deplorable and ſurpriſing, even in a nation renowned for compaſſion and placability. But this will generally be the caſe among people whoſe paſſions, naturally impetuous, are ill reſtrained, by laws, and the regulations of civil ſociety, which the licentious do not fear, and the wicked hope to evade.

The prince of Wales having, in the beginning of June, entered the two-and twentieth year of his age, the anniverſary of his birth was celebrated with great rejoicings at court, and the king received compliments of congratulation on the majority of a prince, who ſeemed born to fulfil the hopes and complete the happineſs of Great-Britain. The city of London preſented an addreſs to the king on this occaſion, replete with expreſſions of loyalty and affection, aſſuring his majeſty, that no hoſtile threats could intimidate a people animated by the love of liberty, who, confiding in the Divine Providence, and in his majeſty's experienced wiſdom and vigorous councils, were reſolved to exert their utmoſt efforts towards enabling their ſovereign to repel the inſults and defeat the attempts made by the ancient enemies of his crown and kingdom. Congratulations of the ſame kind were offered by other cities, towns, corporations, and communities, who vied with each other in profeſſions of attachment; and, indeed, there was not the leaſt trace of diſaffection perceivable at this juncture in any part of the iſland.

So little were the citizens of London diſtreſſed by the expence, or incommoded by the operations of the war, that they found leiſure to plan, and funds to execute magnificent works of art, for the ornament of the metropolis, and the convenience of commerce. They had obtained an act of parliament, empowering them to build a new bridge over the Thames, from Black-friars to the oppoſite ſhore, about midway between thoſe of London and Weſtminſter. Commiſſioners were appointed to put this act in execution; and, at a court of common-council, it was reſolved that a ſum not exceeding 144,000l. ſhould be forthwith raiſed, within the ſpace of eight years, by inſtalments, not exceeding 30,000l. in one year, to be paid into the chamber of London; that the perſons advancing the money ſhould have an intereſt at the rate of 4l. per cent. per annum, to be paid half yearly by the chamberlain, yet redeemable at the expiration of the firſt 10 years; and that the chamberlain ſhould affix the city's ſeal to ſuch inſtruments as the committee might think fit to give for ſecuring the payment of the ſaid annuities. Such were the firſt effectual ſteps taken towards the execution of the laudable meaſure, which met with the moſt obſtinate oppoſition in the ſequel, from the narrow views of particular people, as well as from the prejudice of party.

The ſpirit that now animated the citizens of London was ſuch as ſmall difficulties did not retard, and even conſiderable loſſes could not diſcourage. In the month of November the city was expoſed to a dangerous conflagration, kindled in the night by accident in the neighbourhood of the Royal Exchange, which burned with great fury, notwithſtanding the aſſiſtance of firemen and engines employed under the perſonal direction of the magiſtracy, conſumed a good number of houſes, and damaged many more. That whole quarter of the town was filled with conſternation: ſome individuals were beggared; one or two periſhed in the flames, and ſome were buried in the ruins of the houſes that ſunk under the diſaſter.

The ferment of mind ſo peculiar to the natives of Great-Britain, excited by a ſtrong mixture of genius and caprice, paſſion and philoſophy, ſtudy and conjecture, produced at this period ſome flowers of improvement, in different arts and ſciences, that ſeemed to promiſe fruit of public utility. Several perſons invented methods for diſcovering the longitude at ſea, and great deſideratum in navigation, for the aſcertainment of which ſo many nations have offered a public recompence, and in the inveſtigation of which ſo many mathematical heads have been diſordered. Some of thoſe who now appeared candidates for the prize deſerved encouragement for the ingenuity of their ſeveral ſyſtems; but he who ſeemed to enjoy the pre-eminence in the opinion and favour of the public, was mr. Irwin a native of Ireland, who contrived a chair ſo artfully poiſed, that a perſon ſitting in it on board a ſhip, even in a rough ſea, can, through a teleſcope, obſerve the immerſion and emerſion of Jupiter's ſatellites, without being interrupted or incommoded by the motion of the veſſel. This gentleman was favoured with the aſſiſtance and protection of commodore lord Howe, in whoſe preſence the experiment was tried in ſeveral ſhips at ſea with ſuch ſucceſs, that he granted a certificate, ſignifying his approbation; and in conſequence of this, mr. Irwin is ſaid to have obtained a conſiderable reward from the board of admiralty.

The people of England, happy in their ſituation, felt none of the ſtorms of war and deſolation which ravaged the neighbouring countries; but, enriched by a ſurpriſing augmentation of commerce, enjoyed all the ſecurity of peace, and all the pleaſures of taſte and affluence. The univerſity of Oxford having conferred the office of their chancellor, vacant by the death of the earl of Arran, upon another nobleman of equal honour and integrity, namely, the earl of Weſtmorland, he made a public entrance into that celebrated ſeat of learning with great magnificence, and was enſtalled amidſt the encænia, which were celebrated with ſuch claſſical elegance of pomp, as might have rivalled the chief Roman feſtival of the Auguſtan age. The chancellor elect was attended by a ſplendid train of the nobility and perſons of diſtinction. The city of Oxford was filled with a vaſt concourſe of ſtrangers. The proceſſions were contrived with taſte, and conducted with decorum. The inſtallation was performed with the moſt ſtriking ſolemnity. The congratulatory verſes, and public ſpeeches, breathed the ſpirit of old Rome; and the ceremony was cloſed by dr. King, that venerable ſage of St. Mary Hall, who pronounced an oration in praiſe of the new chancellor with all the flow of Tully, animated by the fire of Demoſthenes.

We ſhall conclude the remarkable incidents of this year[d], that are detached from the proſecution of the war, with the detail of an event equally ſurpriſing and deplorable:—A ſloop called the Dolphin, bound from the Canaries to New-York, met with ſuch unfavourable weather, that ſhe was detained 165 days in the paſſage, and the proviſions of the ſhip was altogether expended before the firſt 50 days were elapſed. The wretched crew had devoured their dog, cat, and all their ſhoes on board: at length, being reduced to the utmoſt extremity, they agreed to caſt lots for their lives, that the body of him upon whom the lot ſhould fall might ſerve for ſome time to ſupport the ſurvivors. The wretched victim was one Antonio Galatia, a Spaniſh gentleman and paſſenger. Him they ſhot with a muſquet; and having cut off his head, threw it overboard; but the entrails, and the reſt of the carcaſe, they greedily devoured. This horred banquet having, as it were, fleſhed the famiſhed crew, they began to talk of another ſacrifice, from which, however, they were diverted by the influence and remonſtrances of their captain, who prevailed upon them to be ſatisfied with a miſerable allowance to each per diem, cut from a pair of leather breeches found in the cabbin. Upon this calamitous pittance, re-enforced with the graſs which grew plentifully upon the dec, theſe poor objects made ſhift to ſubſiſt for 20 days, at the expiration of which they were relieved, and taken on board one captain Bradſhaw, who chanced to fall in with them at ſea. By this time the whole crew, conſiſting of ſeven men, were ſo ſqualed and emaciated, as to exhibit an appearance at once piteous and terrible; and ſo reduced in point of ſtrength, that it was found neceſſary to uſe ropes and tackle for hoiſting them from one ſhip to the other. The circumſtance of the lot falling upon the Spaniard, who was the only foreigner on board, encourages a ſuſpicion that foul play was offered to this unfortunate victim.

[d] In the ſpring of this year the liberal arts ſuſtained a lamentable loſs in the death of George Frederick Handel, the moſt celebrated maſter in muſic which his age had produced. He was by birth a German; but had ſtudied in Italy, and afterwards ſettled in England, where he met with the moſt favourable reception, and reſided above half a century, univerſally admired for his ſtupendous genius in the ſublime parts of muſical compoſition.

One would be apt to imagine that there was ſomething in the conſtitution of the air at this period, which was particularly unfavourable to old age, inaſmuch as, in the compaſs of a few months, the following perſons, remarkable for their longevity, died in the kingdom of Scotland: William Barnes, who had been above 70 years a ſervant in the family of Brodie, died there, at the age of 109. Catharine Mackenzie died in Roſsſhire, at the age of 118. Janet Blair, deceaſed at Monemuſk, in the ſhire of Aberdeen, turned of 112. Alexander Stephens, in Bamffſhire, at the age of 108. Janet Harper, at Bains-hole, at the age of 107. Daniel Cameron, in Rannach, married when he was turned of 100, and ſurvived his marriage 30 years.

fortunate ſtranger; but the moſt remarkable part of this whole incident is, that the maſter and crew could not contrive ſome ſort of tackle to catch fiſh, with which the ſea every where abounds, and which, no doubt, might be caught with the help of a little ingenuity. If implements of this kind were provided in every ſhip, they would probably prevent all thoſe tragical events at ſea that are occaſioned by famine.

Previous to the more capital operations in war, we ſhall particularize the moſt remarkable captures that were made upon the enemy by ſingle ſhips of war, during the courſe of this ſummer and autumn. In the month of February, a French privateer belonging to Granville, called the Marquis de Marigny, having on board near 200 men, and mounted with 20 cannon, was taken by captain Parker, commander of his majeſty's ſhip the Montague; who likewiſe made prize of a ſmaller armed veſſel, from Dunkirk, of eight cannon and 60 men. About the ſame period, captain Graves, of the Unicorn, brought in the Moras privateer, of St. Maloes, carrying 200 men, and 22 cannon. Two large merchant-ſhips, loaded on the French king's account for Martinique, with proviſion, clothing, and arms, for the troops on that iſland, were taken by captain Lendrick, commander of the Brilliant; and an Engliſh tranſport from St. John's, having 400 French priſoners on board, periſhed near the Weſtern iſlands. Within the circle of the ſame month, a large French ſhip from St. Domingo, richly laden fell in with the Favourite ſhip of war, and was carried into Gibraltar.

In the month of February, captain Hood, of his majeſty's frigate the Veſtal, belonging to a ſmall ſquadron commanded by admiral Holmes, who had ſailed for the Weſt-Indies in January, being advanced a conſiderable way a-head of the fleet, deſcried and gave chaſe to a ſail, which proved to be a French frigate called the Bellona, of 220 men, and 32 great guns, commanded by the count de Beauhonoire. Captain Hood, having made a ſignal to the admiral, continued the chaſe until he advanced within half muſquet-ſhot of the enemy, and then poured in a broadſide, which was immediately retorted. The engagement thus begun was maintained with great vigour on both ſides for the ſpace of four hours; at the expiration of which the Bellona ſtruc, after having loſt all her maſts and rigging, together with about 40 men killed in the action. Nor was the victor in a much better condition. Thirty men were killed and wounded on board the Veſtal. Immediately after the enemy ſubmitted, all her rigging being deſtroyed by the ſhot, the topmaſts fell overboard; and ſhe was otherwiſe ſo much damaged, that ſhe could not proceed on her voyage. Captain Hood, therefore, returned with his prize to Spithead; and afterwards met with a gracious reception from his majeſty, on account of the valour and conduct he had diſplayed on this occaſion. The Bellona had ſailed in January from the iſland of Martinique, along with the Floriſſant, and another French frigate, from which ſhe had been ſeparated in the paſſage. Immediately after this exploit, captain Elliot, of the Æolus frigate, accompanied by the Iſis, made prize of a French ſhip, the Mignonne, of 20 guns, and 140 men, one of four frigates employed as convoy to a large fleet of merchant-ſhips, near the iſland of Rhée.

In the month of March, the Engliſh frigates the Southampton and Melampe, commanded by the captains Gilchriſt and Hotham, being at ſea to the northward on a cruiſe, fell in with the Danaë, a French ſhip of 40 cannon, and 330 men, which was engaged by captain Hotham in a ſhip of half the force, who maintained the battle a conſiderable time with admirable gallantry, before his conſort could come to his aſſiſtance. As they fought in the dark captain Gilchriſt was obliged to lie by for ſome time, becauſe he could not diſtinguiſh the one from the other; but no ſooner did the day appear than he bore down upon the Danaë with his uſual impetuoſity, and ſoon compelled her to ſurrender: ſhe did not ſtrike, however, until 30 or 40 of her men were ſlain: and the gallant captain Gilchriſt received a grape-ſhot in his ſhoulder, which, though it did not deprive him of life, yet rendered him incapable of future ſervice: a misfortune the more to be lamented, as it happened to a brave officer in the vigour of his age, and in the midſt of a ſanguinary war, which might have afforded him many other opportunities of ſignalizing his courage for the honour and advantage of his country. Another remarkable exploit was achieved about the ſame juncture by captain Barrington, commander of the ſhip Achilles, mounted with 60 cannon, who, to the weſtward of Cape-Fineſterre, encountered a French ſhip of equal force, called the count de St. Florintin, bound from Cape-François on the iſland of Hiſpaniolo to Rochefort, under the command of the ſieur de Montay, who was obliged to ſtrike, after a cloſe and obſtinate engagement, in which he himſelf was mortally wounded, a great number of his men ſlain, and his ſhip ſo damaged, that ſhe was with difficulty brought into Falmouth. Captain Barrington obtained the victory at the expence of about 25 men killed and wounded, and all his rigging, which the enemy's ſhot rendered uſeleſs. Two ſmall privateers from Dunkirk were alſo taken, one called the Marquis de Bareil, by the Brilliant, which carried her into Kinſale in Ireland; the other called the Carillonneur, which ſtruc to the Grace cutter, aſſiſted by the boats of the ſhip Rocheſter, commanded by captain Duff, who ſent her into the Downs.

About the latter end of March, captain Samuel Falkner, in the ſhip Windſor, of 60 guns, cruiſing to the weſtward, diſcovered four large ſhips to leeward, which, when he approached them, formed the line of battle a-head, in order to give him a warm reception. He accordingly cloſed with the ſternmoſt ſhip, which ſuſtained his fire about an hour; then the other three bearing away with all the ſail they could carry, ſhe ſtruc her colours, and was conducted to Liſbon. She proved to be the Duc de Chartres, pierced for 60 cannon, though at that time carrying no more than 24, with a complement of 300 men, about 30 of whom were killed in the action. She belonged, with the other three that eſcaped, to the French Eaſt-India company, was loaded with gunpowder and naval ſtores, and bound for Pondicherry. Two privateers, called La Chaſſeur and Le Conquerant, the one from Dunkirk, and the other from Cherbourg, were taken and carried into Plymouth by captain Hughs, of his majeſty's frigate the Tamer. A third, called the Deſpatch, from Morlaix, was brought into Penzance by the Diligence ſloop, under the command of captain Eaſtwood. A fourth, called the Baſque, from Bayonne, furniſhed with 22 guns, and above 200 men, fell into the hands of captain Parker, of the Brilliant, who conveyed her into Plymouth. Captain Antrobus, of the Surpriſe, took the Vieux, a privateer of Bourdeaux; and a fifth, from Dunkirk, ſtruc to captain Knight, of the Liverpool, off Yarmouth. In the month of May a French frigate, called the Arethuſa, mounted with 32 cannon, manned with a large complement of hands, under the command of the marquis de Vaudrieul, ſubmitted to two Britiſh frigates, the Venus and the Thames, commanded by the captains Harriſon and Colby, after a warm engagement, in which 60 men were killed and wounded on the ſide of the enemy. In the beginning of June an armed ſhip belonging to Dunkirk, was brought into the Downs, by captain Angel, of the Stag; and a privateer of force, called the Counteſs de la Serre, was ſubdued and taken, after an obſtinate action, by captain Moore, of his majeſty's ſhip the Adventure.

Several armed ſhips of the enemy, and rich prizes, were taken in the Weſt-Indies, particularly two French frigates, and two Dutch ſhips with French commodities, all richly laden, by ſome of the ſhips of the ſquadron which vice-admiral Coats commanded on the Jamaica ſtation. A fifth, called the Velour, from St. Domingo, with a valuable cargo on board, being fortified with 20 cannon, and above 160 men, fell in with the Favourite ſloop of war, under the command of captain Edwards, who, after an obſtinate diſpute, carried her in triumph to Gibraltar. At St. Chriſtopher's, in the Weſt-Indies, captain Collingwood, commander of the king's ſhip the Creſcent, attacked two French frigates, the Amethyſte and Berkeley; the former of which eſcaped, after a warm engagement, in which the Creſcent's rigging was ſo much damaged, that ſhe could not purſue; but the other was taken, and conveyed into the harbour of Baſſeterre. Notwithſtanding the vigilance and courage of the Engliſh cruiſers in thoſe ſeas, the French privateers ſwarmed to ſuch a degree, that in the courſe of this year they took above 200 ſail of Britiſh ſhips, valued at 600,000l. ſterling. This their ſucceſs is the more remarkable, as by this time the iſland of Guadaloupe was in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, and commodore Moore commanded a numerous ſquadron in thoſe very latitudes.

In the beginning of October, the Hercules ſhip of war, mounted with 74 guns, under the command of captain Porter, cruiſing in the chops of the channel, deſcried to windward a large ſhip, which proved to be the Floriſſant, of the ſame force with the Hercules. Her commander, perceiving the Engliſh ſhip giving chaſe, did not ſeem to decline the action; but bore down upon her in a ſlanting direction, and the engagement began with great fury. In a little

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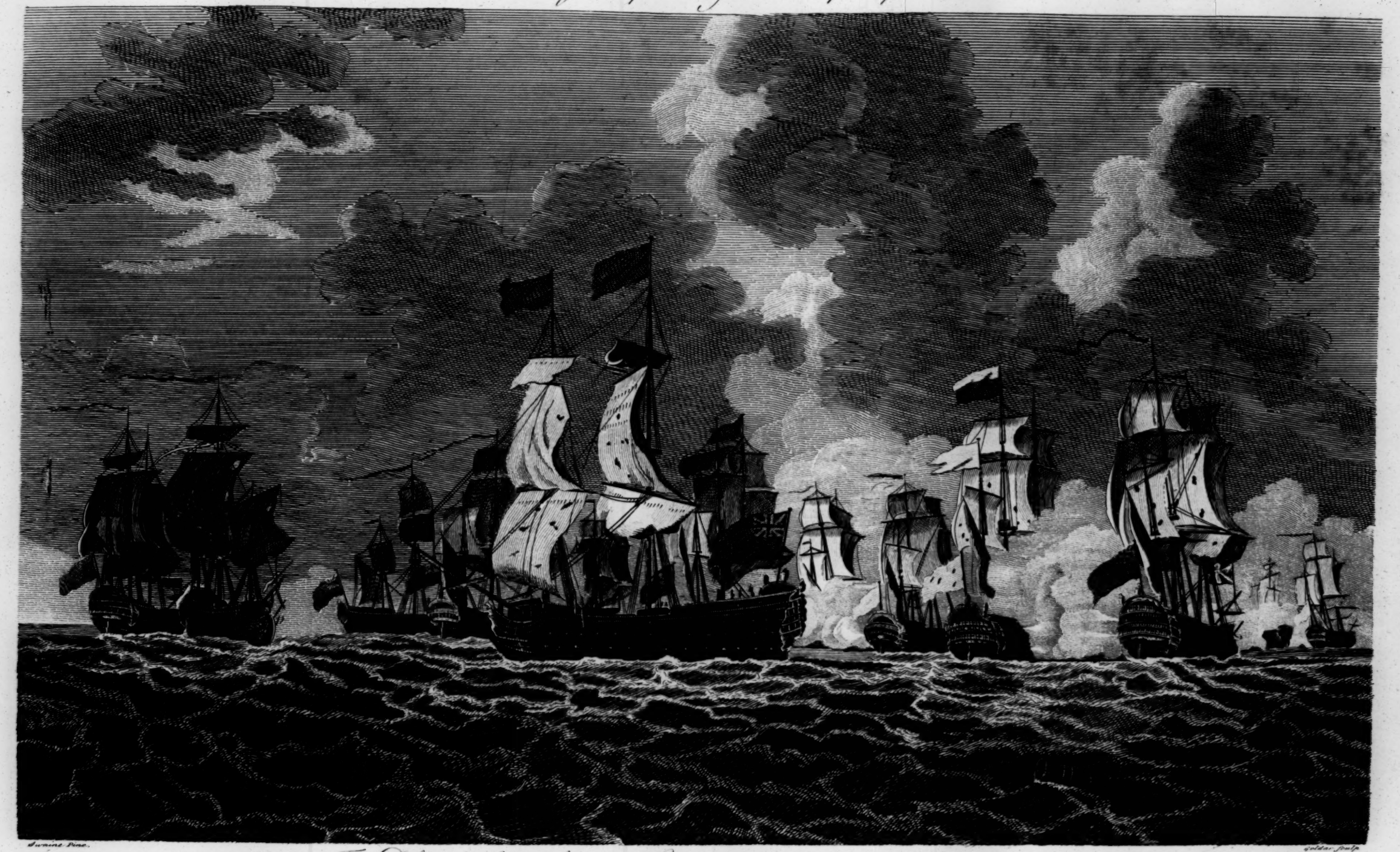

The Defeat of a French Squardron Commanded by Mons.r de la Clue.
off Cape Sagres on the 18.th of August 1759. by a Squadron of HIS MAJESTYS SHIPS under the Command of the Right Hon.ble EDWARD HOSCAWEN. Admiral of the Blue.

Published as the Act directs Aug.t 1.st 1760.

Durame Pinx.

Goldar Sculp.

time, the Hercules having loſt her top-maſt, and all her rigging being ſhot away, the enemy took advantage of this diſaſter, made the beſt of his way, and was purſued till eight o'clock next morning, when he eſcaped behind the iſle of Oleron. Captain Porter was wounded in the head with a grape-ſhot, and loſt the uſe of one leg in the engagement.

Having taken notice of all the remarkable captures and exploits that were made and achieved by ſingle ſhips ſince the commencement of the preſent year, we ſhall now proceed to deſcribe the actions that were performed in this period by the different ſquadrons that conſtituted the naval power of Great-Britain. Intelligence having been received that the enemy meditated an invaſion upon ſome of the Britiſh territories, and that a number of flat-bottomed boats were prepared at Havre-de-Grace, for the purpoſe of diſembarking troops, rear-admiral Rodney was, in the beginning of July, detached with a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips and bombs to annoy and overawe that part of the coaſt of France. He accordingly anchored in the road of Havre, and made a diſpoſition to execute the inſtructions he had received. The bomb-veſſels being placed in the narrow channel of the river leading to Honfleur, began to throw their ſhells, and continued the bombardment for 52 hours, without intermiſſion, during which a numerous body of French troops was employed in throwing up entrenchments, erecting new batteries, and firing both with ſhot and ſhells upon the aſſailants. The town was ſet on fire in ſeveral places, and burned with great fury; ſome of the boats were overturned, and a few of them reduced to aſhes, while the inhabitants forſook the place in the utmoſt conſternation; nevertheleſs, the damage done to the enemy was too inconſiderable to make amends for the expence of the armament, and the loſs of 1900 ſhells and 1100 carcaſſes, which were expened in this expedition. Bombardments of this kind are at beſt but expenſive and unprofitable operations, and may be deemed a barbarous method of proſecuting war, inaſmuch as the damage falls upon the wretched inhabitants, who had given no cauſe of offence, and who are generally ſpared by an humane enemy, unleſs they have committed ſome particular act of provocation.

The honour of the Britiſh flag was much more effectually aſſerted by the gallant admiral Boſcawen, who, as we have already obſerved, was entruſted with the conduct of a ſquadron in the Mediterranean. It muſt be owned, however, that his firſt attempt ſavoured of temerity. Having in vain diſplayed the Britiſh flag in ſight of Toulon, by way of defiance to the French fleet that lay there at anchor, he ordered three ſhips of the line, commanded by the captains Smith, Harland, and Barker, to advance and burn two ſhips that lay cloſe to the mouth of the harbour. They accordingly approached with great intrepedity, and met with a very warm reception from divers batteries which they had not before perceived. Two ſmall forts they attempted to deſtroy, and cannonaded for ſome time with great fury; but being over-matched by ſuperior force, and the wind ſubſiding into a calm, they ſuſtained conſiderable damage, and were towed off with great difficulty, in a very ſhattered condition. The admiral ſeeing three of his beſt ſhips ſo roughly handled in this enterprize, returned to Gibraltar in order to refit; and M. de la Clue, the French commander of the ſquadron at Toulon, ſeized this opportunity of ſailing, in hopes of paſſing the Straits mouth unobſerved, his fleet conſiſting of twelve large ſhips, and three frigates. Admiral Boſcawen, who commanded fourteen ſail of the line, with two frigates, and as many fire-ſhips, having refitted his ſquadron, detached one frigate to cruiſe off Malaga, and another to hover between Eſtepona and Ceuta-point; with a view to keep a good look-out, and give timely notice in caſe the enemy ſhould approach. On the 17th day of Auguſt, at eight in the evening, the Gibraltar frigate made a ſignal that fourteen ſail appeared on the Barbary ſhore, to the eaſtward of Ceuta; upon which the Engliſh admiral immediately heaved up his anchors and went to ſea: at daylight he deſcried ſeven large ſhips lying to; but when the Engliſh ſquadron forebore to anſwer their ſignal, they diſcovered their miſtake, ſet all their ſails, and made the beſt of their way. This was the greater part of the French ſquadron commanded by M. de la Clue, from whom five of his large ſhips and 3 frigates had ſeparated in the night. Even now, perhaps, he might have eſcaped, had he not been obliged to wait for the Souveraine, which was a heavy ſailer. At noon the wind, which had blown a freſh gale, died away, and although admiral Boſcawen had made ſignal to chaſe, and engage in a line of battle a-head, it was not till half an hour after two that ſome of his headmoſt ſhips could cloſe with the rear of the enemy; which, though greatly out-numbered, fought with uncommon bravery. The Engliſh admiral, without waiting to return the fire of the ſternmoſt, which he received as he paſſed, uſed all his endeavours to come up with the Ocean, which M. de la Clue commanded in perſon; and about four o'clock in the afternoon, running athwart her hawſe, poured into her a furious broadſide; thus the engagement began with equal vigour on both ſides. This diſpute, however, was of ſhort duration. In about half an hour admiral Boſcawen's mizen-maſt and topſail-yards were ſhot away; and the enemy hoiſted all the ſail they could carry. Mr Boſcawen having ſhifted his flag from the Namur to the Newark, joined ſome other ſhips in attacking the Centaur, of 74 guns, which, being thus overpowered, was obliged to ſurrender. The Britiſh admiral purſued them all night, during which the Souveraine, and the Guerrier, altered their courſe, and deſerted their commander. At day-break, M. de la Clue, whoſe left leg had been broke in the engagement, perceiving the Engliſh ſquadron crowding all their ſails to come up with him, and finding himſelf on the coaſt of Portugal, determined to burn his ſhips, rather than they ſhould fall into the hands of the victors. The Ocean was run aſhore two leagues from Lagos, near the fort of Almadana, the commander of which fired three ſhot at the Engliſh; another captain of the French ſquadron followed the example of his commander, and both endeavoured to diſembark their men, but the ſea being rough, this proved a very tedious and difficult attempt. The captains of the Temeraire and Modeſte, inſtead of deſtroying their ſhips, anchored as near as they could to the forts Xavier and Lagres, in hopes of enjoying their protection; but in this hope they were diſappointed. M. de la Clue had been landed, and the command of the Ocean was left to the count de Carne, who, having received one broadſide from the America, ſtruc his colours, and the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of this noble prize, the beſt ſhip in the French navy, mounted with 80 cannon. Captain Bently, of the Warſpight, who had remarkably ſignalized himſelf by his courage during the action of the preceding day, attacked the Temeraire, of 74 guns, and brought her off with little damage. Vice-admiral Broderick, the ſecond in command, advancing with his diviſion, burned the Redoubtable, of 74 guns, which was bulged, and abandoned by her men and officers; but they made prize of the Modeſte, carrying 64 guns, which had not been much injured in the engagement. This victory was obtained by the Engliſh admiral at a very ſmall expence of men; the whole number of the killed and wounded not exceeding 250 on board of the Britiſh ſquadron, though the carnage among the enemy muſt have been much more conſiderable, as M. de la Clue, in his letter to the French embaſſador at Liſbon, owned that on board of his own ſhip, the Ocean, 100 men were killed on the ſpot, and 70 dangerouſly wounded: but the moſt ſevere circumſtance of this diſaſter was the loſs of four capital ſhips, two of which were deſtroyed, and the other two brought in triumph to England, to be numbered among the beſt bottoms of the Britiſh navy. What augmented the good fortune of the victors, was, that not one officer loſt his life in the engagement. Captain Bently, whom the admiral diſpatched to England with the tidings of his ſucceſs, met with a gracious reception from the king, who knighted him for his gallantry.

As we propoſe to throw together all the naval tranſactions of the year, eſpecially thoſe that happened in the European ſeas, that they may be comprehended as it were in one view, we muſt now, without regard to time, poſtpone many previous events of importance, and record the laſt action by ſea that in the courſe of this year diſtinguiſhed the flag of Great-Britain. The court of Verſailles, in order to embarrace the Britiſh miniſtry, and divert the attention from all external expeditions, had in the winter projected a plan for invading ſome part of the Britiſh dominions; and in the beginning of the year had actually begun to make preparations on different parts of the coaſt for carrying this deſign into execution. Even as far bac as the latter end of May, meſſages from the king to both houſes of parliament were delivered by the earl of Holderneſſe and mr. Pitt, the two ſecretaries of ſtate, ſignifying that his majeſty had received advices of preparations making by the French court, with a deſign to invade Great-Britain: that though perſuaded, by the univerſal zeal and affection of his people, any ſuch attempt muſt under the bleſſing of God, end in the deſtruction of thoſe who engaged in it: yet he apprehended he ſhould not act conſiſtent with

that paternal care and concern which he had always ſhown for the ſafety and preſervation of his ſubjects, if he omitted any means in his power which might be neceſſary for their defence; he therefore acquainted the parliament with his having received repeated intelligence of the enemy's preparations, to the end that his majeſty might, if he ſhould think proper, in purſuance of the late act of parliament, cauſe the militia, or ſuch part thereof as ſhould be neceſſary, to be drawn out and embodied, in order to march as occaſion ſhould require. Theſe meſſages were no ſooner read, than each houſe ſeparately reſolved to preſent an addreſs, thanking his majeſty for having communicated this intelligence; aſſuring him that they would, with their lives and fortunes, ſupport him againſt all attempts whatever: that, warmed with affection and zeal for his perſon and government, and animated by indignation at the daring deſigns of an enemy whoſe fleet had hitherto ſhunned the terror of the Britiſh navy, they would chearfully exert their utmoſt effort to repel all inſults, and effectually enable their ſovereign not only to diſappoint the attemps of France, but, by the bleſſing of God, turn them to their own confuſion. The commons at the ſame time reſolved upon another addreſs, deſiring his majeſty would give directions to his lieutenants of the ſeveral counties, ridings, and places within South-Britain, to uſe the utmoſt diligence and attention in executing the ſeveral acts of parliament made for the better ordering the militia.

Theſe and other precautionary ſteps were accordingly taken; but the adminiſtration wiſely placed their chief dependence upon the ſtrength of the navy, part of which was ſo divided and ſtationed, as to bloc up all the harbours of France in which the enemy were known to make any naval armament of conſequence. We have ſeen in what manner rear-admiral Rodney viſited the town and harbour of Havre-de-Grace, and ſcoured that part of the coaſt in ſucceſſive cruiſes: we have alſo recorded the expedition and victory of admiral Boſcawen over the ſquadron of La Clue, which was equipped at Toulon, with a deſign to aſſiſt in the projected invaſion. Notwithſtanding this diſaſter, the French miniſtry perſiſted in their deſign; towards the execution of which they had prepared another conſiderable fleet, in the harbours of Rochefort, Breſt, and Port-Louis, to be commanded by M. de Conflans, and re-enforced by a conſiderable body of troops, which were actually aſſembled under Duc d'Aiguillon, at Vannes, in Lower Bretagne. Flat-bottomed boats and tranſports to be uſed in this expedition were prepared in different ports on the coaſt of France; and a ſmall ſquadron was equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of an enterprizing adventurer, called Thurot, who had, in the courſe of the preceding year ſignaliſed his courage and conduct in a large privateer called the Belleiſle, which had ſcoured the North ſeas, taken a number of ſhips, and at one time maintained an obſtinate battle againſt two Engliſh frigates, which were obliged to deſiſt, after having received conſiderable damage. This man's name became a terror to the merchants of Great-Britain; for his valour was not more remarkable in battle than his conduct in eluding the purſuit of the Britiſh cruiſers, who were ſucceſſively detached in queſt of him, through every part of the German ocean and North ſea, as far as the iſlands of Orkney. It muſt be likewiſe owned, for the honour of human nature, that this bold mariner, though deſtitute of the advantages of birth and education, was remarkably diſtinguiſhed by his generoſity and compaſſion to thoſe who had the misfortune to fall into his power; and that his deportment in every reſpect entitled him to a much more honourable rank in the ſervice of his country. The court of Verſailles were not inſenſible of his merit. He obtained a commiſſion from the French king, and was veſted with the command of the ſmall armament now fitting out in the harbour of Dunkirk. The Britiſh government being appriſed of all theſe particulars, took ſuch meaſures to defeat the purpoſed invaſion as muſt have conveyed a very high idea of the power of Great-Britain to thoſe who conſidered, that, excluſive of the force oppoſed to this deſign, they at the ſame time carried on the moſt vigorous and important operations of war in Germany, America, the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies. Thurot's armament at Dunkirk was watched by an Engliſh ſquadron in the Downs, commanded by commodore Boys; the port of Havre was guarded by rear-admiral Rodney; mr. Boſcawen had been ſtationed off Toulon, and the coaſt of Vannes was ſcoured by a ſmall ſquadron detached from ſir Edward Hawke, who had during the ſummer blocked up the harbour of Breſt, where Conflans lay with his fleet, in order to be joined by the other diviſions of the armament. Theſe different ſquadrons of the Britiſh navy were connected by a chain of ſeparate cruiſers; ſo that the whole coaſt of France, from Dunkirk to the extremity of Bretagne, was diſtreſſed by an actual blockade.

The French miniſtry being thus hampered, forbore their attempt upon Britain; and the projected invaſion ſeemed to hang in ſuſpence till the month of Auguſt, in the beginning of which their army in Germany was defeated at Minden. Their deſigns in that country being baffled by this diſaſter, they ſeemed to convert their chief attention to their ſea-armament; the preparations were reſumed with redoubled vigour; and even after the defeat of La Clue, they reſolved to try their fortune in a deſcent. They now propoſed to diſembark a body of troops in Ireland. Thurot received orders to ſail from Dunkirk with the firſt opportunity, and ſhape his courſe round the northern parts of Scotland, that he might alarm the coaſt of Ireland, and make a diverſion from that part where Conflans intended to effectuate the diſembarkation of his forces. The tranſports and ſhips of war were aſſembled at Breſt and Rochefort, having on board a train of artillery, with ſaddles, and other accoutrements for cavalry, to be mounted in Ireland; and a body of French troops, including part of the Iriſh brigade, was kept in readineſs to embark. The execution of this ſcheme was, however, prevented by the vigilance of ſir Edward Hawke, who blocked up the harbour of Breſt with a fleet of 23 capital ſhips; while another ſquadron of ſmaller ſhips and frigates, under the command of captain Duff, continued to cruiſe along the French coaſt, from port L'Orient, in Bretagne, to the point of St. Gilles in Poitou. At length, however, in the beginning of November, the Britiſh ſquadron, commanded by ſir Edward Hawke, ſir Charles Hardy, and rear-admiral Geary, were driven from the coaſt of France by ſtreſs of weather, and on the 9th day of the month anchored in Torbay. The French admiral, Conflans, ſnatched this opportunity of ſailing from Breſt, with 21 ſail of the line and four frigates, in hopes of being able to deſtroy the Engliſh ſquadron commanded by capt. Duff, before the large fleet could return from the coaſt of England. Sir Edward Hawke having received intelligence that the French fleet had ſailed from Breſt, immediately ſtood to ſea, in order to purſue them; and in the mean time, the government iſſued orders for guarding all thoſe parts of the coaſt that were thought the moſt expoſed to a deſcent. The land-forces were put in motion, and quartered along the ſhore of Kent and Suſſex: all the ſhips of war in the different harbours, even thoſe that had juſt arrived from America, were ordered to put to ſea, and every ſtep was taken to diſconcert the deſigns of the enemy.

While theſe meaſures were taken with equal vigour and deliberation, ſir Edward Hawke ſteered his courſe directly for Quiberon, on the coaſt of Bretagne, which he ſuppoſed would be the rendezvous of the French ſquadron: but, notwithſtanding his utmoſt efforts, he was driven by a hard gale conſiderably to the weſtward, where he was joined by two frigates, the Maidſtone and Coventry. Theſe he directed to keep a-head of the ſquadron. The weather growing more moderate, the former made a ſignal for ſeeing a fleet, on the 20th day of November, at half an hour paſt eight o'clock in the morning, and in an hour afterwards diſcovered them to be the enemy's ſquadron. They were at that time in chaſe of captain Duff's ſquadron, which now joined the large fleet, after having run ſome riſque of being taken. Sir Edward Hawke, who, when the Maidſtone gave the firſt notice, had formed the line a-breaſt, now perceiving that the French admiral endeavoured to eſcape with all the ſail he could carry, threw out a ſignal for ſeven of his ſhips that were neareſt the enemy to chaſe, and endeavoured to detain them, until they could be re-enforced by the reſt of the ſquadron, which were ordered to form into a line of battle a-head, as they had chaſed, that no time might be loſt in the purſuit. Conſidering the roughneſs of the weather, which was extremely tempeſtuous; the nature of the coaſt, which is in this place rendered very hazardous by a great number of ſand-banks, ſhoals, rocs, and iſlands, as entirely unknown to the Britiſh ſailors, as they were familiar to the French navigators; the dangers of a ſhort day, dark night, and a lee-ſhore; it required extraordinary reſolution in the Engliſh admiral to attempt hoſtilities on this occaſion: but ſir Edward Hawke, ſteeled with the integrity and fortitude of his own heart, animated by a warm love for his country, and well acquainted with the importance of the ſtake on which the ſafety of that country in a great meaſure depended, was reſolved to run extraordinary riſques in his endeavours to fruſtrate at once a boaſted ſcheme projected for the annoyance of his fellow-ſubjects.

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Edwin Pine

Goldar sculp.

The Gallant Action off the Isle of Man where the Brave Capt.n Elliot
Defeated and took the Marshall Belleisle, Commanded by the Famous Thurot
& two other French Ships of War, the 28. of February 1760.

Publ.d as the Act directs Sept.r 30. 1786.

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With reſpect to his ſhips of the line, he had but the advantage of one in point of number, and no ſuperiority in men or metal, conſequently, M. de Conflans might have hazarded a fair battle on the open ſea, without any imputation of temerity: but he thought proper to play a more artful game, though it did not ſucceed according to his expectation. He kept his fleet in a body, and retired cloſe in ſhore, with a view to draw the Engliſh ſquadron among the ſhoals and iſlands, on which he hoped they would pay dear for their raſhneſs and impetuoſity, while he and his officers, who were perfectly acquainted with the navigation could either ſtay, and take advantage of the diſaſter, or, if hard preſſed, retire through channels unknown to the Britiſh pilots. At half an hour after two the van of the Engliſh fleet began the engagement with the rear of the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Belleiſle. Every ſhip as ſhe advanced poured in a broadſide on the ſternmoſt of the French, and bore down upon their van, leaving the rear to thoſe that came after. Sir Edward Hawke, in the Royal George, of 110 guns, reſerved his fire in paſſing through the rear of the enemy, and ordered his maſter to bring him along-ſide of the French admiral, who commanded in perſon on board the Soleil Royal, a ſhip mounted with 80 cannon, and provided with a complement of 1200 men. When the pilot remonſtrated that he could not obey his command, without the moſt imminent riſque of running upon a ſhoal, the brave veteran replied, 'you have done your duty in ſhowing the danger; now you are to comply with my order, and lay me along-ſide the Soleil Royal.' His wiſh was gratified: the Royal George ranged up with the French admiral. The Theſée, another large ſhip of the enemy, running up between the two commanders, ſuſtained the fire that was reſerved for the Soleil Royal; but in returning the firſt broadſide foundered, in conſequence of the high ſea that entered her lower dec-ports, and filled her with water. Nothwithſtanding the boiſterous weather, a great number of ſhips on both ſides fought with equal fury and dubious ſucceſs, till about four in the afternoon, when the Formidable ſtruc her colours. The Superbe ſhared the fate of the Theſée in going to the bottom. The Hero hauled down her colours in token of ſubmiſſion, and dropped anchor; but the wind was ſo high, that no boat could be ſent to take poſſeſſion. By this time day-light began to fail, and the greater part of the French fleet eſcaped under cover of the darkneſs. Night approaching, the wind blowing with augmented violence on a lee-ſhore, and the Britiſh ſquadron being entangled among unknown ſhoals and iſlands, ſir Edward Hawke made the ſignal for anchoring to the weſtward of the ſmall iſland Dumet; and here the fleet remained all night in a very dangerous riding, alarmed by the fury of the ſtorm, and the inceſſant firing of guns of diſtreſs, without their knowing whether it proceeded from friend or enemy. The Soleil Royal had, under favour of the night, anchored alſo in the midſt of the Britiſh ſquadron; but at day-break M. de Conflans ordered her cable to be cut, and ſhe drove a-ſhore to the weſtward of Crozie. The Engliſh admiral immediately made ſignal to the Eſſex to ſlip cable, and purſue her; and, in obeying this order, ſhe ran unfortunately on a ſand-bank called Lefour, where the Reſolution, another ſhip of the Britiſh ſquadron, was already grounded. Here they were both irrecoverably loſt, in ſpite of all the aſſiſtance that could be given: but all their men and part of the ſtores, were ſaved, and the wrecs ſet on fire by order of the admiral. He likewiſe detached the Portland, Chatham, and Vengeance to deſtroy the Soleil Royal, which was burned by her own people, before the Engliſh ſhips could approach; but they arrived time enough to reduce the Hero to aſhes on the Lefour, where ſhe had been alſo ſtranded; and the Juſte, another of their great ſhips periſhed in the mouth of the Loire. The admiral perceiving ſeven large ſhips of the enemy riding at anchor between Point-Penvas and the mouth of the river Vilaine, made the ſignal to weigh, in order to attac them, but the fury of the ſtorm increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he was obliged to remain at anchor, and even order the top-gallant-maſts to be ſtruc. In the mean time, the French ſhips being lightened of their cannon, their officers took advantage of the flood, and a more moderate gale under the land, to enter the Vilaine, where they lay within half a mile of the entrance, protected by ſome occaſional batteries erected on the ſhore, and by two large frigates moored acroſs the mouth of the harbour. Thus they were effectually ſecured from any attempts of ſmall veſſels; and as for large ſhips, there was not water ſufficient to float them within fighting diſtance of the enemy. On the whole, this battle, in which a very inconſiderable number of lives was loſt, may be conſidered as one of the moſt perilous and important actions that ever happened in any war between the two nations; for it not only defeated the projected invaſion, which had hung menacing ſo long over the apprehenſions of Great-Britain; but it gave the finiſhing blow to the naval power of France, which was totally diſabled from undertaking any thing of conſequence in the ſequel[e]. By this time, indeed, Thurot had eſcaped from Dunkirk, and directed his courſe to the North-ſea, whither he was followed by commodore Boys, who nevertheleſs was diſappointed in his purſuit; but the fate of that enterprizing adventurer falls under the annals of the enſuing year, among the tranſactions of which it ſhall be recorded. As for ſir Edward Hawke, he continued cruiſing off the coaſt of Bretagne for a conſiderable time after the victory he had obtained, taking particular care to bloc up the mouth of the river Vilaine, that the ſeven French ſhips might not eſcape and join M. Conflans, who made ſhift to reach Rochefort with the ſhattered remains of his ſquadron. Indeed, this ſervice became ſuch a conſiderable object in the eyes of the Britiſh miniſtry, that a large fleet was maintained upon this coaſt, apparently for no other purpoſe, during a whole year, and, after all, the enemy eluded their vigilance. Sir Edward Hawke, having undergone a long and dangerous conflict with tempeſtuous weather, was at length recalled, and preſented to his ſovereign, who gratified him with a conſiderable penſion, for the courage and conduct he had ſo often and ſo long diſplayed in the ſervice of his country; and his extraordinary merit was afterwards honoured with the approbation of the parliament. The people of France were ſo diſpirited by the defeat of their army at Minden, and the diſaſter of their ſquadron at Lagos, that the miniſtry at Verſailles thought proper to conceal the extent of their laſt misfortune under a paliating detain publiſhed in the Gazette of Paris, as a letter from M. Conflans to the count de St. Florentine, ſecretary of the marine. In this partial miſrepreſentation their admiral was made to affirm, that the Britiſh fleet conſiſted of 40 ſhips of the line of battle, beſides frigates; that the Soleil Royal had obliged the Royal George to ſhare off; that the ſeven ſhips which retreated into the river Vilaine had received very little damage, and would be ſoon repaired; and that, by the junction of Bompart's ſquadron, he ſhould be ſoon able to give a good account of the Engliſh admiral. Theſe tumid aſſertions, ſo void of truth, are not to be imputed to an illiberal ſpirit of vain glory, ſo much as to a political deſign of extenuating the national calamity, and ſupporting the ſpirit of the people.

The alarm of the French invaſion, which was thus ſo happily fruſtrated, not only diſturbed the quiet of Great-Britain, but alſo diffuſed itſelf to the kingdom of Ireland, where it was productive of ſome public diſorder. In the latter end of October the two houſes of parliament, aſſembled at Dublin, received a formal meſſage from the duke of Bedford, lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, to the following effect: That, by a letter from the ſecretary of ſtate, written by his majeſty's expreſs command, it appeared that France, far from reſigning her plan of invaſion, on account of the diſaſter that befel her Toulon ſquadron, was more and more confirmed in her purpoſe, and even inſtigated by deſpair itſelf, to attempt at all hazards the only reſource ſhe ſeemed to have left for thwarting, by a diverſion at home, the meaſures of England abroad in proſecuting a war which hitherto opened in all parts of the world, ſo unfavourable a proſpect to the views of French ambition: that in caſe the body of French troops, amounting to 18,000 men, under the command of the duc d'Aiguillon, aſſembled at Vannes, where alſo a ſufficient number of tranſports was prepared, ſhould be able to elude the Britiſh ſquadron, Ireland would, in all probability, be one of their chief objects; his grace thought it, therefore, incumbent upon him, in a matter of ſuch high importance to the welfare of that kingdom, to communicate this intelligence to the Iriſh parliament. He told them his majeſty would make no doubt but that the zeal of his faithful proteſtant ſubjects in that kingdom had been already ſufficiently quickened by the repeated accounts received of the enemy's dangerous deſigns, and actual preparations

[e] During the war, the Engliſh had already taken and deſtroyed 27 French ſhips of the line, and 31 frigates: two of their great ſhips and four frigates periſhed; ſo that their whole loſs in that particular, amounted to 64; whereas the loſs of Great-Britain did not exceed ſeven ſail of the line, and five frigates. It may be eaſily conceived how the French marine, at firſt greatly inferior to the naval power of Britain, muſt have been affected by this dreadful balance to its prejudice.

made at a vaſt expence, in order to invade the ſeveral parts of the Britiſh dominions. He gave them to underſtand he had received his ſovereign's commands to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to animate and excite his loyal people of Ireland to exert their well-known zeal and ſpirit in ſupport of his majeſty's government, and in defence of all that was dear to them, by timely preparation to reſiſt and fruſtrate any attempts of the enemy to diſturb the quiet and ſhake the ſecurity of this kingdom: he, therefore in the ſtrongeſt manner, recommended it to them to manifeſt, upon this occaſion, that zeal for the preſent happy eſtabliſhment, and that affection for his majeſty's perſon and government, by which the parliament of that nation had been ſo often diſtinguiſhed. Immediately after this meſſage was communicated, the houſe of commons unanimouſly reſolved to preſent an addreſs to the lord-lieutenant, thanking his grace for the care and concern he had ſhown for the ſafety of Ireland in having imparted intelligence of ſo great importance; deſiring him to make uſe of ſuch means as ſhould appear to him the moſt effectual for the ſecurity and defence of the kingdom; and aſſuring him, that the houſe would make good whatever expence ſhould be neceſſarily incurred for that purpoſe. This intimation, and the ſteps that were taken in conſequence of it for the defence of Ireland, produced ſuch apprehenſions and diſtraction among the people of that kingdom, as had well nigh proved fatal to the public credit. In the firſt tranſports of popular fear, there was ſuch an extraordinary run upon the banks of Dublin, that ſeveral conſiderable bankers were obliged to ſtop payment; and the circulation was in danger of being ſuddenly ſtagnated, when the lord-lieutenant, the members of both houſes of parliament, the lord-mayor, aldermen, merchants, and principal traders of Dublin, engaged in an aſſociation to ſupport public credit, by taking the notes of bankers in payment: a reſolution which effectually anſwered the purpoſe intended.

Howſoever the court of Verſailles might have flattered itſelf that their invading army would in Ireland be joined by a great number of the natives, in all probability it would have been diſappointed in this hope, had their purpoſed deſcent even been carried into execution, for no ſigns of diſaffection to the reigning family appeared at this juncture. On the contrary, the wealthy individuals of the Romiſh perſuaſion offered to accommodate the government with large ſums of money, in caſe of neceſſity, to ſupport the preſent eſtabliſhment againſt all its enemies; and the Roman catholics of the city of Cork, in a body, preſented an addreſs to the lord-lieutenant, expreſſing their loyalty in the warmeſt terms of aſſurance. After having congratulated his grace on the unparalleled ſucceſſes which had attended his majeſty's arms, and expreſſed their ſenſe of the king's paternal tenderneſs for his kingdom of Ireland, they acknowledged, with the deepeſt ſenſe of gratitude, that protection and indulgence they had enjoyed under his majeſty's mild and auſpicious reign. They profeſſed the warmeſt indignation at the threatened invaſion of the kingdom, by an enemy, who, grown deſperate from repeated defeats, might poſſibly make that attempt as a laſt effort, vainly flattered with the imaginary hope of aſſiſtance in Ireland, from the former attachments of their deluded predeceſſors. They aſſured his grace, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that ſuch ſchemes were altogether inconſiſtent with their principles and intentions; that they would, to the utmoſt exertion of their abilities, with their lives and fortunes, join in the defence and ſupport of his majeſty's royal perſon and government againſt all invaders whatſoever: that they ſhould be always ready to concur in ſuch meaſures, and to act ſuch parts in defence of the kingdom, in common with the reſt of his majeſty's ſubjects, as his grace in his great wiſdom ſhould be pleaſed to appoint; and think themſelves particularly happy to be under the direction and command of ſo known an aſſertor of liberty, ſuch an important and diſtinguiſhed governor. Finally, they expreſſed the moſt earneſt wiſh, that his majeſty's arms might be crowned with ſuch a continuance of ſucceſs as ſhould enable him to defeat the devices of all his enemies, and obtain a ſpeedy and honourable peace. This cordial addreſs, which was tranſmitted to the earl of Shannon, and by him preſented to the duke of Bedford, muſt have been very agreeable to the government at ſuch a critical conjuncture.

Although no traces of diſaffection to his majeſty's family appeared on this trying occaſion, it muſt nevertheleſs be acknowledged that a ſpirit of diſſatisfaction broke out with extraordinary violence among the populace of Dublin. The preſent lord-lieutenant was not remarkably popular in his adminiſtration. He had beſtowed one place of conſiderable importance upon a gentleman whoſe perſon was obnoxious to many people in that kingdom, and perhaps failed in that affability and condeſcenſion which a free and ferocious nation expects to find in the character of him to whoſe rule they are ſubjected. Whether the offence taken at his deportment had created enemies to his perſon, or the nation in general began to entertain doubts and jealouſies of the government's deſigns; certain it is, great pains were taken to propogate a belief among the lower ſort of people, that an union would ſoon be effected between Great-Britain and Ireland; in which caſe this laſt kingdom would be deprived of its parliament and independency, and be ſubjected to the ſame taxes that are levied upon the people of England. This notion inflamed the populace to ſuch a degree, that they aſſembled in a prodigious multitude, broke into the houſe of lords, inſulted the peers, ſeated an old woman on the throne, and ſearched for the journals, which, had they been found, they would have committed to the flames. Not content with this outrage, they compelled the members of both houſes whom they met in the ſtreets to take an oath that they would never conſent to ſuch an union, or give any vote contrary to the true intereſt of Ireland. Divers coaches belonging to obnoxious perſons were deſtroyed, and their horſes killed; and a gibbet was erected for one gentleman in particular, who narrowly eſcaped the ungovernable rage of thoſe riotous inſurgents. A body of horſe and infantry were drawn out on this occaſion, in order to over-awe the multitude, which at night diſperſed of itſelf. Next day addreſſes to the lord-lieutenant were agreed to by both houſes of parliament, and a committee of enquiry appointed, that the ringleaders of the tumult might be diſcovered, and brought to condign puniſhment.

When the miniſtry of England received the firſt advice that M. Thurot had eſcaped from Dunkirk with a ſmall ſquadron of armed ſhips, having on board a body of land-troops, deſigned for a private expedition on the coaſt of Scotland or Ireland, expreſſes were immediately diſpatched to the commanding officers of the forces in North-Britain, with orders to put the forts along the coaſt of that kingdom, in the beſt poſture of defence; and to hold every thing in readineſs to repel the enemy, in caſe they ſhould attempt a deſcent. In conſequence of theſe inſtructions, beacons were erected for the immediate communication of intelligence; places of rendezvous appointed for the regular troops and militia; and ſtrict orders iſſued that no officer ſhould abſent himſelf from his duty, on any pretence whatever. The greateſt encomium that can be given to the character of this partizan, is on account of the alarm which the ſailing of his puny armament ſpread through the whole extent of ſuch a powerful kingdom, whoſe fleets covered the ocean. Perhaps Thurot's career would have been ſooner ſtopped, had commodore Boys been victualled for a longer cruiſe; but this commander was obliged to put into Leith for a ſupply of proviſions, at the very time when Thurot was ſeen hovering on the coaſt near Aberdeen; and before the Engliſh ſquadron was provided for a proſecution of the cruiſe, the other had taken ſhelter at Gottenburg, in Sweden.

Having finiſhed the detail of the actions achieved in the European ſeas by the naval force of Great-Britain within the compaſs of the preſent year, we ſhall now proceed to record the exploits of the Britiſh arms within the tropicks, and particularly the expedition to Martinique and Guadaloupe, which is ſaid to have ſucceeded even beyond the expectation of the miniſtry. A plan had been formed for improving the ſucceſs of the preceding year in North-America, by carrying the Britiſh arms up the river St. Laurence, and beſieging Quebeck, the capital of Canada. The armament employed againſt the French iſlands of Martinique and Guadaloupe conſtituted part of this deſign, inaſmuch as the troops embarked on that expedition were, in caſe of a miſcarriage at Martinique, intended to re-enforce the Britiſh army in North-America, which was juſtly conſidered as the chief ſeat of the war. What hope of ſucceſs the adminiſtration conceived from an attempt upon Martinique may be gueſſed from the ſtate of that iſland, as it appeared in a memorial preſented by the French king's lieutenants of its ſeveral diſtricts, to the general of the French iſlands, in conſequence of an order iſſued in November, for holding them in readineſs to march and defend the iſland from the Engliſh, of whoſe deſign they were appriſed. They repreſented, that the trade with the Dutch was become their ſole dependence; that they could expect no ſuccour from Europe, by which they had been abandoned ever ſince the commencement of the war; that the traders veſted with the privilege of traffic-

ing among them had abuſed the intention of the general, and, inſtead of being of ſervice to the colony, had fixed an arbitrary price for all the proviſions which they brought in, as well as for the commodities which they exported; of conſequence, the former was valued at as high a price as their avarice could exact, and the latter ſunk as low in value as their own ſelfiſh hearts could conceive: that the colony for two months had been deſtitute of all kinds of proviſions; the commodities of the planters lay upon their hands; and their negroes were in danger of periſhing through hunger; a circumſtance that excited the apprehenſion of the moſt dreadful conſequences; as to ſlaves, half-ſtarved, all kinds of bondage were equal; and people reduced to ſuch a ſituation were often driven to deſpair, ſeeking in anarchy and confuſion a remedy from the evils by which they were oppreſſed: that the beſt provided of the inhabitants laboured under the want of the common neceſſaries of life; and others had not ſo much as a grain of ſalt in their houſes: that there was an irreparable ſcarcity of ſlaves to cultivate their land; and the planters were reduced to the neceſſity of killing their cattle to ſupport the lives of thoſe who remained alive; ſo that the mills were no longer worked, and the inhabitants conſumed beforehand what ought to be reſerved for their ſuſtenance, in caſe of being blocked up by the enemy. They deſired, therefore, that the general would ſuppreſs the permiſſions granted to particular merchants, and admit neutral veſſels freely into their ports, that they might trade with the coloniſts unmoleſted and unreſtrained. They obſerved, that the citadel of Port-Royal ſeemed the principal object on which the ſafety and defence of the country depended; as the loſs of it would be neceſſarily attended with the reduction of the whole iſland: they, therefore, adviſed that this fort ſhould be properly provided with every thing neceſſary for its ſafety and defence; and that magazines of proviſion as well as ammunition ſhould be eſtabliſhed in different quarters of the iſland. This remonſtrance plainly proves that the iſland was wholly unprepared to repel the meditated invaſion, and juſtifies the plan adopted by the miniſtry of Great-Britain. The regular troops of Martinique conſiſted of about twenty independent companies greatly defective in point of number. The militia was compoſed of burghers and planters diſtreſſed and diſſatisfied, mingled with a parcel of wretched negroe ſlaves, groaning under the moſt intolerable miſery, from whence they could have no hope of deliverance but by a ſpeedy change of maſters; their magazines were empty, and their fortifications out of repair.

Such was the ſtate of the Martinique, when the inhabitants every day expected a viſit from the Britiſh armament, whoſe progreſs we ſhall now relate. On the 12th day of November, in the preceding year, captain Hughes ſailed from St. Helen's, with eight ſail of the line, one frigate, four bomb-ketches, and a fleet of tranſports, having on board ſix regiments of infantry, and a detachment of artillery, beſides 800 marines diſtributed among the ſhips of war, this whole force being under the command of major-general Hopſon, an old experienced officer, aſſiſted by major-general Barrington, the colonels Armiger and Haldane, the lieutenant-colonels Trapaud and Clavering, acting in capacity of brigadiers. After a voyage of ſeven weeks and three days, the fleet arrived at Barbadoes and anchored in Carliſle-bay, where they joined commodore Moore, appointed by his majeſty to command the united ſquadrons, amounting to 10 ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and bomb-ketches. Ten days were employed in ſupplying the fleet with wood and water, in waiting for the hoſpital ſhip, in reviews, reembarkations, councils of war, aſſemblies of the council belonging to the iſland, in iſſuing proclamations, and beating up for volunteers. At length, every great ſhip being re-enforced with 40 negroes, to be employed in drawing the artillery; and the troops, which did not exceed 5800 men, being joined by 200 highlanders, belonging to the ſecond battalion of the regiment commanded by lord John Murray in North-America, who were brought as recruits from Scotland, under convoy of the ſhip Ludlow-Caſtle, the whole armament ſailed from Carliſle-bay on the 13th day of January: but by this time the troops, unaccuſtomed to a hot climate, were conſiderably weakened and reduced by fevers, diarrhœas, the ſcurvy and the ſmall-pox; which laſt diſeaſe had unhappily broke out amongſt the tranſports. Next morning the ſquadron diſcovered the iſland of Martinique, which was the place of its deſtination. The chief fortification of Martinique was the citadel of Port-Royal, a regular fort, garriſoned by four companies that did not exceed the number of 150 men, 36 bombardiers, 80 Swiſs, and 14 officers, One hundred barrels of beef conſtituted their whole ſtore of proviſion; and they were deſtitute of all other neceſſaries. They were almoſt wholly unprovided with water in the ciſterns, with ſpare carriages for their cannon, match, wadding, and langrage: they had but a ſmall ſtoc of other ammunition, and the walls were in many parts decayed. The only preparations they had made for receiving the Engliſh were ſome paltry entrenchments thrown up at St. Pierre, and a place called Caſdenavires, where they imagined the deſcent would probably be attempted. On the 15th day of the month the Britiſh ſquadron entered the great bay of Port-Royal, ſome of the ſhips being expoſed to the ſhot of a battery erected on the iſle de Ranieres, a little iſland about half way up the bay. At their firſt appearance, the Floriſſent of 74 guns, which had been ſo roughly handled by captain Tyrrel, in the Buckingham, then lying under the guns of Fort-Negro, along with two frigates, turned up under the citadel, and came to an anchor in the Carenage, behind the fortification. One frigate, called the Veſtal, under favour of the night, made her eſcape through the tranſports, and directed her courſe for Europe; where ſhe was taken by captain Hood, as we have already related. Next day three ſhips of the line were ordered to attac Fort-Negro, a battery at the diſtance of three miles from the citadel, which being mounted with ſeven guns only, was ſoon ſilenced, and immediately poſſeſſed by a detachment of marines and ſailors; who being landed in flat-bottomed boats, clambered up the roc, and entered through the embraſures with their bayonets fixed; here, however, they met with no reſiſtance. The enemy had abandoned the fort with precipitation. The Britiſh colours were immediately hoiſted, and ſentinels of marines poſted upon the parapet. The next care was to ſpike and diſable the cannon, break the carriages, and deſtroy the powder which they found in the magazine: nevertheleſs, the detachment was ordered to keep poſſeſſion of the battery. This ſervice being ſucceſsfully performed, three ſhips were ſent to reduce the other battery at Caſdenavires, which conſiſted only of four guns, and theſe were ſoon rendered unſerviceable. The French troops, re-enforced with militia which had been detached from the citadel to oppoſe the diſembarkation, perceiving the whole Britiſh ſquadron, and all the tranſports, already within the bay, and Fort-Negro occupied by the marines, retired to Port-Royal, leaving the beach open; ſo that the Engliſh troops were landed without oppoſition, and, being formed, advanced into the country towards Fort-Negro, in the neighbourhood of which they lay all night upon their arms; while the fleet, which had been galled by bomb-ſhells from the citadel, ſhifted their ſtation, and ſtood further up the bay. By ten next day the Engliſh officers had brought up ſome field-pieces to an eminence, and ſcoured the woods, from whence the troops had been greatly annoyed by the ſmall ſhot of the enemy during the beſt part of the night, and all that morning. At noon the Britiſh forces advanced in order towards the hill that overlooked the town and citadel of Port-Royal, and ſuſtained a troubleſome fire from enemies they could not ſee; for the French malitia were entirely covered by the woods and buſhes. This eminence, called the Morne Tortueſon, though the moſt important poſt of the whole iſland, was neglected by the general of Martinique, who had reſolved to blow up the fortifications of the citadel: but luckily for the iſlanders he had not prepared the materials for this operation, which muſt have been attended with the immediate deſtruction of the capital, and indeed of the whole country. Some of the inferior officers, knowing the importance of the Morne Tortueſon, reſolved to defend that poſt with a body of the militia, which was re-enforced by the garriſons of Fort-Negro and Caſdenavires, as well as by ſome ſoldiers detached from the Floriſſant: but, notwithſtanding all their endeavours, as they were entirely unprovided with cannon, extremely defective in point of diſcipline, diſpirited by the puſillanimity of their governor, and in a great meaſure diſconcerted by the general conſternation that prevailed among the inhabitants, in all probability they could not have withſtood a ſpirited and well-conducted attac by regular forces. About two o'clock general Hopſon thought proper to deſiſt from his attempt. He gave the commodore to underſtand that he could not maintain his ground, unleſs the ſquadron would ſupply him with heavy cannon, landed near the town of Port-Royal, at a ſavannah where the boats muſt have been greatly expoſed to the fire of the enemy, or aſſiſt him in attacking the citadel by ſea, while

he ſhould make his approaches by land. Both theſe expedients[f] being deemed impracticable by a council of war, the troops were recalled from their advanced poſts, and reembarked in the evening, without any conſiderable moleſtation from the enemy. Their attempt on the Morne Tortueſon had coſt them ſeveral men, including two officers killed or wounded in the attac; and in revenge for this loſs, they burned the ſugar-canes, and deſolated the country in their retreat. The inhabitants of Martinique could hardly credit the teſtimony of their own ſenſes, when they ſaw themſelves thus delivered from all their fears, at a time when they were overwhelmed with terror and confuſion; when the principal individuals among them had reſigned all thought of further reſiſtance, and were actually aſſembled at the public hall in Port-Royal, to ſend deputies to the Engliſh general, with propoſals of capitulation and ſurrender.

The majority of the Britiſh officers, who conſtitutes a council of war held for this purpoſe[g], having given their opinion, that it might be for his majeſty's ſervice to make an attac upon St. Pierre, the fleet proceeded to that part of the iſland, and entered the bay on the 19th. The commodore told the general, that he made no doubt of being able to reduce the town of St. Pierre; but as the ſhips might be diſabled in the attac, ſo as not to be in a condition to proceed immediately on any material ſervice; as the troops might be reduced in their numbers, ſo as to be incapable of future attacs; and as the reduction of the iſland of Guadaloupe would be of great benefit to the ſugar colonies, mr. Moore propoſed that the armament ſhould immediately proceed to that iſland: and the general agreed to the propoſal. The reaſons produced on this occaſion are, we apprehend, ſuch as may be urged againſt every operation of war. Certain it is, no conqueſt can be attempted, either by ſea or land, without expoſing the ſhips and troops to a poſſibility of being diſabled and diminiſhed; and the ſame poſſibility militated as ſtrongly againſt an attempt upon Guadaloupe, as it could poſſibly diſcourage the attac of St. Pierre. Beſides, Martinique was an object of greater importance[h] than Guadaloupe; as being the principal place poſſeſſed by the French in thoſe ſeas, and that to which the operations of the armament were expreſly limited by the inſtructions received from the miniſtry. St. Pierre was a place of conſiderable commerce; and at that very juncture above 40 ſail of merchant-ſhips lay at anchor in the bay. The town was defended by a citadel regularly fortified, but at that time poorly garriſoned; and ſo ſituated as to be acceſſible to the fire of the whole ſquadron: for the ſhore was bold, and the water ſufficient to float any ſhip of the line. Before the reſolution of proceeding to Guadaloupe was taken, the commodore had ordered the bay to be ſounded, and directed the Rippon to advance, and ſilence a battery ſituated a mile and a half to the northward of St. Pierre. Accordingly, captain Jekyll, who commanded that ſhip, ſtood in, and anchored cloſe to the ſhore, attacked it with ſuch impetuoſity, that in a few minutes it was abandoned. At the ſame time the Rippon was expoſed to the fire of three other batteries, from which ſhe received conſiderable damage both in her hull and rigging; and was in great danger of running a-ground, when orders were given to tow her out of danger.

The whole armament having abandoned the deſign on Martinique, directed their courſe to Guadaloupe, another of the Caribbee iſlands, lying at the diſtance of 30 leagues to the weſtward, about 15 leagues in length, and 12 in breadth; divided into two parts by a ſmall channel, which the inhabitants croſs in a ferry-boat. The weſtern diviſion is known by the name of Baſſeterre; and here the metropolis ſtands, defended by the citadel, and other fortifications. The eaſtern part, called Grandterre, is deſtitute of freſh water, which abounds in the other diviſion, and is defended by Fort-Louis, with a redoubt which commands the road in the diſtrict of Goſier. The gut, or canal, that ſeparates the two parts is diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the Salt River, having a road or bay at each end; namely, the great Cul de Sac, and the ſmall Cul de Sac. Guadaloupe is encumbered with high mountains and precipices, to which the inhabitants uſed to convey their valuable effects in time of danger: but here are alſo beautiful plains watered by brooks and rivers, which fertiliſe the ſoil, enabling it to produce a great quantity of ſugar, cotton, indigo, tobacco, and caſſia; beſides plenty of rice, potatoes, all kinds of pulſe, and fruit peculiar to the iſland. The country is populous and flouriſhing, and the government comprehends two ſmaller iſlands, called All-Saints, and Deſeada, which appear at a ſmall diſtance from the coaſt, on the eaſtern ſide of the iſland. The Britiſh ſquadron having arrived at Baſſaterre, it was reſolved to make a general attac by ſea upon the citadel, the town, and other batteries by which it was defended. A diſpoſition being made for this purpoſe, the large ſhips took their reſpective ſtations next morning, which was the 23d day of January. At nine, the Lion, commanded by captain Trelawny, began the engagement againſt a battery of nine guns; and the reſt of the fleet continued to place themſelves a-breaſt of the other batteries and the citadel, which mounted 46 cannon, beſides two mortars. The action in a little time became general, and was maintained on both ſides for ſeveral hours with great vivacity, while the commodore, who had ſhifted his pendant into the Woolwich frigate, kept aloof without gun-ſhot, that he might be the more diſengaged to view the ſtate of the battle[i], and give his orders with the greater deliberation. This expedient of an admiral's removing his flag, and retiring from the action while his own ſhip is engaged, however conſonant to reaſon, we do not remember to have ſeen practiſed upon any other occaſion, except in one inſtance, at Carthagena, where ſir Chaloner Ogle quitted his own ſhip, when ſhe was ordered to ſtand in, and cannonade the fort of Boca-Chica. In this preſent attac, all the ſea commanders behaved with extraordinary ſpirit and reſolution, particularly the captains Leſlie, Burnet, Gayton, Jekyll, Trelawny, and Shuldam; who, in the hotteſt tumult of the action, diſtinguiſhed themſelves equally by their courage, impetuoſity, and deliberation. About five in the afternoon the fire of the citadel ſlackened. The Burford and Berwick were driven out to ſea; ſo that captain Shulham, in the Panther was unſuſtained; and two batteries played upon the Rippon, captain Jekyll, who, by two in the afternoon, ſilenced the guns of one, called the Morne-rouge; but at the ſame time could not prevent his ſhip from running a-ground. The enemy perceiving her diſaſter, aſſembled in great numbers on the hill, and lined the trenches, from whence they poured in a ſevere fire of muſquetry. The militia afterwards brought up a cannon of 18 pound ball, and for two hours raked her fore and aft with conſiderable effect: nevertheleſs, captain Jekyll returned the fire with equal courage and perſeverance, though his people dropped on every ſide, until his grape-ſhot and wadding was expended, and all his rigging cut to pieces; to crown his misfortune, a box, containing 900 cartridges blew up on the poop, and ſet the ſhip on fire; which, however, was ſoon extinguiſhed. In the mean time, the captain threw out a ſignal of diſtreſs[k]; to which no regard was paid, till captain Leſlie, of the Briſtol, coming from ſea, and obſerving his ſituation, ran in between the Rippon and the battery; and engaged with ſuch impetuoſity, as made an immediate diverſion in favour of captain Jekyll, whoſe ſhip remained a-ground, notwithſtanding all the aſſiſtance that could be given, till midnight, when ſhe floated, and eſcaped from the very jaws of deſtruction. At ſeven in the evening, all the other large ſhips having ſilenced the guns to which they had been reſpectively oppoſed, joined the reſt of the fleet. The four bombs being anchored near the ſhore, began to ply the town with ſhells and carcaſſes; ſo that in a little time the houſes were in flames, the magazines of gunpowder blew up with the moſt terrible exploſion; and about 10 o'clock the whole place blazed out in one general conflagration. Next day, at two in the afternoon, the fleet came to an anchor in the road of Baſſeterre, where they found the hulls of divers ſhips which the enemy had ſet on fire at their approach: ſeveral ſhips turned out, and en-

[f] The commodore offered to land the cannon on the other ſide of Point-Negro, at a place equally near the road from the Engliſh army to Port-Royal, and even cauſe them to be drawn up by ſeamen, without giving the troops the leaſt trouble. But this offer was not accepted. General Hopſon afterwards declared that he did not underſtand mr. Moore's meſſage in the ſenſe which it was meant to imply.

[g] The commodore did not attend at this council: it was convoked to deliberate upon the opinion of the chief engineer, who thought they ſhould make another landing to the ſouthward of the Carenage. In this caſe, the pilots declared it would be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, for the fleet to keep up a communication with the army.

[h] Only as being the ſeat of government; for Guadaloupe makes a much greater quantity of ſugar, and equipped a much greater number of privateers, with the aſſiſtance of the Dutch of St. Euſtatia, ſituated in its neighbourhood.

[i] He ſhifted his broad pendant on board the Woolwich, as well to direct and keep the tranſports together in a proper poſture for the landing of the troops, as to cover the diſembarkation, and alſo to conſult proper meaſures with the general, who ſaw the neceſſity of mr. Moore being with him; and requeſted that he, with the other general officers and engineers, might be admitted on board the Woolwich, in order to conſult, and take the earlieſt opportunity of landing the troops, as the ſervice neceſſarily required.

[k] In all probability it was not perceived by the commodore.

deavoured to eſcape, but were intercepted and taken by the Engliſh ſquadron. At five the troops landed without oppoſition, and took poſſeſſion of the town and citadel, which they found entirely abandoned. They learned from a Genoeſe deſerter, that the regular troops of the iſland conſiſted of five companies only, the number of the whole not exceeding 100 men; and that they had laid a train to blow up the powder magazine in the citadel: but had been obliged to retreat with ſuch precipitation, as did not permit them to execute this deſign. The train was immediately cut off, and the magazine ſecured. The nails with which they had ſpiked up their cannon were drilled out by the matroſſes; and in the mean time the Britiſh colours were hoiſted on the parapet. Part of the troops took poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt on an eminence, and part entered the town, which ſtill continued burning with great violence. In the morning at day-break, the enemy appeared, to the number of 2000, about four miles from the town, as if they intended to throw up entrenchments in the neighbourhood of a houſe where the governor had fixed his head-quarters, declaring he would maintain his ground to the laſt extremity. To this reſolution, indeed, he was encouraged by the nature of the ground, and the neighbourhood of a paſs called the Dos d'Ane, a cleft through a mountainous ridge, opening a communication with Capeſterre, a more level and beautiful part of the iſland. The aſcent from Baſſeterre to this paſs was ſo very ſteep, and the way ſo broken and interrupted by rocs and gullies, that there was no proſpect of attacking it with ſucceſs, except at the firſt landing, when the inhabitants were under the dominion of a panic. They very ſoon recovered their ſpirits and recollection, aſſembled and fortified themſelves among the hills, armed and arrayed their negroes, and affected to hold the invaders at defiance. A flag of truce being ſent, with offers of terms to their governor, the chevalier d'Etreil, he rejected them in a letter, with which his ſubſequent conduct but ill agreed[l]. Indeed from the beginning, his deportment had been ſuch as gave a very unfavourable impreſſion of his character. When the Britiſh ſquadron advanced to the attac, inſtead of viſiting in perſon the citadel and the batteries, in order to encourage and animate his people by his exhortation and example, he retired out of the reach of danger to a diſtant plantation, where he remained a tame ſpectator of the deſtruction in which his principal town and citadel were involved. Next morning when he ought to have exerted himſelf in preventing the diſembarkation of the Engliſh troops, who had a difficult ſhore and violent ſurf to ſurmount, and when he might have defended the entrenchments and lines which had been made to oppoſe their landing; he abandoned all theſe advantages, and took ſhelter among the mountains that were deemed inacceſſible.

But, howſoever deficient the governor might have been in the article of courage, certain it is the inhabitants behaved with great ſpirit and activity in defence of their country. They continually harraſſed the ſcouring detachments, by firing upon them from woods and ſugar plantations, which laſt the Engliſh burned about their ears in reſentment. Their armed negroes were very expert in this kind of buſh-fighting. The natives or militia appeared in conſiderable parties, and even encountered detached bodies of the Britiſh army. A lady of maſculine courage, whoſe name was Ducharmey, having armed her ſlaves, they made ſeveral bold attempts upon an advanced poſt, occupied by major Melville, and threw up entrenchments upon a hill oppoſite to the ſtation of this officer, who had all along ſignalized himſelf by his uncommon intrepidity, vigilance, and conduct. At length the works of this virago were ſtormed by a regular detachment, which, after an obſtinate and dangerous conflict, entered the entrenchment ſword in hand, and burned the houſes and plantations. Some of the enemy were killed, and a great number taken. Of the Engliſh detachment 12 ſoldiers were ſlain, and 30 wounded, including three ſubaltern officers, one of whom loſt his arm. The greateſt body of the enemy always appeared at the governor's head-quarters, where they had raiſed a redoubt, and thrown up entrenchments. From theſe a conſiderable detachment advanced on the 6th day of February, in the morning, towards the citadel, and fell in with an Engliſh party, whom they engaged with great vivacity; but, after a ſhort though warm diſpute, they were obliged to retire, with ſome loſs. Without all doubt, the inhabitants of Guadaloupe purſued the moſt ſenſible plan that could poſſibly have been projected for their own ſafety. Inſtead of hazarding a general engagement againſt regular troops, in which they could have no proſpect of ſucceſs, they reſolved to weary them out, by maintaining a kind of petty war in ſeparate parties, to alarm and harraſs the Engliſh with hard duty in a ſultry climate, where they were but indifferently ſupplied with proviſion and refreſhment. Nor were their hopes in this particular diſappointed. Both the army and the navy were invaded with fevers and other diſeaſes, epidemical in thoſe hot countries; and the regimental hoſpitals were ſo crowded, that it was judged convenient to ſend 500 ſic men to the iſland of Antigua, where they might be properly attended.

In the mean time, the reduction of the iſlanders on the ſide of Guadaloupe appearing more and more impracticable, the general reſolved to transfer the ſeat of war to the eaſtern and more fertile part of the iſland, called Grandterre, which, as we have already obſerved, was defended by a ſtrong battery, called Fort-Louis. In purſuance of this determination, the great ſhips were ſet round to Grandterre, in order to reduce this fortification, which they accordingly attacked on the 13th day of February. After a ſevere cannonading, which laſted ſix hours, a body of marines being landed, with the Highlanders[m], they drove the enemy from their entrenchments ſword in hand, and, taking poſſeſſion of the fort, hoiſted the Engliſh colours. In a few days after this exploit, general Hopſon dying at Baſſeterre, the chief command devolved on general Barrington, who reſolved to proſecute the final reduction of the iſland with vigour and diſpatch. As one ſtep towards this conqueſt, the commodore ordered two ſhips of war to cruiſe off the iſland of St. Euſtatia, and prevent the Dutch traders from aſſiſting the natives of Guadaloupe, whom they had hitherto conſtantly ſupplied with proviſions, ſince they retired to the mountains. General Barrington, on the very firſt day of his command, ordered the troops who were encamped to ſtrike their tents and huts, that the enemy might imagine he intended to remain in this quarter; but in a few days the batteries in and about Baſſeterre were blown up and deſtroyed, the detachments recalled from the advanced poſts, and the whole army re-embarked, except one regiment, with a detachment of artillery, left in garriſon at the citadel, the command of which was beſtowed on colonel Debriſay, an accompliſhed officer of great experience. The enemy no ſooner perceived the coaſt clear than they deſcended from the hills, and endeavoured to take poſſeſſion of the town, from which however they were driven by the fire of the citadel. They afterwards erected a battery, from whence they annoyed this fortification both with ſhot and ſhells, and even threatened a regular attac; but as often as they approached the place, they were repulſed by ſallies from the caſtle[n]. In the midſt of theſe hoſtilities, the gallant Debriſay, together with major Trollop, one lieutenant, two bombardiers, and ſeveral common ſoldiers, were blown up, and periſhed, by the exploſion of a powder-magazine at the flanked angle of the ſouth-eaſt baſtion. The confuſion neceſſarily produced by ſuch an unfortunate accident encouraged the enemy to come pouring down from the hills, in order to make their advantage of the diſaſter; but they were ſoon repulſed by the fire of the garriſon. The general, being made acquainted with the fate of colonel Debriſay, conferred the government of the fort upon major Melvil, and ſent thither the chief engineer to repair and improve the fortifications.

In the mean time, commodore Moore having received

[l] The letter was to this effect:

To their Excellencies Meſſ. Hopſon and Moore, General Officers of his Britannick Majeſty, at Baſſeterre.

'Gentlemen,

'I have received the letter, which your excellencies have done me the honour to write, of the 25th. You make me propoſals which could ariſe from nothing but the facility with which you have got poſſeſſion of the little town and citadel of Baſſeterre; for otherwiſe you ought to do me the juſtice to believe they could not be received. You have ſtrength ſufficient to ſubdue the exteriors of the iſland; but with reſpect to the interiors, the match between us is equal. As to the conſequences that may attend my refuſal, I am perſuaded they will be no other than ſuch as are preſcribed by the laws of war. Should we be diſappointed in this particular, we have a maſter powerful enough to revenge any injury we may ſuſtain. I am, with reſpect,

'Gentlemen,

'Your moſt obedient ſervant.

'NADAU d'ETREIL.'

It is pretty remarkable, that the apprehenſion of cruel uſage from the Engliſh, who are undoubtedly the moſt generous and humane enemies under the ſun, not only prevailed among the common ſoldiery throughout this whole war, but even infected officers of diſtinction, who ought to have been exempted from theſe prejudices, by a better acquaintance with life, and a more liberal turn of thinking.

[m] A re-enforcement of 2 or 300 Highlanders had joined the fleet immediately before the troops landed at Guadaloupe.

[n] The battery which they had raiſed was attacked at noon, taken, and deſtroyed by captain Blomer, of the 61ſt regiment.

certain intelligence that monſ. de Bompart had arrived at Martinique, with a ſquadron, conſiſting of eight ſail of the line and three frigates, having on board a whole battalion of Swiſs, and ſome other troops, to re-enforce the garriſons of the iſland, he called in his cruiſers, and ſailed immediately to the bay of Dominique, an iſland to windward, at the diſtance of nine leagues from Guadaloupe, whence he could always ſail to oppoſe any deſigns which the French commander might form againſt the operations of the Britiſh armaments. For what reaſon mr. Moore did not ſail immediately to the bay of Port-Royal in Martinique, where he knew the French ſquadron lay at anchor, we ſhall not pretend to determine. Had he taken that ſtep M. Bompart muſt either have given him battle, or retired into the Carenage, behind the citadel; in which laſt caſe, the Engliſh commander might have anchored between Pigeon-iſland and Fort-Negro, and thus blocked him up effectually. By retiring to Dominique, he left the ſea open to French privateers, who roved along the coaſts of theſe iſlands, and in a very little time carried into Martinique above 80 merchant-ſhips belonging to the ſubjects of Great-Britain. Theſe continual depredations committed under the noſe of the Engliſh commodore irritated the planters of the Engliſh iſlands, ſome of whom are ſaid to have circulated unfavourable reports of that gentleman's character.°

General Barrington being left with no more than one ſhip of 40 guns for the protection of the tranſports, formed a plan of proſecuting the war in Guadaloupe by detachments, and the ſucceſs fully anſwered his expectation. He determined to make a deſcent on the diviſion of the iſland called Grande-terre, and for that purpoſe alloted 600 men; who, under the command of colonel Crump, landed between the towns of St. Anne and St. François, and deſtroyed ſome batteries of the enemy, from whom he ſuſtained very little oppoſition. While he was thus employed, a detachment of 300 men attacked the town of Goſier, which, notwithſtanding a ſevere fire, they took by ſtorm, drove the garriſon into the woods, ſet fire to the place, and demoliſhed the battery and entrenchments raiſed for its defence. This ſervice being happily performed, the detachment was ordered to force their way to Fort-Louis, while the garriſon of that caſtle was directed to make two ſallies, in order to favour their irruption. They accordingly penetrated with ſome loſs ſuſtained in forcing a ſtrong paſs, and took poſſeſſion of a battery which the enemy had raiſed againſt the Engliſh camp, in the neighbourhood of Fort-Louis. The general, having hitherto ſucceeded in his deſign, formed the ſcheme of ſurpriſing at one time the three towns of Petit-bourg, Gonoyave, and St. Mary, ſituated on the Baſſe-terre ſide of the little Cul de Sac, and committed the execution of it to the colonels Crump and Clavering: but the night appointed for the ſervice proved exceedingly dark and tempeſtuous, and the negro conductors were ſo frightened, that they ran ſeveral of the flat-bottomed boats on the ſhoals that ſkirt this part of the iſland. Colonel Clavering landed with about 80 men; but found himſelf ſo entangled with mangrove trees, and the mud ſo impaſſably deep, that he was obliged to re-embark, though not before the enemy had diſcovered his deſign. This project having miſcarried, the general detached the ſame commanders, whoſe gallantry and conduct cannot be ſufficiently applauded, with a detachment of 1500 men, including 150 volunteers from Antigua, to land in a bay not far from the town of Arnonville, at the bottom of the little Cul de Sac, under the protection of his majeſty's ſhip Woolwich. The enemy made no oppoſition to their landing; but retreated, as the Engliſh advanced, to a ſtrong entrenchment thrown up behind the river Licorne, a poſt of the utmoſt importance, as it covered the whole country as far as the bay of Mahaut, where proviſions and ſupplies of all ſorts were landed from St. Euſtatia. The river was rendered inacceſſible by a moraſs, covered with mangroves, except at two narrow paſſes, which they had fortified with a redoubt, and entrenchments well palliſaded, mounted with cannon, and defended by a numerous militia: beſides, the narrow roads, through which only they could be attacked, were interſected with deep and wide ditches. Notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, the Engliſh commanders determined to hazard an aſſault. While four field-pieces and two howitzers maintained a conſtant fire upon the top of the entrenchments, the regiment of Duroure and the Highlanders advanced under this cover, firing by platoons with the utmoſt regularity. The enemy, intimidated by their cool and reſolute behaviour, began to abandon the firſt entrenchment on the left. Then the Highlanders drawing their ſwords, and ſuſtained by part of the regiment, threw themſelves in with their uſual impetuoſity, and followed the fugitives pell-mell into the redoubt, of which they took poſſeſſion: but they ſtill maintained their ground within the entrenchments on the right, from whence they annoyed the aſſailants both with muſketry and cannon. In half an hour, an occaſionable bridge being made, the Engliſh troops paſſed the river, in order to attac this poſt, which the enemy abandoned with precipitation: notwithſtanding all their haſte, however, about 70 were taken priſoners, and among theſe ſome of the moſt conſiderable inhabitants of the iſland. This advantage coſt the Engliſh 2 officers and 13 men killed, and above 50 wounded.

The roads being mended for the paſſage of the artillery, the troops advanced toward Petit-bourg, harraſſed in their march by flying bodies of the enemy, and arrived late at night on the banks of the river Lizarde, the only ford of which the French had fortified with ſtrong entrenchments, protected by a battery of four cannon, erected on a riſing ground in their rear. Colonel Clavering, while he amuſed them all night at this place by a conſtant fire into the lines, tranſported in two canoes, which he launched about a mile and a half farther down the river, a ſufficient number of troops, by day-break, to attac them on the other ſide in flank, while he advanced in front at the head of his little army; but they did not think proper to ſuſtain the aſſault. On the contrary, they no ſooner perceived his intention, than they forſook the poſt, and fled without order. Colonel Clavering, having paſſed the river, purſued them to Petit-bourg, which they had alſo fortified; and here he found captain Uvedale, of the Grenada bomb-ketch, throughing ſhells into the redoubt. He forthwith ſent detachments to occupy the neighbouring heights; a circumſtance which the enemy no ſooner obſerved, than they deſerted the place, and retired with great expedition. On the 15th day of April captain Steel deſtroyed a battery at Gonoyave, a ſtrong poſt, which, though it might have been defended againſt an army, the French abandoned at his approach, after having made a haſty diſcharge of their artillery. At the ſame time colonel Crump was detached with 700 men to the bay of Mahut, where he burned the town and batteries, which he found abandoned, together with a vaſt quantity of proviſions, which had been brought from the iſland of St. Euſtatia. Colonel Clavering, having left a ſmall garriſon at Petit-bourg, began his march on the 20th day of the month towards St. Mary's, where he underſtood the enemy had collected their whole force, thrown up entrenchments, and raiſed barricadoes: but they had left their rear ungarded. The Engliſh commander immediately detached colonel Barlow, with a body of troops to attac them from that quarter, while he himſelf advanced againſt the front of their entrenchment. They ſtood but one cannon-ſhot, and then fled to their lines and batteries at St. Mary's, the flanks of which were covered with woods and precipices. When they perceived the Engliſh troops endeavouring to ſurmount theſe difficulties, and turn their lines, they quitted them, in order to oppoſe the deſign; and were immediately attacked with ſuch vivacity, in the face of a ſevere fire of muſketry and cannon, that they abandoned their ground, and fled in the utmoſt confuſion, leaving the field and all their artillery to the victors, who took up their quarters for the night at St. Mary's. Next day, they entered the charming country of Capeſterre, where 870 negroes belonging to one planter ſurrendered at diſcretion. Here colonel Clavering was met by meſſieurs de Clainvilliers and Duqueruy, deputed by the principal inhabitants of the iſland to know what capitulation would be granted. Theſe he conducted to Petit-bourg, where they were preſented to general Barrington, who conſidering the abſence of the fleet, the ſmall number of his forces, daily diminiſhing, the difficulty of the country, and the poſſibility of the

° The reaſons aſſigned by the commodore for his conduct in this particular are theſe:—The bay of Dominique was the only place in which he could rendezvous and unite his ſquadron. Here he refreſhed his men, who were grown ſicly in conſequence of ſubſiſting on ſalt proviſion. Here he ſupplied his ſhips with plenty of freſh water. Here he had intercourſe once or twice every day with general Barrington, by means of ſmall veſſels which paſſed and repaſſed from one iſland to the other. By remaining in this ſituation, he likewiſe maintained a communication with the Engliſh Leeward-Iſlands, which being in a defenceleſs condition, their inhabitants were conſtantly ſolliciting the commodore's protection; and here he ſupported the army, the commander of which was unwilling that he ſhould remove to a greater diſtance. Had he ſailed to Port-Royal, he would have found the enemy's ſquadron ſo diſpoſed, that he could not have attacked them, unleſs M. de Bompart had been inclined to hazard an action. Had he anchored in the bay, all his cruiſers muſt have been employed in conveying proviſions and ſtores to the ſquadron. There he could not have procured either freſh proviſions or water; nor could he have had any communication with, nor intelligence from, the army in the Leeward-Iſlands, in leſs than eight or ten days.

enemy's being re-enforced from Martinique, wiſely took the advantage of their preſent panic, and ſettled terms of capitulation without delay. The ſanity of this reſolution ſoon appeared. The inhabitants had juſt ſigned the agreement, when a meſſenger arrived in their camp, with information, that M. de Beauharnois, the general of the French iſlands, had landed at St. Anne's to the windward, with a re-enforcement from Martinique, conſiſting of 600 regulars from Europe, about 1500 volunteers, beſides a great number of the militia drafted from the companies of Martinique, with a great ſupply of arms and ammunition, mortars and artillery, under convoy of the ſquadron commanded by M. de Bompart, who no ſooner learned that the capitulation was ſigned, than he re-embarked the troops and ſtores with all poſſible expedition, and returned to Martinique. Thus we ſee the conqueſt of this important iſland, which is ſaid to produce a greater quantity of ſugar than is made in any of the Engliſh plantations, was as much owing to accident as to the valour of the troops and the conduct of the general; for, had the re-enforcement arrived an hour ſooner than it actually landed, in all probability the Engliſh would have found it impracticable to finiſh the reduction of Guadaloupe. Be that as it may, the natives certainly deſerved great commendation, not only for perſevering ſo gallantly in defence of their country, but alſo for their fortitude in hearing every ſpecies of diſtreſs. They now quitted the Dos d'Ane, and all their other poſts, and returned to their reſpective habitations. The town of Baſſeterre being reduced to a heap of aſhes, the inhabitants began to clear away the rubbiſh, and erect occaſional ſheds, where they reſumed their ſeveral occupations with that good-humour ſo peculiar to the French nation; and general Barrington humanely indulged them with all the aſſiſtance in his power.

The ſmall iſlands of Deſeada, Los-Santos, and Petit-terre were compriſed in the capitulation of Guadaloupe. The inhabitants of Marigalante, which lies about three leagues to the ſouth-eaſt of Grande-terre, extending 20 miles in length, 15 in breadth, flat and fertile, but poorly watered and ill fortified, having refuſed to ſubmit when ſummoned by the ſquadron to ſurrender, general Barrington reſolved to reduce them by force. He embarked a body of troops on board of tranſports, which ſailed thither under convoy of three ſhips of war and two bomb-veſſels from Prince Rupert's Bay, and at their appearance the iſlanders ſubmitting, received an Engliſh garriſon. Before this period, commodore Moore having received intelligence that M. de Bompart had ſailed from Martinique, with deſign to land a re-enforcement on Guadaloupe, and that his ſquadron was ſeen ſeven leagues to windward of Marigalante, he ſailed from Prince Rupert's Bay, and turned to windward. After having been beaten about for five days to very little purpoſe, he received notice from one of his cruiſers, that the French admiral had returned to Martinique; upon which information he retired quietly to his former ſtation in the bay of Dominique, the people of which were ſo inſolent as to affirm, in diriſion, that the Engliſh ſquadron ſailed on one ſide of the iſland, and the French upon the other, that they might be ſure of not meeting; but this, without doubt, was an impudent calumny. [p]

General Barrington, having happily finiſhed the conqueſt of Guadaloupe, gave notice to the commodore, that he intended to ſend bac part of the troops, with the tranſports, to England, about the beginning of July. In conſequence of this intimation, mr. Moore ſailed with his ſquadron to Baſſeterre road, where he was next day joined by two ſhips of the line from England, which rendered him greatly ſuperior in ſtrength to the commander of the French ſquadron, who had retired to the iſland of Grenada, lying about eight leagues from Guadaloupe. Here he was diſcovered by the ſhip Rippon, whoſe captain returned immediately to Baſſeterre, to make the commodore acquainted with this circumſtance: but, before he could weigh anchor, a frigate arrived, with information that M. de Bompart had quitted Grenada, and was ſuppoſed to have directed his courſe to Hiſpaniola. The commodore immediately deſpatched the Ludlow-caſtle with this intelligence to admiral Coates, who commanded the ſquadron at Jamaica. General Barrington having made a tour of the iſland, in order to viſit and repair ſuch fortifications as he thought neceſſary to be maintained, and the affairs relating to the inhabitants being entirely ſettled, he ſent the Highlanders, with a body of drafts, to North-America, under convoy: he garriſoned the principal ſtrengths of the iſland, and left the chief command to colonel Crump, who had for ſome time acted as brigadier-general, colonel Clavering having been ſent home to England with the account of the capitulation. Colonel Melville, who had ſignalized himſelf in a remarkable manner ever ſince their firſt landing, continued governor of the citadel at Baſſeterre; and the command at Grande-terre was conferred on colonel Delgarno. Three complete regiments were allotted as a ſufficient guard for the whole iſland, and the other three were embarked for England. General Barrington himſelf went on board the Roebuck in the latter end of June, and took his departure for England. About a month after, the tranſports, under convoy of captain Hughes, with a ſmall ſquadron, ſet ſail for Great-Britain, while commodore Moore, with his large fleet, directed his courſe to Antigua.

While this armament had been employed in the conqueſt of Guadaloupe, North-America exhibited ſtill more ſanguinary ſcenes of war and devaſtation, which, in order properly to introduce, it will be neceſſary to explain the ſteps that were taken on this continent, previous to this campaign. In October of the preceding year, a grand aſſembly was held at Eaſton, about 90 miles from Philadelphia; and there a peace was eſtabliſhed, by a formal treaty between Great-Britain and the ſeveral nations of Indians inhabiting the country between the Apalachian mountains and the lakes. The Twightwees, however, ſettled between the river Ohio and the lakes, did not aſſiſt at this treaty, though ſome ſteps had been taken towards an alliance with that people. The conferences were managed by the governors of Pennſylvania and New-Jerſey, accompanied by ſir William Johnſon's deputy for Indian affairs, four members of the council of Pennſylvania, ſix members of the aſſembly, two agents for the province of New-Jerſey, a great number of planters, and citizens of Philadelphia, chiefly quakers. They were met by the deputies and chiefs of the Mohawks, Oneidoes, Onondagoes, Cayugas, Senecas, Tuſcaroras, Nanticoques, and Conoys, the Tutèloes, Chugnues, Delawares, and Unamies, the Miniſinks, Mohicons, and Wappingers; the whole number including their women and children, amounting to 500. Some of the Six Nations, thinking themſelves aggrieved by the Britiſh coloniſts, who had impriſoned certain individuals of their nation, and had killed a few, and treated others with contempt, did not fail to expreſs their reſentment, which had been artfully fomented by the French emiſſaries, even into an open rupture. The Delawares and Miniſinks, in particular, complained that the Engliſh had encroached upon their lands, and on that account were provoked to hoſtilities: but their chief, Teedyuſcung, had made overtures of peace; and, in the character of embaſſador from all the ten nations, had been very inſtrumental in forming this aſſembly. The chiefs of the Six Nations, though very well diſpoſed to peace, took umbrage at the importance aſſumed by one of the Delawares, over whom, as their deſcendants, they exerciſe a kind of parental authority; and on this occaſion they made no ſcruple to diſcloſe their diſſatisfaction. The buſineſs, therefore, of the Engliſh governors at this congreſs was to aſcertain the limits of the lands in diſpute, reconcile the Six Nations with their nephews, the Delawares, remove every cauſe of miſunderſtanding between the Engliſh and the Indians, detach theſe ſavages entirely from the French intereſt, eſtabliſh a firm peace, and induce them to exert their influence in perſuading the Twightwees, to accede to this treaty. Thoſe Indians, though poſſeſſed of few ideas, circumſcribed in their mental faculties, ſtupid, brutal, and ferocious, conduct themſelves, nevertheleſs, in matters of importance to the community, by the general maxims of reaſon and juſtice; and their treaties are always founded upon good ſenſe, conveyed in a very ridiculous manner. Their language is guttural, harſh, and polyſyllabical; and their ſpeech conſiſts of hyperbolical metaphors and ſimilies, which inveſt it with an air of dignity, and heighten the expreſſion. They manage their conferences by means of wampum, a kind of bead, formed of a hard ſhell, either in ſingle ſtrings, or ſewed in broad belts of different dimenſions, according to the importance of the ſubject. Every propoſition is offered, every anſwer made,

[p] The commodore declares that he carried a preſs-ſail night and day, in order to come up with the French ſquadron, and took every ſtep that could be deviſed for that purpoſe. He ſays, if he had purſued any other courſe, the French commander might have run into the road of St. Kit's, and deſtroyed or taken a great number of merchant-ſhips which were then loading with ſugars for England.

He ſays he tried every ſtratagem he could contrive for bringing M. de Bompart to action. He even ſent away part of his ſquadron out of ſight of the inhabitants of Dominique, that they might repreſent to their friends at Martinique his force much inferior to what it really was; but this expedient had no effect upon M. de Bompart, who made the beſt of his way to Cape-François, on the iſland of Hiſpaniola.

every promiſe corroborated, every declaration atteſted, and every treaty confirmed, by producing and interchanging theſe belts of Wampum. The conferences were continued from the 8th to the 26th day of October, when every article was ſettled to the mutual ſatisfaction of all parties. The Indian deputies were gratified with a valuable preſent, conſiſting of looking-glaſſes, knives, tobacco-boxes, ſleeve-buttons, thimbles, ſheers, gun-locks, ivory-combs, ſhirts, ſhoes, ſtockings, hats, caps, handkerchiefs, thread, clothes, blankets, gartering, ſerges, watch-coats, and a few ſuits of laced clothes for their chieftains. To crown their happineſs, the ſtores of rum were opened; they drank themſelves into a ſtate of brutal intoxication, and next day returned in peace to their reſpective places of habitation.

This treaty with the Indians, who had been debauched from the intereſt of Great-Britain, auſpiciouſly paved the way for thoſe operations which had been projected againſt the French ſettlements in Canada. Inſtead of employing the whole ſtrength of the Britiſh arms in North-America againſt one object, the miniſtry propoſed to divide the forces, and make impreſſions on three different parts at once, that the enemy might be divided, diſtracted and weakened, and the conqueſt of Canada completed in one campaign. That the ſucceſs might be the more certain, the different expeditions were planned in ſuch a manner as to co-operate with each other, and even join occaſionally; ſo practicable was it thought for them to maintain ſuch a correſpondence as would admit of a junction of this nature. The project of this campaign imported, that general Wolfe, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo eminently in the ſiege of Louiſbourg, ſhould proceed up the river St. Laurence, as ſoon as the navigation ſhould be clear of ice, with a body of 8000 men, and a conſiderable ſquadron of ſhips from England, to undertake the ſiege of Quebeck, the capital of Canada: that general Amhurſt, who commanded in chief, ſhould, with another army of regular troops and provincials, amounting to 12,000 men, reduce Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, croſs the lake Champlain, and, proceeding along the river Richelieu to the banks of the river St. Laurence, join general Wolfe in the ſiege of Quebeck: that brigadier-general Prideaux, with a third body, re-enforced with a conſiderable number of friendly Indians, aſſembled by the influence and under the command of ſir William Johnſon, ſhould inveſt the French fort erected by the fall or cataract of Niagara, which was certainly the moſt important poſts of French America, as it in a manner commanded all the interior parts of that vaſt continent. It overawed the whole country of the Six Nations, who were cajoled into a tame acquieſcence in its being built on their territory: it ſecured all the inland trade, the navigation of the great lakes, the communication between Canada and Louſiana, and opened a paſſage for inroads into the colonies of Great-Britain. It was propoſed that the Britiſh forces having reduced Niagara, ſhould be embarked on the lake Ontario, fall down the river St. Laurence, beſiege and take Montreal, and then join to co-operate with Amherſt's army. Beſide theſe larger armaments, colonel Stanwix commanded a ſmaller detachment for reducing ſmaller forts, and ſcouring the banks of the lake Ontario. How far this project was founded on reaſon and military knowledge may be judged by the following particulars, of which the projectors were not ignorant. The navigation of the river St. Laurence is dangerous and uncertain. The city of Quebeck was remarkably ſtrong from ſituation and fortification, from the bravery of the inhabitants, and the number of the garriſon. Monſieur de Montcalm, an officer of great courage and activity, kept the field between Montreal and Quebeck, with a body of 8 or 10,000 men, conſiſting of regular troops and diſciplined militia, re-enforced by a conſiderable number of armed Indians; and another body of reſerve hovered in the neighbourhood of Montreal, which was the reſidence of monſieur de Vandreuil, governor general of Canada. The garriſon of Niagara conſiſted of above 600 men; the march to it was tedious and embarraſſed; and monſieur de Levi ſcoured the country with a flying detachment, well acquainted with all the woods and paſſes. With reſpect to general Amherſt's ſhare of the plan, the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown-Point ſtood in his way. The enemy was maſters of the lake Champlain, and poſſeſſed a ſtrong fort of Chambly, by the fall of the river Richelieu, which defended the paſs to the river St. Laurence. Even had theſe obſtacles been removed, it was hardly poſſible that he and mr. Wolfe ſhould arrive at Quebeck in the ſame inſtant of time. The firſt that reached it, far from being in a condition to undertake the ſiege of Quebeck, would have run the riſk of being engaged and defeated by the covering army; in which caſe, the other body muſt have been expoſed to the moſt imminent hazard of deſtruction, in the midſt of an enemy's country, far diſtant from any place of ſafety to which it could retreat. Had theſe diſaſters happened, and, according to the experience of war, they were the natural conſequences of the ſcheme, the troops at Niagara would in all probability have fallen an eaſy ſacrifice, unleſs they had been ſo fortunate as to receive intelligence time enough to accompliſh their retreat before they could be intercepted. The deſign would, we apprehend, have been more juſtifiable, or at leaſt not ſo liable to objection, had mr. Amherſt left two or three regiments to protect the frontiers of New-York, and joining mr. Wolfe with the reſt, ſailed up the river St. Laurence to beſiege Quebeck. Even in that caſe, the whole number of his troops would not have been ſufficient, according to the practice of war, to inveſt the place, and cope with the covering enemy. Nevertheleſs, had the enterprize ſucceeded, Montcalm muſt either have hazarded an engagement againſt great odds, or retired farther into the country: then the rout would have been open by land and water to Montreal, which could have made little reſiſtance. The two principal towns being taken, and the navigation of St. Laurence blocked up, all the dependant forts muſt have ſurrendered at diſcretion, except Niagara, which there was a bare poſſibility of ſupplying, at an incredible trouble and expence, from the diſtant Miſſiſſippi; but, even then, it might have been beſieged in form, and eaſily reduced. Whatever defects there might have been in the plan, the execution, though it miſcarried in ſome eſſential points, was attended with ſurpriſing ſucceſs. The ſame good fortune that proſpered the Britiſh arms ſo remarkably in the conqueſt of Guadaloupe ſeemed to interpoſe ſtill more aſtoniſhingly in their favour at Quebeck, the ſiege of which we ſhall record in its proper place. At preſent we muſt attend the opperations of general Amherſt, whoſe ſeparate army was firſt in motion, though ſuch impediments were thrown in his way as greatly retarded the progreſs of his operations; impediments ſaid to have ariſen from the pride, inſolence, and obſtinacy of certain individuals, who poſſeſſed great influence in that part of the world, and employed it all to thwart the ſervice of their country.

The ſummer was already far advanced before general Amherſt could paſs the lake George with his forces, although they met with no oppoſition, and reach the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, where in the preceding year, the Britiſh troops had ſuſtained ſuch a terrible diſaſter. At firſt the enemy ſeemed determined to defend this fortreſs: but perceiving the Engliſh commander reſolute, cautious, and well prepared for undertaking the ſiege; having, moreover, orders to retreat from place to place, towards the centre of operations at Quebeck, rather than run the leaſt riſk of being made priſoners of war; they in the night of July the 27th abandoned the poſt, after having in ſome meaſure diſmantled the fortifications, and retired to Crown-Point, a fort ſituated in the verge of lake Champlain. General Amherſt having taken poſſeſſion of this important poſt, which effectually covered the frontiers of New-York, and ſecured to himſelf a ſafe retreat in caſe of neceſſity, ordered the works to be repaired, and allotted a ſtrong garriſon for its defence. This acquiſition, however, was not made without the loſs of a brave accompliſhed young officer, colonel Roger Townſhend, who, in reconnoitring the fort, was killed with a cannon-ſhot, and fell near the ſame ſpot which in the former year had been enriched with the blood of the gallant lord Howe, whom he ſtrongly reſembled in the circumſtances of birth, age, qualifications, and character.

While the general ſuperintended the repairs of Ticonderoga, and the men were employed in preparing batteaux and other veſſels, his ſcouting parties hovered in the neighbourhood of Crown-Point, in order to watch the motions of the enemy. From one of theſe detachments he received intelligence on the 1ſt day of Auguſt, that the enemy had retired from Crown-Point. He immediately detached a body of rangers before him, to take poſſeſſion of the place: then he embarked with the reſt of the army, and on the 4th day of the month landed on the fort, where the troops were immediately encamped. His next care was to lay the foundation of a new fort, to be maintained for the further ſecurity of the Britiſh dominions in that part of the country, and particularly for preventing the inroads of ſcalping parties, by whom the plantations had been dreadfully infeſted. Here information was received that the enemy had retired to the Iſle auz Noix, at the other end of the lake Champlain, five leagues on the hither ſide of St. John's; that

their force encamped in that place, under the command of M. de Burlemaque, conſiſted of three battalions and five piquets of regular troops with Canadians and marines, amounting in the whole to 3500 effective men, provided with a numerous artillery; and that the lake was occupied by four large veſſels, mounted with cannon, and manned with piquets of different regiments, under the command and direction of M. le Bras, a captain in the French navy, aſſiſted by M. de Rigal, and other ſea officers. In conſequence of this intimation, general Amherſt, who had for ſome time employed captain Loring to ſuperintend the building of veſſels at Ticonderoga, being reſolved to have the ſuperiority on the lake, directed the captain to build with all poſſible expedition a ſloop of 16 guns, and a radeau 84 feet in length, capable of carrying ſix large cannon. Theſe, together with a brigantine, being finiſhed, victualled, and manned by the 11th day of October, the general embarked with the whole of the troops in batteaux, in order to attac the enemy; but next day the weather growing tempeſtuous, was obliged to take ſhelter in a bay on the weſtern ſhore, where the men were landed for refreſhment. In the mean time, captain Loring, with his ſmall ſquadron, ſailing down the lake, gave chaſe to a French ſchooner, and drove three of their ſhips into a bay, where two of them were very ſoon after ſunk, and the third run a-ground by their own crew, who eſcaped: one, however, was repaired and brought away by captain Loring, ſo that now the French had but one ſchooner remaining. General Amherſt, after having been ſome days wind-bound, re-embarked his forces, and proceeded down the lake; but the ſtorm, which had abated, beginning to blow with redoubled fury, ſo as to ſwell the waves mountain high, the ſeaſon for action being elapſed, and winter ſetting in with the moſt rigorous ſeverity, he ſaw the impoſſibility of accompliſhing his deſign, and was obliged to deſiſt. Returning to the ſame bay where he had been ſheltered, he landed the troops, and began his march for Crown-Point, where he arrived on the 21ſt day of October. Having ſecured a ſuperiority on the lake, he now employed all his attention in rearing the new fortreſs at Crown-Point, together with three ſmall out-forts for its better defence; in opening roads of communication with Ticonderoga, and the governments of Maſſachuſett's and New Hampſhire; and in making diſpoſitions for the winter-quarters of his troops, ſo as to protect the country from the inroads of the enemy.

During this whole ſummer he received not the leaſt intelligence of mr. Wolfe's operations, except a few hints in ſome letters relating to the exchange of priſoners, that came from the French general, Montcalm, who gave him to underſtand, that mr. Wolfe had landed in the neighbourhood of Quebeck, and ſeemed determined to undertake the ſiege of that city: that he had honoured him (the French general) with ſeveral notes, ſometimes couched in a ſoothing ſtrain, ſometimes filled with threats; that the French army intended to give him battle, and a few days would determine the fate of Quebeck. Though mr. Amherſt was ignorant of the proceedings of the Quebeck ſquadron, his communication continued open with the forces which undertook the ſiege of Niagara; and he received an account of their ſucceſs before he had quitted the lines of Ticonderoga. General Prideaux, with his body of troops, re-enforced by the Indian auxiliaries under ſir William Johnſon, advanced to the cataract of Niagara, without being expoſed to the leaſt inconvenience on his march; and inveſting the French fortreſs about the middle of July, carried on his approaches with great vigour till the 20th day of that month, when viſiting the trenches, he was unfortunately ſlain by the burſting of a cohorn. Mr Amherſt was no ſooner informed of this diſaſter, than he detached brigadier-general Gage from Ticonderoga, to aſſume the command of that army. In the mean time, it devolved on ſir William Johnſon, who happily proſecuted the plan of his predeceſſor with all the ſucceſs that could have been deſired. The enemy alarmed with the apprehenſion of loſing a place of ſuch importance, reſolved to exert their endeavours for its relief. They aſſembled a body of regular troops, amounting to 1200 men, drawn from Detroit, Venango, and Preſque Iſle; and theſe, with a number of Indian auxiliaries, were detached under the command of monſieur d'Aubry, on an attempt to re-enforce the garriſon of Niagara. Sir William Johnſon having received intelligence of their deſign, made a diſpoſition to intercept them in their march. In the evening he ordered the light infantry and piquets to poſt themſelves to the left, on the road leading from Niagara falls to the fortreſs: theſe were re-enforced in the morning with the grenadiers, and part of the 46th regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Maſſey; and another regiment under lieutanant-colonel Farquhar, was poſted at the tail of the works, in order to ſupport the guard of the trenches. About eight in the morning, the enemy being in ſight, the Indians in the Engliſh army advanced to ſpeak with their countrymen who ſerved under the French banners; but this conference was declined by the enemy. Then the French Indians having uttered the horrible ſcream called the war-whoop, which by this time had loſt its effect among the Britiſh forces, the enemy began the action with impetuoſity: but they met with ſuch a hot reception in front, while the Indian auxiliaries fell upon their flanks, that in a little more than half an hour their whole army was routed, their general, with all his officers, taken, and the purſuit continued through the woods for ſeveral miles with conſiderable ſlaughter. This battle which happened on the 24th day of July, having been fought in ſight of the French garriſon at Niagara, ſir William Johnſon ſent major Harvey with a trumpet to the commanding officer, to preſent him with a liſt of 17 officers taken in the engagement, and to exhort him to ſurrender before more blood was ſhed, while he had it in his power to reſtrain the Indians. The commandant having certified himſelf of the truth, by ſending an officer to viſit the priſoners, agreed to treat, and in a few hours the capitulation was ratified. The garriſon, conſiſting of 607 effective men, marched out with the honours of war, in order to be embarked in veſſels on the lake, and conveyed in the moſt expeditious manner to New-York. They laid down their arms when they embarked; but were permitted to keep their baggage, and by a proper eſcorte, protected from the ſavage inſolence and rapacity of the Indidians. All the women were conducted, at their own requeſt, to Montreal; and the ſic and wounded, who could not bear the fatigue of travelling, were treated with humanity. This was the ſecond complete victory obtained on the continent of North-America, in the courſe of the ſame war, by ſir William Johnſon, who, without the help of a military education, ſucceeded ſo ſignally in the field by dint of innate courage and natural ſagacity. What remarkably characteriſes theſe battles, is the circumſtance of his having taken in both the commander of the enemy. Indeed, the war in general may be diſtinguiſhed by the ſingular ſucceſs of this gentleman and the celebrated lord Clive, two ſelf-taught generals; who by a ſeries of ſhining actions, have demonſtrated, that uninſtructed genius can, by its own internal light and efficacy, rival, if not eclipſe, the acquired art of diſcipline and experience. Sir William Johnſon was not more ſerviceable to his country by his valour and conduct in the field, than by the influence and authority which his juſtice, benevolence, and integrity had acquired among the Indian tribes of the Six Nations, whom he not only aſſembled at Niagara to the number of 1100, but alſo reſtrained within the bounds of good order and moderation.

The reduction of Niagara, and the poſſeſſion of Crown-Point, were exploits much more eaſily achieved than the conqueſt of Quebeck, the great object to which all theſe operations were ſubordinate. Of that we now come to give the detail, fraught with ſingular adventures and ſurpriſing events; in the courſe of which a noble ſpirit of enterprize was diſplayed, and the ſcenes of war were exhibited in all the variety of deſolation. It was about the middle of February that a conſiderable ſquadron ſailed from England for Cape-Breton, under the command of admirals Saunders and Holmes, two gentlemen of worth and probity, who had on ſeveral occaſions ſignalized their courage and conduct in the ſervice of their country. By the 21ſt day of April they were in ſight of Louiſbourg; but the harbour was blocked up with ice in ſuch a manner, that they were obliged to bear away for Halifax, in Nova-Scotia. From hence rear-admiral Durell was detached, with a ſmall ſquadron, to ſail up the river St. Laurence as far as the iſle de Coudres, in order to intercept any ſupplies from France intended for Quebeck: he accordingly took two ſtore-ſhips; but he was anticipated by 17 ſail, laden with proviſion, ſtores, and ſome recruits, under convoy of three frigates, which had already reached the capital of Canada. Mean while admiral Saunders arrived at Louiſbourg; and the troops being embarked, to the number of 8000, proceeded up the river without further delay. The operations by land were entruſted to the conduct of major-general James Wolfe, whoſe talents had ſhown with ſuch ſuperior luſtre at the ſiege of Louiſbourg; and his ſubordinates in command were the brigadiers Monckton, Townſhend, and Murray; all four in the flower of their age, who had ſtudied the mi-

litary art, with equal eagerneſs and proficiency, and, though young men in years, were old in experience. The firſt was a ſoldier by deſcent, the ſon of major-general Wolfe, a veteran officer of aknowledged capacity: the other three reſembled each other, not only in years, qualifications, and ſtation, but alſo in family rank, all three being the ſons of noblemen. The ſituation of brigadier Townſhend was ſingular: he had ſerved abroad in the laſt war with reputation, and reſigned his commiſſion during the peace, in diſdain at ſome hard uſage he had ſuſtained from his ſuperiors. That his military talents, however, might not be loſt to his country, he exerciſed them with equal ſpirit and perſeverance in projecting and promoting a plan of a national militia. When the command and direction of the army devolved to a new leader, ſo predominant in his breaſt was the ſpirit of patriotiſm and the love of glory, that though heir apparent to a Britiſh peerage, poſſeſſed of a very affluent fortune, remarkably dear to his acquaintance, and ſollicited to a life of quiet by every allurement of domeſtic felicity, he waved theſe conſiderations: he burſt from all entanglements; proffered his ſervices to his ſovereign; expoſed himſelf to the perils of a diſagreeable voyage, the rigours of a ſevere climate, and the hazard of a campaign peculiarly fraught with toil, danger, and difficulty.

The armament intended for Quebeck ſailed up the river St. Laurence, without having met with any interruption, or having perceived any of thoſe difficulties and perils with which it had been reported that the navigation of it was attended. Their good fortune in this particular, indeed, was owing to ſome excellent charts of the river, which had been found in veſſels taken from the enemy. About the latter end of June the land-forces were diſembarked in two diviſions upon the iſle of Orleans, ſituated a little below Quebeck, a large fertile iſland, well cultivated, producing plenty of grain, abounding with people, villages, and plantations. General Wolfe no ſooner landed on the iſland of Orleans, than he diſtributed a manifeſto among the French coloniſts, giving them to underſtand, That the king his maſter, juſtly exaſperated againſt the French monarch, had equipped a conſiderable armament, in order to humble his pride, and was determined to reduce the moſt conſiderable French ſettlements in America. He declared, it was not againſt the induſtrious peaſants, their wives, and children, nor againſt the miniſters of religion, that he intended to make war: on the contrary, he lamented the misfortunes to which they muſt be expoſed by the quarrel: he offered them his protection, and promiſed to maintain them in their temporal poſſeſſions, as well as in the free exerciſe of their religion, provided they would remain quiet, and take no part in the difference between the two crowns. He obſerved, that the Engliſh were maſters of the river St. Laurence, ſo as to intercept all ſuccours from Europe, and had, beſides, a powerful army on the continent, under the command of general Amherſt. He affirmed, that the reſolution they ought to take was neither difficult nor doubtful, as the utmoſt exertion of their valour would be uſeleſs, and ſerve only to deprive them of the advantages which they might reap from their neutrality. He reminded them, that the cruelties exerciſed by the French upon the ſubjects of Great-Britain in America would excuſe the moſt ſevere repriſals; but Britons were too generous to follow ſuch barbarous examples. He again offered to the Canadians the ſweets of peace, amidſt the horrors of war; and left it to themſelves to determine their own fate by their own conduct. He expreſſed his hope, that the world would do him juſtice, ſhould they oblige him, by rejecting theſe favourable terms, to adopt violent meaſures. He expatiated upon the ſtrength and power, as well as upon the generoſity of Great-Britain, in thus ſtretching out the hand of humanity; a hand ready to aſſiſt them on all occaſions, even when France was, by her weakneſs, compelled to abandon them in the moſt critical conjuncture. This declaration produced no immediate effect; nor, indeed, did the Canadians depend upon the ſincerity and promiſed faith a nation, whom their prieſts had induſtriouſly repreſented as the moſt ſavage and cruel enemy on earth. Poſſeſſed of theſe notions, which prevailed even among the better ſort, they choſe to abandon their habitations, and expoſe themſelves and families to certain ruin, in provoking the Engliſh by the moſt cruel hoſtilities, rather than be quiet, and confide in the general's promiſe of protection. Inſtead of purſuing this prudent plan of conduct, they joined the ſcalping parties[q] of Indians who ſkulked among the woods, and falling upon the Engliſh ſtragglers by ſurprize, butchered them with the moſt inhuman barbarity. Mr Wolfe, whoſe nature revolted againſt this wanton and perfidious cruelty, ſent a letter to the French general, repreſenting, that ſuch enormities were contrary to the rules of war obſerved among civilized nations, diſhonourable to the ſervice of France, and diſgraceful to human nature: he, therefore, deſired the French coloniſts and Indians might be reſtrained within due bounds, otherwiſe he would burn their villages, deſolate their plantations, and retaliate upon the perſons of his priſoners whatever cruelties ſhould, in the ſequel, be committed on the ſoldiers or ſubjects of his maſter. In all probability the French general's authority was not ſufficient to bridle the ferocity of the ſavages, who continued to ſcalp and murther with the moſt brutal appetite for blood and revenge; ſo that mr. Wolfe, in order to intimidate the enemy into a ceſſation of theſe outrages, found it neceſſary to connive at ſome irregularities in the way of retaliation.

M. de Montcalm, who commanded the French troops, though ſuperior in number to the invaders, very wiſely reſolved to depend upon the natural ſtrength of the country, which appeared almoſt inſurmountable, and had carefully taken all his precautions of defence. The city of Quebeck was tolerably fortified, ſecured with a numerous garriſon, and plentifully ſupplied with proviſion and ammunition. Montcalm had re-enforced the troops of the colony with 5 regular battalions, formed of the beſt of the inhabitants, completely diſciplined all the Canadians of the neighbourhood capable of bearing arms, and ſeveral tribes of ſavages. With this army he had taken the field in a very advantageous ſituation, encamped along the ſhore of Beaufort, from the river St. Charles to the falls of Montmorenci, every acceſſible part being deeply entrenched. To undertake the ſiege of Quebeck againſt ſuch odds and advantages was not only a deviation from the eſtabliſhed maxims of war, but a raſh enterprize, ſeemingly urged in diametrical oppoſition to the dictates of common ſenſe. Mr Wolfe was well acquainted with all the difficulties of the undertaking; but he knew at the ſame time he ſhould always have it in his power to retreat in caſe of emergency, while the Britiſh ſquadron maintained its ſtation in the river; he was not without hope of being joined by general Amherſt; and he was ſtimulated by an appetite for glory, which the proſpect of accumulated dangers could not allay. Underſtanding that there was a body of the enemy poſted, with cannon, at the Point of Levi, on the ſouth ſhore, oppoſite to the city of Quebeck, he detached againſt them brigadier Monckton, at the head of four battalions, who paſſed the river at night, and next morning, having ſkirmiſhed with ſome of the enemy's irregulars, obliged them to retire from that poſt, which the Engliſh immediately occupied. At the ſame time colonel Carlton, with another detachment, took poſſeſſion of the weſtern point of the iſland of Orleans; and both theſe poſts were fortified, in order to anticipate the enemy, who, had they kept poſſeſſion of either, might have rendered it impoſſible for any ſhip to lie at ancnor within two miles of Quebeck. Beſides, the Point of Levi was within cannon-ſhot of the city, againſt which a battery of mortars and artillery was immediately erected. Montcalm, foreſeeing the effect of this manœuvre, detached a body of 1600 men acroſs the river, to attac and deſtroy the works before they were completed: but the detachment fell into diſorder, fired upon each other, and retired in confuſion. The battery being finiſhed without further interruption, the cannon and mortars began to play with ſuch ſucceſs, that in a little time the upper town was conſiderably damaged, and the lower town reduced to a heap of rubbiſh.

In the mean time, the fleet was expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. Immediately after the troops had been landed on the iſland of Orleans the wind increaſed to a furious ſtorm, which blew with ſuch violence, that many tranſports ran foul of one another, and were diſabled. A number of boats and ſmall craft foundered, and divers large ſhips loſt their anchors. The enemy reſolving to take advantage of the confuſion which they imagined this diſaſter muſt have produced, prepared ſeven fire-ſhips, and at midnight ſent them down from Quebeck among the tranſports,

[q] The operation of ſcalping, which, to the ſhame of both nations, was encouraged both by French and Engliſh, the ſavages performed in this manner:—The hapleſs victim being diſabled, or diſarmed, the Indian, with a ſharp knife, provided and worn for the purpoſe, makes a circular inciſion to the bone round the upper part of the head, and tears off the ſcalp with his fingers. Previous to this execution, he generally diſpatches the priſoner by repeated blows on the head with the hammer-ſide of the inſtrument called a tomahawk: but ſometimes they ſave themſelves the trouble, and ſometimes the blows prove ineffectual, ſo that the miſerable patient is found alive, groaning in the utmoſt agony of torture. The Indian ſtrings the ſcalps he has procured, to be produced as a teſtimony of his proweſs, and receives a premium for each from the nation under whoſe banners he has inliſted.

which lay ſo thic as to cover the whole ſurface of the river. The ſcheme, though well contrived, and ſeaſonably executed, was entirely defeated by the deliberation of the Britiſh admiral, and the dexterity of his mariners, who reſolutely boarded the fire-ſhips, and towed them faſt a-ground, where they lay burning to the water's edge, without having done the leaſt prejudice to the Engliſh ſquadron. On the very ſame day of the ſucceeding month, they ſent down a raft of fire-ſhips, or radeaux, which was likewiſe conſumed, without producing any effect.

The works for the ſecurity of the hoſpital, and the ſtores on the iſland of Orleans, being finiſhed, the Britiſh forces croſſed the north channel in boats, and landing under cover of two ſloops, encamped on the ſide of the river Montmorenci, which divided them from the left of the enemy. Next morning a company of rangers poſted in a wood to cover ſome workmen were attacked by the French Indians, and totally defeated; however, the neareſt troops advancing, repulſed the Indians in their turn with conſiderable loſs. The reaſons that induced general Wolfe to chooſe this ſituation by the falls of Montmorenci, in which he was divided from Quebeck by this, and another river called St. Charles, he explained in a letter to the ſecretary of ſtate. He obſerved, that the ground which he had choſen was high, and in ſome meaſure commanded the oppoſite ſide on which the enemy was poſted: that there was a ford below the falls paſſable in every tide for ſome hours at the latter part of the ebb and beginning of the flood; and he hoped that means might be found of paſſing the river higher up, ſo as to fight the marquis de Montcalm upon leſs diſadvantageous terms than thoſe of directly attacking his entrenchments. Accordingly, in reconnoitring the river Montmorenci, a ford was diſcovered about three miles above; but the oppoſite banks, which were naturally ſteep, and covered with woods, the enemy had entrenched in ſuch a manner, as to render it almoſt inacceſſible. The eſcorte was twice attacked by the Indians, who were as often repulſed; but theſe re-encounters coſt the Engliſh about 40 men killed and wounded including ſome officers. Some ſhrewd objections might be ſtarted to the general's choice of ground on this occaſion. He could not act at all without paſſing the river Montmorenci at a very great diſadvantage, and attacking an enemy ſuperior to himſelf in number, ſecured by redoubts and entrenchments. Had he even, by dint of extraordinary valour, driven them from theſe ſtrong poſts, the ſucceſs muſt have coſt him a great number of officers and men; and the enemy might have retreated behind the river St. Charles, which he muſt alſo have paſſed under the ſame diſadvantages, before he could begin his operations againſt the city of Quebeck. Had his good fortune enabled him to ſurmount all theſe difficulties, and after all to defeat the enemy in a pitched battle, the garriſon of Quebeck might have been re enforced by the wrec of their army; and he could not, with any probability of ſucceſs, have undertaken the ſiege of an extenſive fortified place, which he had not troops ſufficient to inveſt, and whoſe garriſon would have been nearly equal in number to the ſum total of the troops he commanded. At any rate, the chance of a fair engagement in the open field was what he had little reaſon to expect in that ſituation, from the known experience and the apparent conduct of the French general. Theſe objections appeared ſo obvious and important, that general Wolfe would not determine to riſque an attac, until he had ſurveyed the upper part of the river St. Laurence, in hopes of finding ſome place more favourable for a deſcent.

On the 18th day of July, the admiral, at his requeſt, ſent two ſhips of war, two armed ſloops, and ſome tranſports, with troops on board, up the river; and they paſſed the city of Quebeck, without having ſuſtained any damage. The general being on board of this little armament, carefully obſerved the banks on the ſide of the enemy, which were extremely difficult from the nature of the ground, and theſe difficulties were redoubled by the foreſight and precaution of the French commander. Though a deſcent ſeemed impracticable between the city and Cape-Rouge, where it was attended, general Wolfe, in order to divide the enemy's force, and procure intelligence, ordered a detachment, under the command of colonel Carlton, to land higher up, at the Point au Tremble, to which place he was informed a great number of the inhabitants of Quebeck had retired with their moſt valuable effects. This ſervice was performed with little loſs and ſome priſoners were brought away, but no magazine was diſcovered. The general thus diſappointed in his expectation, returned to Montmorenci, where brigadier Townſhend had, by maintaining a ſuperior fire acroſs that river, prevented the enemy from erecting a battery, which would have commanded the Engliſh camp; and now he reſolved to attac them, though poſted to great advantage, and every where prepared to give him a warm reception. His deſign was, firſt to reduce a detached redoubt cloſe to the water's edge, ſeemingly ſituated without gun-ſhot of the entrenchment on the hill. Should this fortification be ſupported by the enemy, he foreſaw that he ſhould be able to bring on a general engagement: on the contrary, ſhould they remain tame ſpectators of its reduction, he could afterwards examine their ſituation at leiſure, and determine the place at which they could be moſt eaſily attacked. Preparations were accordingly made for ſtorming the redoubt. On the laſt day of July, in the forenoon, part of brigadier Monckton's brigade was embarked in the boats of the fleet, to be tranſported from the Point of Levi. The two brigades, commanded by the brigadiers Townſhend and Murray, were drawn out, in order to paſs the ford when it ſhould be neceſſary. To facilitate their paſſage, the admiral had ſtationed the Centurion ſhip of war in the channel, to chec the fire of the lower battery, by which the ford was commanded: a numerous train of artillery was placed upon the eminence, to batter and enfilade the left of the enemy's entrenchment; and two flat-bottomed armed veſſels, prepared for the purpoſe, were run a-ground near the redoubt, to favour the deſcent of the forces. The manifeſt confuſion produced among the French by theſe previous meaſures, and by the fire of the Centurion, which was well directed and ſuſtained, determined mr. Wolfe to ſtorm this entrenchment without further delay. Orders were iſſued, that the three brigadiers ſhould put their troops in motion at a certain ſignal, which was accordingly made at a proper time of the tide. Many of the boats from Point Levi ran a-ground upon a ledge that runs off a conſiderable diſtance from the ſhore; and this accident occaſioned a diſorder, by which ſo much time was loſt, that the general was obliged to ſtop the march of brigadier Townſhend's corps, which he perceived to be in motion. In the mean time, the boats were floated, and ranged in proper order, though expoſed to a ſevere fire of ſhot and ſhells; and the general in perſon ſounding the ſhore, pointed out the place where the troops might diſembark with the leaſt difficulty. Thirteen companies of grenadiers, and 200 men of the ſecond American battalion, were the firſt who landed. They had received orders to form in four diſtinct bodies, and begin the attac, ſupported by the corps of brigadier Monckton, as ſoon as the other troops ſhould have paſſed the ford, and be near enough to contribute to their aſſiſtance. Theſe inſtructions, however, were entirely neglected. Before mr. Monckton had landed, and while brigadier Townſhend was on his march at a conſiderable diſtance, the grenadiers, without waiting to be drawn up in any regular form, impetuouſly ruſhed towards the enemy's entrenchments in the utmoſt diſorder. Their courage ſerved only to increaſe their misfortune. The firſt fire they received did ſuch execution among them, that they were obliged to ſhelter themſelves under the redoubt which the French had abandoned at their approach. In this uncomfortable ſituation they remained ſome time, unable to form under ſo hot a fire, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of many gallant officers, who laviſhly expoſed, and even loſt their lives in the honourable diſcharge of their duty[r]. The general ſeeing all their endeavours, abortive, ordered them to retreat, and form behind Monckton's

[r] The following anecdote is ſo remarkable, and tends ſo much to the honour of the Britiſh ſoldiery, that we inſert it without fear of the reader's diſapprobation:—captain Ochterlony and enſign Payton belonged to the regiment of brigadier-general Monckton. They were nearly of an age, which did not exceed 30; the firſt was a North-Briton, the other a native of Ireland. Both were agreeable in perſon, and unblemiſhed in character, and connected together by the ties of mutual friendſhip and eſteem. On the day that preceded the battle, captain Ochterlony had been obliged to fight a duel with a German officer; in which, though he wounded and diſarmed his antagoniſt, yet he himſelf received a dangerous hurt under the right arm, in conſequence of which his friend inſiſted on his remaining in camp during the action of the next day; but his ſpirit was too great to comply with this remonſtrance. He declared it ſhould never be ſaid that a ſcratch received in a private rencounter had prevented him from doing his duty, when his country required his ſervice; and he took the field with a fuſil in his hand, though he was hardly able to carry his arms. In leading up his men to the enemy's entrenchment, he was ſhot through the lungs with a muſquet-ball, an accident which obliged him to part with his fuſil: but he ſtill continued advancing, until, by loſs of blood, he became too weak to proceed farther. About the ſame time mr. Peyton was lamed by a ſhot, which ſhattered the ſmall bone of his left leg. The ſoldiers, in their retreat, earneſtly begged, with tears in their eyes, that captain Ochterlony would allow them to carry him and the enſign off the field. But he was ſo bigotted to a ſevere point of honour, that he would not quit the ground, though he deſired they would take care of his en-

brigade, which was, by this time, landed and drawn up on the beach in order. They accordingly retired in confuſion, leaving a conſiderable number lying on the field, to the barbarity of the Indian ſavages, who maſſacred the living, and ſcalped the dead, even in ſight of their indignant companions. This unhappy accident occaſioned a new delay, and the day was already far advanced. The wind began to blow with uncommon violence, and the tide to make; ſo that, in caſe of a ſecond repulſe, the retreat of brigadier Townſhend might have been rendered hazardous and uncertain; mr. Wolfe, therefore, thought proper to deſiſt, and returned without further moleſtation to the other ſide of the river Montmorenci. The admiral ordered the two veſſels which were a-ground to be ſet on fire, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. The advantages that favoured an attac in this part conſiſted of the following particulars: All the artillery could be uſed with good effect; all the troops could act at once; and, in caſe of a miſcarriage, the retreat was ſecure and open, at leaſt for a certain time of the tide. Theſe, however, ſeemed to be over-balanced by other conſiderations. The enemy were poſted on a commanding eminence; the beach was covered with deep mud, ſlippery, and broken into holes and gullies; the hill was ſteep, and in ſome places impracticable; the enemy were numerous, and poured in a very ſevere fire from their entrenchments. Had the attac ſucceeded, the loſs of the Engliſh muſt have been very heavy, and that of the French inconſiderable, becauſe the neighbouring woods afforded them immediate ſhelter; finally, the river St. Charles ſtill remained to be paſſed, before the town could be inveſted.

Immediately after this mortifying chec, in which above 500 men, and many brave officers were loſt, the general detached brigadier Murray, with 1200 men, in tranſports, above the town, to co-operate with rear-admiral Holmes, whom the admiral had ſent up with ſome force againſt the French ſhipping, which he hoped to deſtroy. The brigadier was likewiſe inſtructed to ſeize every opportunity of fighting the enemy's detachments, and even of provoking them to battle. In purſuance of theſe directions, he twice attempted to land on the north ſhore; but theſe attempts were unſucceſsful. The third effort was more fortunate. He made a ſudden deſcent at Chambaud, and burned a conſiderable magazine, filled with arms, clothing, proviſion, and ammunition. The enemy's ſhips being ſecured in ſuch a manner as not to be approached, and nothing elſe occurring that required the brigadier's longer ſtay, he returned to the camp, with intelligence obtained from his priſoners, that the fort of Niagara was taken, Crown-Point abandoned, and general Amherſt employed in making preparations to attac the corps at the Iſle aux Noix commanded by M. Burlemaque. The diſaſter at the falls of Montmorenci made a deep impreſſion on the mind of general Wolfe, whoſe ſpirit was too great to brook the moſt diſtant proſpect of cenſure or diſgrace. He knew the character of the Engliſh people, raſh, impatient, and capricious; elevated to exultation by the leaſt gleam of ſucceſs, dejected even to deſpondency by the moſt inconſiderable frown of adverſe fortune; ſanguine even to childiſh hyperbole in applauding thoſe ſervants of the public who have proſpered in their undertakings; clamorous to a degree of perſecution againſt thoſe who have miſcarried in their endeavours, without any inveſtigation of merit, without any conſideration of circumſtances. A keen ſenſe of theſe vexatious peculiarities conſpiring with the ſhame of diſappointment, and eager deſire of retrieving the laurel that he might by ſome be ſuppoſed to have loſt at the falls of Montmorenci, and the deſpair of finding ſuch an occaſion, excited an internal agitation, which viſibly affected his external frame, and diſordered his whole conſtitution, which was naturally delicate and tender. Among thoſe who ſhared his confidence, he was often ſeen to ſigh; he was often heard to complain, and even in the tranſports of this chagrin declare, that he would never return without ſucceſs, to be expoſed, as other unfortunate commanders had been, to the cenſure and reproach of an ignorant and ungrateful populace. This tumult of the mind, added to the fatigues of the body he had undergone, produced a fever and dyſentery; by which, for ſome time, he was totally diſabled.

Before he recovered any degree of ſtrength, he deſired the general officers to conſult together for the public utility. It was their opinion, that the points of Levi and Orleans being left in a proper ſtate of defence, the reſt of the troops ſhould be conveyed up the river; with a view to draw the enemy from their preſent ſituation, and bring them if poſſible to an engagement. This meaſure, however, was not adopted, until the general and admiral had reconnoitred the town of Quebeck, with a view to a general aſſault, and concluded from their own obſervations, re-enforced by the opinion of the chief engineer, who was perfectly well acquainted with the interiors of the place, that ſuch on attac could not be hazarded with any proſpect of ſucceſs. The ſhips of war, indeed, might have ſilenced the batteries of the lower town; but they could not effect the upper works, from which they muſt have ſuſtained conſiderable damage. When we conſider the ſituation of this place, and the fortifications with which it was ſecured, the natural ſtrength of the country; the great number of veſſels and floating batteries they had provided for the defence of the river; the ſkill, valour, ſuperior force, and uncommon vigilance of the enemy; their numerous bodies of ſavages continually hovering about the poſts of the Engliſh, to ſurpriſe parties and harraſs detachments; we muſt own that there was ſuch a combination of difficulties as might have diſcouraged and perplexed the moſt reſolute and intelligent commander.

ſign. Mr Peyton, with a generous diſdain, rejected their good offices, declaring that he would not leave his captain in ſuch a ſituation; and in a little time they remained the ſole ſurvivors on that part of the field.

Captain Ochterlony ſat down by his friend, and, as they expected nothing but immediate death, they took leave of each other; yet they were not altogether abandoned by the hope of being protected as priſoners: for the captain ſeeing a French ſoldier with two Indians approach, ſtarted up, and acoſting them in the French language, which he ſpoke perfectly well, expreſſed his expectation that they would treat him and his companion as officers, priſoners, and gentlemen. The two Indians ſeemed to be entirely under the conduct of the Frenchman, who coming up to mr. Payton, as he ſat on the ground, ſnatched his laced hat from his head, and robbed the captain of his watch and money. This outrage was a ſignal to the Indians for murder and pillage. One of them, clubbing his fireloc, ſtruc at him behind, with a view to knoc him down, but the blow miſſing his head, took place upon his ſhoulder. At the ſame inſtant the other Indian poured his ſhot into the breaſt of this unfortunate young gentleman, who cried out, 'O Peyton! the villain has ſhot me.' Not yet ſatiated with cruelty, the barbarian ſprung upon him, and ſtabbed him in the belly with his ſcalping knife. The captain, having parted with his fuſil, had no weapon for his defence, as none of the officers wore ſwords in the action. The three ruffians, finding him ſtill alive, endeavoured to ſtrangle him with his own ſaſh; and he was now upon his knees ſtruggling againſt them with ſurpriſing exertion. Mr Peyton, at this juncture, having a double-barrelled muſquet in his hand, and ſeeing the diſtreſs of his friend, fired at one of the Indians, who dropped dead upon the ſpot. The other, thinking the enſign would now be an eaſy prey, advanced towards him, and mr. Peyton, having taken good aim at the diſtance of four yards, diſcharged his piece the ſecond time, but it ſeemed to take no effect. The ſavage fired in his turn, and wounded the enſign in the ſhoulder; then ruſhing upon him, thruſt his bayonet through his body. He repeated the blow, which mr. Peyton attempting to parry, received another wound in his left hand, nevertheleſs he ſeized the Indian's muſket with the ſame hand, pulled him forwards, and with his right drawing a dagger which hung by his ſide, plunged it in the barbarian's ſide. A violent ſtruggle enſued: but at length mr. Peyton was uppermoſt, and with repeated ſtrokes of his dagger, killed his antagoniſt outright. Here he was ſeized with an unaccountable emotion of curioſity, to know whether or not his ſhot had taken place on the body of the Indian; he accordingly turned him up, and ſtripping off his blanket, perceived that the ball had penetrated quite through the cavity of the breaſt. Having thus obtained a dear-bought victory, he ſtarted up on one leg, and ſaw captain Ochterlony ſtanding at the diſtance of 60 yards, cloſe by the enemy's breaſt-work, with the French ſoldier attending him. Mr Peyton then called aloud, 'Captain Ochterlony, I am glad to ſee you have at laſt got under protection. Beware of that villian, who is more barbarous than the ſavages. God bleſs you, my dear captain, I ſee a party of Indians coming this way, and expect to be murdered immediately.' A number of theſe barbarians had for ſome time been employed on the left in ſcalping and pillaging the dying and the dead that were left upon the field of battle: and above 30 of them were in full march to deſtroy mr. Peyton. This gentleman knew he had no mercy to expect; for ſhould his life be ſpared for the preſent, they would have afterwards inſiſted upon ſacrificing him to the names of their brethren whom he had ſlain; and in that caſe he would have been put to death by the moſt excruciating tortures. Full of this idea, he ſnatched up his muſket, and, notwithſtanding his broken leg, ran above 40 yards without halting: feeling himſelf now totally diſabled, and incapable of proceeding one ſtep further, he loaded his piece, and preſented it to the two foremoſt Indians, who ſtood aloof, waiting to be joined by their fellows: while the French from their breaſt-works, kept up a continual fire of cannon and ſmall arms upon their poor, ſolitary, maimed gentlemen. In this uncomfortable ſituation he ſtood, when he diſcerned at a diſtance a Highland officer, with a party of his men, ſkirting the plain towards the field of battle. He forthwith waved his hand in ſignal of diſtreſs, and being perceived by the officer, he detached three of his men to his aſſiſtance. Theſe brave fellows haſtened to him through the midſt of a terrible fire, and one of them bore him off on his ſhoulders. The Highland officer was captain Macdonald, of colonel Frazier's battalion; who underſtanding that a young gentleman, his kinſman, had dropped on the field of battle, had put himſelf at the head of this party, with which he penetrated to the middle of the field, drove a conſiderable number of the French and Indians before him, and finding his relation ſtill unſcalped, carried him off in triumph. Poor captain Ochterlony was conveyed to Quebeck, where in a few days he died of his wounds. After the reduction of that place, the French ſurgeons who attended him declared, that, in all probability, he would have recovered of the two ſhots he had received in his breaſt, had not he been mortally wounded in the belly by the Indian's ſcalping knife.

As this very remarkable ſcene was acted in ſight of both armies, general Townſhend, in the ſequel, expoſtulated with the French officers upon the inhumanity of keeping up ſuch a ſevere fire againſt two wounded gentlemen, who were diſabled and deſtitute of all hope of eſcaping. They anſwered, that the fire was not made by the regulars, but by the Canadians and ſavages whom it was not in the power of diſcipline to reſtrain.

In conſequence of the reſolution taken to quit the camp at Montmorenci the troops and artillery were re-embarked, and landed at Point Levi: they afterwards paſſed up the river in tranſports, while admiral Holmes made a movement with his ſhips, to amuſe the enemy poſted on the north ſhore: and the men being much crowded on board, the general ordered one half of them to be landed for refreſhment on the other ſide of the river. As no poſſibility appeared of annoying the enemy above the town the ſcheme of operations was totally changed. A plan was formed for conveying the troops farther down in boats and landing them in the night within a league of Cape Diamond in hopes of aſcending the heighths of Abraham which riſe abruptly with a ſteep aſcent from the banks of the river, that they might take poſſeſſion of the ground on the bac of the city where it was but indifferently fortified. The dangers and difficulties attending the execution of this deſign were ſo peculiarly diſcouraging, that one would imagine it could not have been embraced but by a ſpirit of enterprize that bordered on deſperation. The ſtream was rapid; the ſhore ſhelving; the bank of the river lined with ſentinels; the landing-place ſo narrow as to be eaſily miſſed in the dark; and the ground ſo difficult as hardly to be ſurmounted in the day-time, had no oppoſition been expected. If the enemy had received the leaſt intimation from ſpy or deſerter, or even ſuſpected the ſcheme: had the embarkation been diſordered, in conſequence of the darkneſs of the night, the rapidity of the river, or the ſhelving nature of the north ſhore, near which they were obliged to row: had one ſentinel been alarmed, or the landing-place much miſtaken, the heights of Abraham muſt have been inſtantly ſecured by ſuch a force as would have rendered the undertaking abhortive: confuſion would neceſſarily have enſued in the dark; and this would have naturally produced a panic, which might have proved fatal to the greater part of the detachment. Theſe objections could not eſcape the penetrations of the gallant Wolfe, who, nevertheleſs, adopted the plan without heſitation; and even executed it in perſon; though at that time labouring under a ſevere dyſentery and fever, which had exhauſted his conſtitution, and reduced him almoſt to an extremity of weakneſs. The previous ſteps being taken, and the time fixed for this hazardous attempt, admiral Holmes moved with his ſquadron further up the river, about three leagues above the place appointed for the diſembarkation, that he might deceive the enemy, and amuſe M. de Bouganville, whom Montcalm had detached with 1500 men to watch the motions of that ſquadron; but the Engliſh admiral was directed to ſail down the river in the night, ſo as to protect the landing of the forces; and theſe orders he punctually fulfilled. On the 12th day of September, an hour after midnight, the firſt embarkation, conſiſting of four complete regiments, the light infantry, commanded by colonel Howe, a detachment of Highlanders, and American grenadiers, was made in flat-bottomed boats, under the immediate command of brigadiers Monckton and Murray; though general Wolfe accompanied them in perſon, and was among the firſt who had landed; and they began to fall down with the tide, to the intended place of diſembarkation; rowing cloſe to the north ſhore, in order to find it more eaſily. Without any diſorder the boats glided gently along; but the rapidity of the tide, and the darkneſs of the night, the boats over-ſhot the mark, and the troops landed a little below the place at which the diſembarkation was intended [s]. As the troops landed, the boats were ſent bac for the ſecond embarkation, which was ſuperintended by brigadier Townſhend. In the mean time colonel Howe, with the light infantry and the Highlanders, aſcended the woody precipices with admirable courage and activity; and diſlodged a ſerjeant's guard, which defended a ſmall entrenched narrow path, by which alone the reſt of the forces could reach the ſummit. Then they mounted, without further moleſtation from the enemy, and the general drew them up in order as they arrived, monſieur de Montcalm no ſooner underſtood that the Engliſh had gained the heighths of Abraham, which in a manner commanded the town on its weakeſt part, then he reſolved to hazard a battle, and began his march without delay, after having collected his whole force from the ſide of Beauport.

General Wolfe, perceiving the enemy croſſing the river St. Charles, began to form his own line, which conſiſted of ſix battalions and the Louſbourg grenadiers; the right commanded by brigadier Monckton, and the left by brigadier Murray; to the rear of the left colonel Howe was poſted with his light infantry, juſt returned from a four-gun battery, which they had taken without oppoſition. M. de Montcalm advancing in ſuch a manner as to ſhow his intention was to flank the left of the Engliſh, brigadier Townſhend was ſent thither with the regiment of Amherſt, which he formed en potence, preſenting a double front to the enemy: he was afterwards re-enforced by two battalions, and the reſerve conſiſted of one regiment drawn up in eight ſubdiviſions, with large intervals. The right of the enemy was compoſed of half the colony troops, two battalions, and a body of Canadians and ſavages; their centre conſiſted of a column, formed by two other regular battalions; and on the left one battalion, with the remainder of the colony troops, was poſted; the buſhes and cornfields in their front were lined with 1500 of their beſt markſmen, who kept up an irregular galling fire, which proved fatal to many brave officers, thus ſingled out for deſtruction. This fire, indeed, was in ſome meaſure checked by the advanced poſts of the Britiſh line, who piqueered with the enemy for ſome hours before the battle began. Both armies were deſtitute of artillery, except two ſmall pieces on the ſide of the French, and a ſingle gun, which the Engliſh ſeamen had made ſhift to draw up from the landing-place. This was very well ſerved, and galled their column ſeverely. At length, about nine in the morning, the enemy advanced to the charge with great order and vivacity, though their fire was irregular and ineffectual. On the contrary the Britiſh forces reſerved their ſhot until the French had approached within 40 yards of their line; then they poured in a terrible diſcharge, and continued the fire with ſuch deliberation and ſpirit, as could not fail to produce a very conſiderable effect. General Wolfe was ſtationed on the right, at the head of Bragg's regiment and the Loiſbourg grenadiers, where the attac was moſt warm. As he ſtood conſpicuous in the front of the line, he had been aimed at by the enemy's markſmen, and received a ſhot in the riſt, which, however, did not oblige him to quit the field. Having wrapped a handkerchief round his hand, he continued giving orders without the leaſt emotion, and advanced at the head of the grenadiers, with their bayonets fixed, when another ball unfortunately pierced the breaſt of the young hero [t], who fell in

[s] How far the ſucceſs of this attempt depended upon accident may be conceived from the following particulars:—In the twilight two French deſerters were carried on board a ſhip of war, commanded by captain Smith, and lying at anchor near the north ſhore. They told him that the garriſon of Quebeck expected that night to receive a convoy of proviſions, ſent down the river in boats, from the detachment above, commanded by M. de Bougainville. Theſe deſerters ſtanding upon dec, and perceiving the Engliſh boats with the troops gliding down the river in the dark, began to ſhoot, and make a noiſe, declaring they were part of the expected convoy. Captain Smith, who was ignorant of general Wolfe's deſign, believing their eſtimation, had actually given orders to point the guns at the Britiſh troops; when the general perceiving a commotion on board, rowed along-ſide in perſon, and prevented the diſcharge, which would have alarmed the town, and entirely fruſtrated the attempt.

The French had poſted ſentries along ſhore, to challenge boats and veſſels, and give the alarm occaſionally. The firſt boat that contained the Engliſh troops being queſtioned accordingly, a captain of Fraſer's regiment, who had ſerved in Holland, and who was perfectly acquainted with the French language and cuſtoms, anſwered without heſitation to 'qui vit,' which is their challenging word, 'la France:' nor was he at a loſs to anſwer the ſecond queſtion, which was much more particular and difficult. When the ſentinel demanded 'à quel regiment? to what regiment?' the captain replied, 'de la Reine,' which he knew, by accident, to be one of thoſe that compoſed the body commanded by Bougainville. The ſoldier took it for granted this was the expected convoy; and ſaying, 'paſſe,' allowed all the boats to proceed without further queſtion. In the ſame manner the other ſenteries were deceived, though one, more wary than the reſt, came running down to the water's edge, and called, 'pourquoy eſt que vous ne parlex plus haut? Why don't you ſpeak with an audable voice?' To this interrogation, which implied doubt, the captain anſwered, with admirable preſence of mind, in a ſoft tone of voice, 'Tai toi, nous ſerons entendues! Huſh! we ſhall be overheard and diſcovered.' Thus cautioned, the ſentry retired without further altercation. The midſhipman who piloted the firſt boat, paſſing by the landing-place in the dark, the ſame captain who knew it, from his having been poſted formerly with his company on the other ſide of the river, inſiſted upon the pilot's being miſtaken, and commanded the rowers to be put aſhore in the proper place, or at leaſt very near it.

When general Wolfe landed and ſaw the difficulty of aſcending the precipice, he ſaid to the ſame officer, in a familiar ſtrain, 'I don't believe there is any poſſibility of getting up; but you muſt do your endeavour.' The narrow path that ſlanted up the hill from the landing-place the enemy had broken up and rendered impaſſable by croſs ditches, beſides the intrenchment at the top: in every other part the hill was ſo ſteep and dangerous, that the ſoldiers were obliged to pull themſelves up by the roots and boughs of trees growing on both ſides of the path.

[t] When the fatal ball took place general Wolfe, finding himſelf unable to ſtand, leaned upon the ſhoulder of a lieutenant, who ſat down for that purpoſe. This officer ſeeing the French give way, exclaimed, 'They run! they run!'—'Who run?' cried the gallant Wolfe, with great eagerneſs. When the lieutenant replied. 'the French.'—'What! (ſaid he) do the cowards run already? Then I die happy.' So ſaying, the glorious youth expired.

brigade, which was, by this time, landed and drawn up on the beach in order. They accordingly retired in confuſion, leaving a conſiderable number lying on the field, to the barbarity of the Indian ſavages, who maſſacred the living, and ſcalped the dead, even in ſight of their indignant companions. This unhappy accident occaſioned a new delay, and the day was already far advanced. The wind began to blow with uncommon violence, and the tide to make; ſo that, in caſe of a ſecond repulſe, the retreat of brigadier Townſhend might have been rendered hazardous and uncertain; mr. Wolfe, therefore, thought proper to deſiſt, and returned without further moleſtation to the other ſide of the river Montmorenci. The admiral ordered the two veſſels which were a-ground to be ſet on fire, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. The advantages that favoured an attac in this part conſiſted of the following particulars: All the artillery could be uſed with good effect; all the troops could act at once; and, in caſe of a miſcarriage, the retreat was ſecure and open, at leaſt for a certain time of the tide. Theſe, however, ſeemed to be over-balanced by other conſiderations. The enemy were poſted on a commanding eminence; the beach was covered with deep mud, ſlippery, and broken into holes and gullies; the hill was ſteep, and in ſome places impracticable; the enemy were numerous, and poured in a very ſevere fire from their entrenchments. Had the attac ſucceeded, the loſs of the Engliſh muſt have been very heavy, and that of the French inconſiderable, becauſe the neighbouring woods afforded them immediate ſhelter; finally, the river St. Charles ſtill remained to be paſſed, before the town could be inveſted.

Immediately after this mortifying chec, in which above 500 men, and many brave officers were loſt, the general detached brigadier Murray, with 1200 men, in tranſports, above the town, to co-operate with rear-admiral Holmes, whom the admiral had ſent up with ſome force againſt the French ſhipping, which he hoped to deſtroy. The brigadier was likewiſe inſtructed to ſeize every opportunity of fighting the enemy's detachments, and even of provoking them to battle. In purſuance of theſe directions, he twice attempted to land on the north ſhore; but theſe attempts were unſucceſsful. The third effort was more fortunate. He made a ſudden deſcent at Chambaud, and burned a conſiderable magazine, filled with arms, clothing, proviſion, and ammunition. The enemy's ſhips being ſecured in ſuch a manner as not to be approached, and nothing elſe occurring that required the brigadier's longer ſtay, he returned to the camp, with intelligence obtained from his priſoners, that the fort of Niagara was taken, Crown-Point abandoned, and general Amherſt employed in making preparations to attac the corps at the Iſle aux Noix commanded by M. Burlemaque. The diſaſter at the falls of Montmorenci made a deep impreſſion on the mind of general Wolfe, whoſe ſpirit was too great to brook the moſt diſtant proſpect of cenſure or diſgrace. He knew the character of the Engliſh people, raſh, impatient, and capricious; elevated to exultation by the leaſt gleam of ſucceſs, dejected even to deſpondency by the moſt inconſiderable frown of adverſe fortune; ſanguine even to childiſh hyperbole in applauding thoſe ſervants of the public who have proſpered in their undertakings; clamorous to a degree of perſecution againſt thoſe who have miſcarried in their endeavours, without any inveſtigation of merit, without any conſideration of circumſtances. A keen ſenſe of theſe vexatious peculiarities conſpiring with the ſhame of diſappointment, and eager deſire of retrieving the laurel that he might by ſome be ſuppoſed to have loſt at the falls of Montmorenci, and the deſpair of finding ſuch an occaſion, excited an internal agitation, which viſibly affected his external frame, and diſordered his whole conſtitution, which was naturally delicate and tender. Among thoſe who ſhared his confidence, he was often ſeen to ſigh; he was often heard to complain, and even in the tranſports of this chagrin declare, that he would never return without ſucceſs, to be expoſed, as other unfortunate commanders had been, to the cenſure and reproach of an ignorant and ungrateful populace. This tumult of the mind, added to the fatigues of the body he had undergone, produced a fever and dyſentery; by which, for ſome time, he was totally diſabled.

Before he recovered any degree of ſtrength, he deſired the general officers to conſult together for the public utility. It was their opinion, that the points of Levi and Orleans being left in a proper ſtate of defence, the reſt of the troops ſhould be conveyed up the river; with a view to draw the enemy from their preſent ſituation, and bring them if poſſible to an engagement. This meaſure, however, was not adopted, until the general and admiral had reconnoitred the town of Quebeck, with a view to a general aſſault, and concluded from their own obſervations, re-enforced by the opinion of the chief engineer, who was perfectly well acquainted with the interiors of the place, that ſuch an attac could not be hazarded with any proſpect of ſucceſs. The ſhips of war, indeed, might have ſilenced the batteries of the lower town; but they could not effect the upper works, from which they muſt have ſuſtained conſiderable damage. When we conſider the ſituation of this place, and the fortifications with which it was ſecured, the natural ſtrength of the country; the great number of veſſels and floating batteries they had provided for the defence of the river; the ſkill, valour, ſuperior force, and uncommon vigilance of the enemy; their numerous bodies of ſavages continually hovering about the poſts of the Engliſh, to ſurpriſe parties and harraſs detachments; we muſt own that there was ſuch a combination of difficulties as might have diſcouraged and perplexed the moſt reſolute and intelligent commander.

ſign. Mr Peyton, with a generous diſdain, rejected their good offices, declaring that he would not leave his captain in ſuch a ſituation; and in a little time they remained the ſole ſurvivors on that part of the field.

Captain Ochterlony ſat down by his friend, and, as they expected nothing but immediate death, they took leave of each other; yet they were not altogether abandoned by the hope of being protected as priſoners: for the captain ſeeing a French ſoldier with two Indians approach, ſtarted up, and accoſting them in the French language, which he ſpoke perfectly well, expreſſed his expectation that they would treat him and his companion as officers, priſoners, and gentlemen. The two Indians ſeemed to be entirely under the conduct of the Frenchman, who coming up to mr. Payton, as he ſat on the ground, ſnatched his laced hat from his head, and robbed the captain of his watch and money. This outrage was a ſignal to the Indians for murder and pillage. One of them, clubbing his fireloc, ſtruc at him behind, with a view to knoc him down, but the blow miſſing his head, took place upon his ſhoulder. At the ſame inſtant the other Indian poured his ſhot into the breaſt of this unfortunate young gentleman, who cried out, 'O Peyton! the villain has ſhot me.' Not yet ſatiated with cruelty, the barbarian ſprung upon him, and ſtabbed him in the belly with his ſcalping knife. The captain, having parted with his fuſil, had no weapon for his defence, as none of the officers wore ſwords in the action. The three ruffians, finding him ſtill alive, endeavoured to ſtrangle him with his own ſaſh; and he was now upon his knees ſtruggling againſt them with ſurpriſing exertion. Mr Peyton, at this juncture, having a double-barrelled muſquet in his hand, and ſeeing the diſtreſs of his friend, fired at one of the Indians, who dropped dead upon the ſpot. The other, thinking the enſign would now be an eaſy prey, advanced towards him, and mr. Peyton, having taken good aim at the diſtance of four yards, diſcharged his piece the ſecond time, but it ſeemed to take no effect. The ſavage fired in his turn, and wounded the enſign in the ſhoulder; then ruſhing upon him, thruſt his bayonet through his body. He repeated the blow, which mr. Peyton attempting to parry, received another wound in his left hand, nevertheleſs he ſeized the Indian's muſket with the ſame hand, pulled him forwards, and with his right drawing a dagger which hung by his ſide, plunged it in the barbarian's ſide. A violent ſtruggle enſued: but at length mr. Peyton was uppermoſt, and with repeated ſtrokes of his dagger, killed his antagoniſt outright, Here he was ſeized with an unaccountable emotion of curioſity, to know whether or not his ſhot had taken place on the body of the Indian; he accordingly turned him up, and ſtripping off his blanket, perceived that the ball had penetrated quite through the cavity of the breaſt. Having thus obtained a dear-bought victory, he ſtarted up on one leg, and ſaw captain Ochterlony ſtanding at the diſtance of 60 yards, cloſe by the enemy's breaſt-work, with the French ſoldier attending him. Mr Peyton then called aloud, 'Captain Ochterlony, I am glad to ſee you have at laſt got under protection. Beware of that villian, who is more barbarous than the ſavages. God bleſs you, my dear captain, I ſee a party of Indians coming this way, and expect to be murdered immediately.' A number of thoſe barbarians had for ſome time been employed on the left in ſcalping and pilliaging the dying and the dead that were left upon the field of battle: and above 30 of them were in full march to deſtroy mr. Peyton. This gentleman knew he had no mercy to expect; for ſhould his life be ſpared for the preſent, they would have afterwards inſiſted upon ſacrificing him to the names of their brethren whom he had ſlain; and in that caſe he would have been put to death by the moſt excruciating tortures. Full of this idea, he ſnatched up his muſket, and, notwithſtanding his broken leg, ran above 40 yards without halting: feeling himſelf now totally diſabled, and incapable of proceeding one ſtep further, he loaded his piece, and preſented it to the two foremoſt Indians, who ſtood aloof, waiting to be joined by their fellows: while the French from their breaſt-works, kept up a continual fire of cannon and ſmall arms upon their poor, ſolitary, maimed gentlemen. In this uncomfortable ſituation he ſtood, when he diſcerned at a diſtance a Highland officer, with a party of his men, ſkirting the plain towards the field of battle. He forthwith waved his hand in ſignal of diſtreſs, and being perceived by the officer, he detached three of his men to his aſſiſtance. Theſe brave fellows haſtened to him through the midſt of a terrible fire, and one of them bore him off on his ſhoulders. The Highland officer was captain Macdonald, of colonel Frazier's battalion; who underſtanding that a young gentleman, his kinſman, had dropped on the field of battle, had put himſelf at the head of this party, with which he penetrated to the middle of the field, drove a conſiderable number of the French and Indians before him, and finding his relation ſtill unſcalped, carried him off in triumph. Poor captain Ochterlony was conveyed to Quebeck, where in a few days he died of his wounds. After the reduction of that place, the French ſurgeons who attended him declared, that, in all probability, he would have recovered of the two ſhots he had received in his breaſt, had not he been mortally wounded in the belly by the Indian's ſcalping knife.

As this very remarkable ſcene was acted in ſight of both armies, general Townſhend, in the ſequel, expoſtulated with the French officers upon the inhumanity of keeping up ſuch a ſevere fire againſt two wounded gentlemen, who were diſabled and deſtitute of all hope of eſcaping. They anſwered, that the fire was not made by the regulars, but by the Canadians and ſavages whom it was not in the power of diſcipline to reſtrain.

In conſequence of the reſolution taken to quit the camp at Montmorenci the troops and artillery were re-embarked, and landed at Point Levi: they afterwards paſſed up the river in tranſports, while admiral Holmes made a movement with his ſhips, to amuſe the enemy poſted on the north ſhore: and the men being much crowded on board, the general ordered one half of them to be landed for refreſhment on the other ſide of the river. As no poſſibility appeared of annoying the enemy above the town the ſcheme of operations was totally changed. A plan was formed for conveying the troops farther down in boats and landing them in the night within a league of Cape Diamond in hopes of aſcending the heighths of Abraham which riſe abruptly with a ſteep aſcent from the banks of the river, that they might take poſſeſſion of the ground on the bac of the city where it was but indifferently fortified. The dangers and difficulties attending the execution of this deſign were ſo peculiarly diſcouraging, that one would imagine it could not have been embraced but by a ſpirit of enterprize that bordered on deſperation. The ſtream was rapid; the ſhore ſhelving; the bank of the river lined with ſentinels; the landing-place ſo narrow as to be eaſily miſſed in the dark; and the ground ſo difficult as hardly to be ſurmounted in the day-time, had no oppoſition been expected. If the enemy had received the leaſt intimation from ſpy or deſerter, or even ſuſpected the ſcheme: had the embarkation been diſordered, in conſequence of the darkneſs of the night, the rapidity of the river, or the ſhelving nature of the north ſhore, near which they were obliged to row: had one ſentinel been alarmed, or the landing-place much miſtaken, the heights of Abraham muſt have been inſtantly ſecured by ſuch a force as would have rendered the undertaking abhortive: confuſion would neceſſarily have enſued in the dark; and this would have naturally produced a panic, which might have proved fatal to the greater part of the detachment. Theſe objections could not eſcape the penetrations of the gallant Wolfe, who, nevertheleſs, adopted the plan without heſitation; and even executed it in perſon; though at that time labouring under a ſevere dyſentery and fever, which had exhauſted his conſtitution, and reduced him almoſt to an extremity of weakneſs. The previous ſteps being taken, and the time fixed for this hazardous attempt, admiral Holmes moved with his ſquadron further up the river, about three leagues above the place appointed for the diſembarkation, that he might deceive the enemy, and amuſe M. de Bouganville, whom Montcalm had detached with 1500 men to watch the motions of that ſquadron; but the Engliſh admiral was directed to ſail down the river in the night, ſo as to protect the landing of the forces; and theſe orders he punctually fulfilled. On the 12th day of September, an hour after midnight, the firſt embarkation, conſiſting of four complete regiments, the light infantry, commanded by colonel Howe, a detachment of Highlanders, and American grenadiers, was made in flat-bottomed boats, under the immediate command of brigadiers Monckton and Murray; though general Wolfe accompanied them in perſon, and was among the firſt who had landed; and they began to fall down with the tide, to the intended place of diſembarkation; rowing cloſe to the north ſhore, in order to find it more eaſily. Without any diſorder the boats glided gently along; but the rapidity of the tide, and the darkneſs of the night, the boats over-ſhot the mark, and the troops landed a little below the place at which the diſembarkation was intended [s]. As the troops landed, the boats were ſent bac for the ſecond embarkation, which was ſuperintended by brigadier Townſhend. In the mean time colonel Howe, with the light infantry and the Highlanders, aſcended the woody precipices with admirable courage and activity; and diſlodged a ſerjeant's guard, which defended a ſmall entrenched narrow path, by which alone the reſt of the forces could reach the ſummit. Then they mounted, without further moleſtation from the enemy, and the general drew them up in order as they arrived, monſieur de Montcalm no ſooner underſtood that the Engliſh had gained the heighths of Abraham, which in a manner commanded the town on its weakeſt part, then he reſolved to hazard a battle, and began his march without delay, after having collected his whole force from the ſide of Beauport.

General Wolfe, perceiving the enemy croſſing the river St. Charles, began to form his own line, which conſiſted of ſix battalions and the Louſbourg grenadiers; the right commanded by brigadier Monckton, and the left by brigadier Murray; to the rear of the left colonel Howe was poſted with his light infantry, juſt returned from a four-gun battery, which they had taken without oppoſition. M. de Montcalm advancing in ſuch a manner as to ſhow his intention was to flank the left of the Engliſh, brigadier Townſhend was ſent thither with the regiment of Amherſt, which he formed en potence, preſenting a double front to the enemy: he was afterwards re-enforced by two battalions, and the reſerve conſiſted of one regiment drawn up in eight ſubdiviſions, with large intervals. The right of the enemy was compoſed of half the colony troops, two battalions, and a body of Canadians and ſavages; their centre conſiſted of a column, formed by two other regular battalions; and on the left one battalion, with the remainder of the colony troops, was poſted; the buſhes and cornfields in their front were lined with 1500 of their beſt markſmen, who kept up an irregular galling fire, which proved fatal to many brave officers, thus ſingled out for deſtruction. This fire, indeed, was in ſome meaſure checked by the advanced poſts of the Britiſh line, who piqueered with the enemy for ſome hours before the battle began. Both armies were deſtitute of artillery, except two ſmall pieces on the ſide of the French, and a ſingle gun, which the Engliſh ſeamen had made ſhift to draw up from the landing-place. This was very well ſerved, and galled their column ſeverely. At length, about nine in the morning, the enemy advanced to the charge with great order and vivacity, though their fire was irregular and ineffectual. On the contrary the Britiſh forces reſerved their ſhot until the French had approached within 40 yards of their line; then they poured in a terrible diſcharge, and continued the fire with ſuch deliberation and ſpirit, as could not fail to produce a very conſiderable effect. General Wolfe was ſtationed on the right, at the head of Bragg's regiment and the Loiſbourg grenadiers, where the attac was moſt warm. As he ſtood conſpicuous in the front of the line, he had been aimed at by the enemy's markſmen, and received a ſhot in the riſt, which, however, did not oblige him to quit the field. Having wrapped a handkerchief round his hand, he continued giving orders without the leaſt emotion, and advanced at the head of the grenadiers, with their bayonets fixed, when another ball unfortunately pierced the breaſt of the young hero [t], who fell in

[s] How far the ſucceſs of this attempt depended upon accident may be conceived from the following particulars:—In the twilight two French deſerters were carried on board a ſhip of war, commanded by captain Smith, and lying at anchor near the north ſhore. They told him that the garriſon of Quebeck expected that night to receive a convoy of proviſions, ſent down the river in boats, from the detachment above, commanded by M. de Bougainville. Theſe deſerters ſtanding upon dec, and perceiving the Engliſh boats with the troops gliding down the river in the dark, began to ſhoot, and make a noiſe, declaring they were part of the expected convoy. Captain Smith, who was ignorant of general Wolfe's deſign, believing their eſtimation, had actually given orders to point the guns at the Britiſh troops; when the general perceiving a commotion on board, rowed along-ſide in perſon, and prevented the diſcharge, which would have alarmed the town, and entirely fruſtrated the attempt.

The French had poſted ſentries along ſhore, to challenge boats and veſſels, and give the alarm occaſionally. The firſt boat that contained the Engliſh troops being queſtioned accordingly, a captain of Fraſer's regiment, who had ſerved in Holland, and who was perfectly acquainted with the French language and cuſtoms, anſwered without heſitation to 'qui vit,' which is their challenging word, 'la France:' nor was he at a loſs to anſwer the ſecond queſtion, which was much more particular and difficult. When the ſentinel demanded 'à quel regiment? to what regiment?' the captain replied, 'de la Reine,' which he knew, by accident, to be one of thoſe that compoſed the body commanded by Bougainville. The ſoldier took it for granted this was the expected convoy; and ſaying, 'paſſe,' allowed all the boats to proceed without further queſtion. In the ſame manner the other ſenteries were deceived, though one, more wary than the reſt, came running down to the water's edge, and called, 'pourquoy eſt que vous ne parlex plus haut? Why don't you ſpeak with an audable voice?' To this interrogation, which implied doubt, the captain anſwered, with admirable preſence of mind, in a ſoft tone of voice, 'Tai toi, nous ſerons entendues! Huſh! we ſhall be overheard and diſcovered.' Thus cautioned, the ſentry retired without further altercation. The midſhipman who piloted the firſt boat, paſſing by the landing-place in the dark, the ſame captain who knew it, from his having been poſted formerly with his company on the other ſide of the river, inſiſted upon the pilot's being miſtaken, and commanded the rowers to be put aſhore in the proper place, or at leaſt very near it.

When general Wolfe landed and ſaw the difficulty of aſcending the precipice, he ſaid to the ſame officer, in a familiar ſtrain, 'I don't believe there is any poſſibility of getting up; but you muſt do your endeavour.' The narrow path that ſlanted up the hill from the landing-place the enemy had broken up and rendered impaſſable by croſs ditches, beſides the intrenchment at the top: in every other part the hill was ſo ſteep and dangerous, that the ſoldiers were obliged to pull themſelves up by the roots and boughs of trees growing on both ſides of the path.

[t] When the fatal ball took place general Wolfe, finding himſelf unable to ſtand, leaned upon the ſhoulder of a lieutenant, who ſat down for that purpoſe. This officer ſeeing the French give way, exclaimed, 'They run! they run!'—'Who run?' cried the gallant Wolfe, with great eagerneſs. When the lieutenant replied. 'the French.'—'What! (ſaid he) do the cowards run already? Then I die happy.' So ſaying, the glorious youth expired.

the arms of victory, juſt as the enemy gave way. At this very inſtant, every ſeparate regiment of the Britiſh army ſeemed to exert itſelf for the honour of its own peculiar character. While the right preſſed on with their bayonets, brigadier Murray briſkly advanced with the troops under his command, and ſoon broke the centre of the enemy: then the Highlanders drawing their broad ſwords, fell in among them with irreſiſtible impetuoſity, and drove them with great ſlaughter into the town, and the works they had raiſed at the bridge of the river St. Charles. On the left and rear of the Engliſh, the action was not ſo violent. Some of the light infantry had thrown themſelves into houſes, where being attacked, they defended themſelves with great courage and reſolution. Colonel Howe having taken poſt with two companies behind a ſmall copſe, ſallied out frequently on the flanks of the enemy, during this attac, and often drove them into heaps; while brigadier Townſhend advanced platoons againſt their front: ſo that the right wing of the French were totally prevented from executing their firſt intentions. The brigadier himſelf remained with Amherſt's regiment, to ſupport this diſpoſition, and to over-awe a body of ſavages, poſted oppoſite to the light infantry, waiting for an opportunity to fall upon the rear of the Britiſh army. General Wolfe being ſlain, and at the ſame time, mr. Monckton dangerouſly wounded at the head of Laſceiles's regiment, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf with remarkable gallantry, the command devolved on brigadier Townſhend, who haſtened to the centre, and finding the troops diſordered in the purſuit, formed them again with all poſſible expedition. This neceſſary taſk was ſcarce performed, when M. de Bougainville, with a body of 2000 freſh men appeared in the rear of the Engliſh. He had begun his march from Cape-Rouge as ſoon as he received intelligence that the Britiſh troops had gained the heights of Abraham, but did not come up in time to have any ſhare in the battle. Mr Townſhend immediately ordered two battalions, with two pieces of artillery, to advance againſt this officer, who retired at their approach, among woods and ſwamps, where general Townſhend very wiſely declined hazarding a precarious attac. He had already obtained a complete victory, taken a great number of French officers, and was poſſeſſed of a very advantageous ſituation, which it would have been imprudent to forego. The French general, M. de Montcalm, was mortally wounded in the battle, and conveyed into Quebeck, from whence, before he died, he wrote a letter to general Townſhend, recommending the priſoners to that generous humanity by which the Britiſh nation is diſtinguiſhed. His ſecond in command was left wounded on the field, and next day expired on board an Engliſh ſhip, to which he had been conveyed. About 1000 of the enemy were made priſoners, including a great number of officers, and above 500 were ſlain on the field of battle. The wrec of their army, after they had re-enforced the garriſon of Quebeck, retired to Point-au-Tremble, from whence they proceeded to Jacques Quartiers, where they remained entrenched, until they were compelled by the ſeverity of weather to make the beſt of their way to Trois Rivieres and Montreal. This important victory was obtained at the expence of 50 men killed, including nine officers; and of about 500 men wounded; but the death of general Wolfe was a national loſs, univerſally lamented. He inherited from nature an animating fervour of ſentiment, an intuitive perception, an extenſive capacity, and a paſſion for glory, which ſtimulated him to acquire every ſpecies of military knowledge that ſtudy could comprehend, that actual ſervice could illuſtrate and confirm. This noble warmth of diſpoſition ſeldom fails to call forth and unfold the liberal virtues of the ſoul. Brave above all eſtimation of danger, he was alſo generous, gentle, complaiſant, and humane; the pattern of the officer, the darling of the ſoldier: there was a ſublimity of his genius, which ſored above the pitch of ordinary minds; and had his faculties been exerciſed to their full extent by opportunity and action; had his judgement been fully matured by age and experience, he would, without doubt, have rivalled in reputation the moſt celebrated captains of antiquity.

Immediately after the battle of Quebeck, admiral Saunders, who, together with his ſubordinates, Durell and Holmes, had all along co-operated heartily with the land-forces for the advantage of the ſervice, ſent up all the boats of the fleet, with artillery and ammunition; and on the 17th day of the month ſailed up, with all the ſhips of war, in a diſpoſition to attac the lower town, while the upper part ſhould be aſſaulted by general Townſhend. This gentleman had employed the time from the day of action in ſecuring the camp with redoubts, in forming a military road for the cannon, in drawing up the artillery, preparing batteries, and cutting off the enemy's communication with the country. On the 17th, before any battery could be finiſhed, a flag of truce was ſent from the town with propoſals of capitulation; which, being maturely conſidered by the general and admiral, were accepted, and ſigned at eight next morning. They granted the more favourable terms, as the enemy continued to aſſemble in the rear of the Britiſh army; as the ſeaſon was become wet, ſtormy, and cold; threatening the troops with ſickneſs and the fleet with accident, and as a conſiderable advantage would reſult from taking poſſeſſion of the town while the walls were in a ſtate of defence. What rendered the capitulation ſtill more fortunate for the Britiſh general, was the information he afterwards received from deſerters, that the enemy had rallied, and were reenforced behind Cape-Rouge, under the command of M. de Levy, arrived from Montreal for that purpoſe, with two regular battalions; and that M. de Bougainvilie, at the head of 800 men with a convoy of proviſions, was actually on his march to throw himſelf into the town on the 18th, that very morning on which it was ſurrendered. The place was not then completely inveſted, as the enemy had broke their bridge of boats, and poſted detachments in very ſtrong works on the other ſide of the river St. Charles. The capitulation was no ſooner ratified than the Britiſh forces took poſſeſſion of Quebeck on the land ſide, and guards were poſted in different parts of the town to preſerve order and diſcipline: at the ſame time, captain Palliſer, with a body of ſeamen, entered the lower town and took the ſame precautions. Next day about 1000 priſoners were embarked on board tranſports, which proceeded to France with the firſt opportunity. Mean while, the inhabitants of the country came in great numbers, to deliver up their arms, and take the oath of fidelity to the Engliſh government. The death of Montcalm, which was indeed an irreparable loſs to France, in all probability, overwhelmed the enemy with conſternation, and confounded all their councils; otherwiſe we cannot account for the tame ſurrender of Quebeck to a handful of troops, even after the victory they had obtained: for although the place was not regularly fortified on the land-ſide, and moſt of the houſes were in ruins, their walls and parapets had not yet ſuſtained the leaſt damage: the beſiegers were hardly ſufficient to complete the inveſtiture: a freſh army was aſſembled in the neighbourhood, with which their communication continued open: the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, that the Britiſh forces in a little time muſt have been forced to deſiſt by the ſeverity of the weather, and even retire with their fleet before the approach of winter, which never fails to freeze up the river St. Laurence.

Immediately after the action at the falls of Montmorenci, general Wolfe had diſpatched an officer to England, with a detail of that diſaſter, written with ſuch elegance and accuracy, as would not have diſgraced the pen of a Cæſar. Though the public acquieſced in his conduct, they were exceedingly mortified at his miſcarriage; and this mortification was the greater, as he ſeemed to deſpair of being able to ſtrike any other ſtroke of importance for the accompliſhment of their hope, which had aſpired at the abſolute conqueſt of Canada. The firſt tranſports of their chagrin were not yet ſubſided, when colonel Hale arrived in the ſhip Alcide, with an account of the victory and ſurrender of Quebeck; which was immediately communicated to the people in an extraorninary gazette. The joy which this excited among the populace roſe in proportion to the deſpondence which the former had produced: all was rapture and riot; all was triumph and and exultation, mingled with the praiſe of the all accompliſhed Wolfe, which they exalted even to a rediculous degree of hyperbole. The king expreſſed his ſatisfaction, by conferring the honour of knighthood upon captain Douglas, whoſe ſhip brought the firſt tidings of this ſucceſs; and gratified him and colonel Hale with conſiderable preſents. A day of ſolemn thankſgiving was appointed by proclamation through all the dominions of Great-Britain. The city of London, the univerſities, and many other corporations of the kingdom, preſented congratulatory addreſſes to his majeſty. The parliament was no ſooner aſſembled, than the ſecretary of ſtate, in the houſe of commons, expatiated upon the ſucceſſes of the campaign, the tranſcendant merit of the deceaſed general, the conduct and courage of the admirals and officers who aſſiſted in the conqueſt of Quebeck. In conſequence of this harangue, and the motion by which it was ſucceeded, the houſe unanimouſly reſolved to preſent an addreſs, deſiring his majeſty would order a monument to

be erected in Weſtminſter-Abbey to the memory of major-general Wolfe: at the ſame time they paſſed another reſolution, that the thanks of the houſe ſhould be given to the ſurviving generals and admirals employed in the glorious and ſucceſsful expedition to Quebeck. Teſtimonies of this kind, while they reflect honour upon the character of the nation, never fail to animate individuals to a ſpirited exertion of their talents in the ſervice of the public. The people of England were ſo elivated by the aſtoniſhing ſucceſs of this campaign, which was alſo proſperous on the continent of Europe, that far from expreſſing the leaſt ſenſe of the enormous burthens which they bore, they, with a ſpirit peculiar to the Britiſh nation, voluntarily raiſed large contributions, to purchaſe warm jackets, ſtockings, ſhoes, coats, and blankets, for the ſoldiers who were expoſed to the rigours of an inclement ſky in Germany and America. But they diſplayed a more noble proof of unreſtrained benevolence extented even to foes. The French miniſtry, ſtraitened in their finances, which were found ſcarce ſufficient to maintain the war, had ſacrificed their duty to their king, and every ſentiment of compaſſion for his unhappy ſubjects, to a thirſt of vengeance, and ſanguinary views of ambition. They had withdrawn the uſual allowance from their ſubjects who were detained priſoners in England; and thoſe wretched creatures, amounting in number to near 20,000, were left to the mercy of thoſe enemies whom their ſovereign had taken ſuch pains to exaſperate. The allowance with which they were indulged by the Britiſh government effectually ſecured them from the horrors of famine; but ſtill they remained deſtitute of other conveniences, and particularly expoſed to the miſeries of cold and nakedneſs. The generous Engliſh beheld theſe forlorn captives with ſentiments of ſympathy and compaſſion: they conſidered them as their fellow-creatures and brethren in humanity, and forgot their country while they beheld their diſtreſs. A conſiderable ſubſcription was raiſed on their behalf; and in a few weeks they were completely clothed by the charity of their Britiſh benefactors. The beneficient exertion was certainly one of the nobleſt triumphs of the human mind, which even the moſt inveterate enemies of Great-Britain cannot but regard with reverence and admiration. The city of Quebeck being reduced, together with great part of the circumjacent country, brigadier Townſhend, who had accepted his commiſſion with the expreſs proviſo that he ſhould return to England at the end of the campaign, left a garriſon of 5000 effective men, victualled from the fleet, under the command of brigadier Murray; and embarking with admiral Saunders, arrived in Great-Britain about the beginning of winter. As for brigadier Monckton, he was conveyed to New-York, where he happily recovered of his wound.

While the arms of Great-Britain triumphed in Europe and America, her intereſt was not ſuffered to languiſh in other parts of the world. This was the ſeaſon of ambition and activity, in which every ſeparate armament, every diſtinct corps, and every individual officer, ſeemed to exert themſelves with the moſt eager appetite of glory. The Eaſt-Indies, which, in the courſe of the preceding year, had been the theatre of operations carried on with various ſucceſs, exhibited nothing now but a ſucceſſion of trophies to the Engliſh commanders. The Indian tranſactions of the laſt year we interrupted at that period when the French general, Lally, was employed in making preparations for the ſiege of Madras. In the month of October he had marched into Arcot without oppoſition; and in the beginning of December, he advanced towards Madras. On the 12th he marched over Choultry plain, in three diviſions, cannonaded by the Engliſh artillery with conſiderable effect, and took poſt at Egmore and St. Thome. Colonel Laurence, who commanded the garriſon of Madras, retired to the iſland, in order to prevent the enemy from taking poſſeſſion of the iſland bridge, and at the ſame time ordered the poſts to be occupied in the Black-town or ſuburbs of Madras. In the morning of the 14th, the enemy marched with their whole force to attac this place, the Engliſh detachments retreated into the garriſon, and within the hour a grand ſally was made, under the command of colonel Draper, a gallant officer, who ſignalized himſelf remarkably on this occaſion. He attacked the regiment of Lorraine with great impetuoſity; and, in all probability, would have beat them off, had they not been ſuſtained by the arrival of a freſh brigade. After a warm diſpute, in which many officers, and a great number of men, were killed on each ſide, colonel Draper was obliged to retreat, not altogether ſatisfied with the conduct of his grenadiers. As the garriſon of Madras was not very numerous, nothing further was attempted on their ſide without the works. In the mean time, the enemy uſed all their diligence in erecting batteries againſt the fort and town, which being opened on the 6th day of January, they maintained a continual diſcharge of ſhot and ſhells for 20 days, advancing their trenches all the time under cover of this fire, until they reached the breaſt of the glacis. There they erected a battery of four pieces of cannon, and opened it on the laſt day of the month; but for five days ſucceſſively they were obliged to cloſe their embraſures, by the ſuperior fire of the fort, and at length to abandon it entirely: nevertheleſs, they ſtill maintained a ſevere fire from the firſt grand battery, which was placed at the diſtance of 450 yards from the defences. This artillery was ſo well ſerved, as to diſable 26 pieces of cannon, three mortars, and effect an inconſiderable breach. Perhaps they might have had more ſucceſs, had they battered in breach from the beginning; but mr. Lally, in order to intimidate the inhabitants, had cruelly bombarded the town, and demoliſhed the houſes: he was, however, happily diſappointed in his expectation by the wiſe and reſolute precautions of governor Pigot; by the vigilance, conduct, and bravery of the colonels Laurence and Draper, ſeconded by the valour and activity of major Brereton, and the ſpirit of the inferior officers. The artillery of the garriſon was ſo well managed, that, from the 5th day of February, the fire of the enemy gradually decreaſed from 23 to ſix pieces of cannon; nevertheleſs, they advanced their ſap along the ſea-ſide, ſo as to embrace entirely the north-eaſt angle of the covered way, from whence their muſquetry drove the beſieged. They likewiſe endeavoured to open a paſſage into the ditch by a mine, but ſprung it ſo injudiciouſly, that they could make no advantage of it, as it lay expoſed to the fire of ſeveral cannon. While theſe preparations were carried on before the town, major Caillaud and captain Preſton, with a body of ſepoys, ſome of the country horſe, and a few Europeans, drawn from the Engliſh garriſons of Trichenapally, and Chingalaput, hovered at the diſtance of a few miles, blocking up the roads in ſuch a manner, that the enemy were obliged, four ſeveral times, to ſend large detachments againſt them, in order to open the communication: thus the progreſs of the ſiege was in a great meaſure retarded. On the 16th day of February in the evening, the Queenborough ſhip of war, commanded by captain Kempenfeldt, and the company's ſhip the Revenge, arrived in the road of Madras, with a re-enforcement of 600 men belonging to colonel Draper's regiment, and part of them was immediately diſembarked. From the beginning of the ſiege, the enemy had diſcovered a backwardneſs in the ſervice very unſuitable to their national character. They were ill ſupplied by their commiſſaries and contractors: they were diſcouraged by the obſtinate defence of the garriſon, and all their hope of ſucceſs vaniſhed at the arrival of this re-enforcement. After a briſk fire, they raiſed the ſiege that very night, abandoning 40 pieces of cannon; and, having deſtroyed the powder-mills at Ogmore, retreated to the territory of Arcot. [u]

M. Lally having weakened his forces that were at Ma-

[u] The chagrin and mortification of Lally are ſtrongly marked in the following intercepted letter to M. de Legret, dated from the camp before Madras:

'A good blow might be ſtruc here; there is a ſhip in the road, of 20 guns, laden with all the riches of Madras, which it is ſaid will remain there till the 20th. The Expedition is juſt arrived, but M. Gerlin is not a man to attac her; for ſhe has made him run away once before. The Briſtol, on the other hand, did but juſt make her appearance before St. Thomas: and on the vague report of 13 ſhips coming from Porto-Novo, ſhe took fright: and after landing the proviſions with which ſhe was laden, ſhe would not ſtay long enough even to take on board 12 of her own guns, which ſhe had lent us for the ſiege.

'If I was the judge of the point of honour of the company's officers, I would break him like glaſs, as well as ſome others of them.

'The Fidelle, or the Harlem, or even the aforeſaid Briſtol, with the 12 guns reſtored to her, would be ſufficient to make themſelves maſters of the Engliſh ſhip, if they could manage ſo as to get to windward of her in the night. Maugendre and Tremillier are ſaid to be good men, and were they employed only to tranſport 200 wounded men that we have here, their ſervice would be of importance.

'We remain ſtill in the ſame poſition: the breach made theſe 15 days; all the time within 15 toiſes of the wall of the place, and never holding up our heads to look at it.

'I reckon we ſhall, on our arrival at Pondicherry, endeavour to learn ſome other trade, for this of war requires too much patience.

'Of 1500 ſepoys which attended our army, I reckon near 800 are employed upon the road to Pondicherry, laden with ſugar, pepper, and other goods; and as for the Coulis, they are employed for the ſame purpoſe, from the firſt day we came here.

'I am taking my meaſures from this day to ſet fire to the Black-town, and to blow up the powder-mills.

'You will never imagine that 50 French deſerters, and 100 Swiſs, are actually ſtopping the progreſs of 2000 men of the king's and company's troops, which are ſtill here exiſting, notwithſtanding the exaggerated accounts

ſulipatam, under the conduct of the marquis de Conflans, in order to ſtrengthen the army with which he undertook the ſiege of Madras, the rajah of Viſanapore drove the French garriſon from Vizagapatam, and hoiſted Engliſh colours in the place. The marquis having put his troops in motion to revenge this inſult, the rajah ſollicited ſuccour from colonel Clive at Calcutta; and, with the conſent of the council, a body of troops was ſent, under the command of colonel Forde, to his aſſiſtance. They conſiſted of 500 Europeans, including a company of artillery, and 1600 ſepoys, with about 15 pieces of cannon, one howitzer, and three mortars. The forces of Conflans were much more conſiderable. On the 20th day of October, colonel Forde arrived at Vizagapatam, and made an agreement with the rajah, who promiſed to pay the expence of the expedition, as ſoon as he ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of Rajamundry, a large town and fort poſſeſſed by the French. It was ſtipulated that he ſhould have all the inland country belonging to the Indian powers in the French intereſt, and at preſent in arms; and that the Engliſh company ſhould retain all the conquered ſea-coaſt from Vizagapatam to Maſulipatam. On the 1ſt of November colonel Forde proceeded on his march, and on the 3d joined the rajah's army, conſiſting of between 3 and 4000 men. On the 3d day of December they came in ſight of the enemy, near the village of Tallapool: but the French declining battle, the colonel determined to draw them from their advantageous ſituation, or march round, and get between them and Rajamundry. On the 7th, before day-break, he began his march, leaving the rajah's forces on their ground; but the enemy beginning to cannonade the Indian forces, he, at the requeſt of the rajah, returned, and took them under his protection. Then they marched together to the village of Golapool, and halted on a ſmall plain about three miles from their encampment. About nine he formed the line of battle. About ten the enemy were drawn up, and began the cannonade. The firing on both ſides having continued about 40 minutes, the enemy's line advanced to the charge with great reſolution, and were ſo warmly received, that after ſeveral ſpirited efforts, at eleven they gave way, and retreated in diſorder towards Rajamundry. During this conflict, the rajah's forces ſtood as idle ſpectators; nor could their horſe be prevailed upon to purſue the fugitives. This victory coſt the Engliſh 44 Europeans killed and wounded, including two captains and three lieutenants. The French loſt above three times the number, together with their whole camp, baggage, 32 pieces of cannon, and all their ammunition. A great number of blac forces fell on both ſides. The marquis de Conflans did not remain at Rajamundry, but proceeded to Maſulipatam; while captain Knox, with a detachment from the Engliſh army, took poſſeſſion of the fort of Rajamundry, which is the barrier and key to the country of Vizagapatam. This was delivered to the rajah on his paying the expence of the expedition; and captain Knox being detached with a battalion of ſepoys, took poſſeſſion of the French factory at Narſipore. This was alſo the fate of a ſmall fort at Coucate, which ſurrendered to captain Maclean, after having made an obſtinate defence. In the mean time, however, the French army of obſervation made ſhift to re-take Rajamundry, where they found a conſiderable quantity of money, baggage, and effects belonging to Engliſh officers.

Colonel Forde advancing to the neighbourhood of Maſulipatam, the marquis de Conflans with his forces retired within the place, which on the 7th day of March was inveſted. By the 7th day of April the ammunition of the beſiegers being almoſt expended, colonel Forde, determined to give the aſſault, as two breaches were already made, and made his diſpoſition accordingly. The attac was begun in the night, and the aſſailants arrived at the ditch before they were diſcovered. But here they underwent a terrible diſcharge of grape-ſhot and muſquetry; notwithſtanding which they entered the breaches, and drove the enemy from baſtion to baſtion. At length, the marquis de Conflans ſent an officer to demand quarter for the garriſon, which was granted as ſoon as he ordered his men to ceaſe firing. Thus, with about 340 European ſoldiers, a handful of ſeamen, and 700 ſepoys colonel Forde took by aſſault the ſtrong town of Maſulipatam, garriſoned by 522 Europeans, 2039 caffrees, topaſſes, and ſepoys; and here he found above 150 pieces of cannon, with a great quantity of ammunition. Salabatzing, the ſubah of Decan, perceiving the ſucceſs of the Engliſh here as well as at Madras, being ſic of his French alliance, and in dread of his brother Nizam Allee, who had ſet up a ſeparate intereſt, and taken the field againſt him, made advances to the company, with which he forthwith concluded a treaty to the following effect:—'The whole of the circar of Maſulipatam ſhall be given to the Engliſh company. Salabatzing will not ſuffer the French to have a ſettlement in this country, nor keep them in his ſervice, nor give them any aſſiſtance. The Engliſh, on their part, will not aſſiſt, nor give protection to the ſubah's enemies.' In a few days after Maſulipatam was reduced, two ſhips arrived in the road, with a re-enforcement of 400 men to the marquis de Conflans; but underſtanding the fate of the place, made the beſt of their way to Ganjam.

The merchants reſiding at Surat, finding themſelves expoſed to numberleſs dangers, and every ſpecies of oppreſſion, by the ſidee who commanded the caſtle, on one hand, by the governor of the city on the other, and by the Mahrattas, who had claimed to a certain ſhare of the revenue, made application to the Engliſh preſidency at Bombay, deſiring they would equip an expedition for taking poſſeſſion of the caſtle and Tanka, and ſettle the government of the city upon Pharaſs Cawn, who had been naib or deputy-governor under Meah Atchund, and regulated the police to the ſatisfaction of the inhabitants. The preſidency embraced the propoſal: admiral Pococke ſpared 2 of his ſhips for this ſervice. Eight hundred and fifty men, artillery and infantry, with 1500 ſepoys, under the command of captain Richard Maitland, of the royal regiment of artillery, were embarked on board the company's armed veſſels commanded by captain Watſon, who ſailed on the 9th day of February. On the 15th, they were landed at a place called Dentiloury, about nine miles from Surat; and here they were encamped for refreſhment: in two days he advanced againſt the French garden, in which a conſiderable number of the ſidee's men were poſted, and drove them from thence, after a very obſtinate diſpute. Then he erected a battery, from which he battered the wall in breach: but this method appearing tedious, he called a council of war, compoſed of the land and ſea-officers, and laid before them the plan of a general attac, which was accordingly executed next morning. The company's grab, and the bomb-ketches, being warped up the river in the night, were ranged in a line of battle oppoſite to the Bundar, which was the ſtrongeſt fortification that the enemy poſſeſſed, and under the fire of theſe, the troops being landed, took the Bundar by aſſault. The outward town being thus gained, he forthwith began to bombard the inner town and caſtle with ſuch fury, that next morning they both ſurrendered, on condition of being allowed to march out with their effects; and captain Maitland took poſſeſſion without further diſpute. Meah Atchund was continued governor of Surat, and Pharas Cawn was appointed naib. The artillery and ammunition found in the caſtle were ſecured for the company, until the mogul's pleaſure was known; and in a little time a phirmaud, or grant, arrived from Delhi, appointing the Engliſh company admiral to the mogul; ſo that the ſhips and ſtores belonged to them of courſe, as part of the Tanka; and they were now declared legal poſſeſſors of the caſtle. This conqueſt, which coſt about 200 men, including a few officers, was achieved with ſuch expedition, that captain Watſon returned to Bombay by the 9th day of April.

The main body of the Engliſh forces, which had been centered at Madras, for the preſervation of that important ſettlement, took the field after the ſiege was raiſed, and poſſeſſed themſelves of Conjeveram, a place of great conſequence, which, with the fort of Schengelpel, commanded all the adjacent country, and ſecured the Britiſh poſſeſſions to the northward. M. Lally, ſenſible of the importance of the poſt, took the ſame rout, in order to diſlodge them; but

that every one makes here, according to his own fancy, of the ſlaughter that has been made of them; and you will ſtill be more ſurpriſed, if I tell you, that, were it not for the combats and four battles we ſuſtained, and for the batteries which failed, or, to ſpeak more properly, which were unſkilfully made, we ſhould not have loſt 50 men, from the commencement of the ſiege to this day. I have written to M. de Larche, that if he perſiſts in not coming here, let who will raiſe money upon the Poleagers for me, I will not do it; and I will renounce (as I informed you a month ago I would do) meddling directly or indirectly with any thing whatever that may have relation to your adminiſtration, whether civil or military. For I had rather go and command the caffres of Madagaſcar than remain in this Sodom; which it is impoſſible but the fire of the Engliſh muſt deſtroy ſooner or later, even though that from Heaven ſhould not.

'I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

'Signed, LALLY.

'P. S.—I think it neceſſary to appriſe you, that, as M. de Soupire has refuſed to take upon him the command of this army, which I have offered him, and which he is empowered to accept, by having received from the court a duplicate of my commiſſion, you muſt of neceſſity, together with the council, take it upon you. For my part, I undertake only to bring it back either to Arcotte or Sadraſte. Send, therefore, your orders, or come yourſelves to command it; for I ſhall quit it upon my arrival there.'

finding all his attempts ineffectual, he retired to Wandewaſh, where his troops were put into quarters of cantonment. No other operations enſued to the month of September, when major Brereton, who commanded the Engliſh forces, being joined by major Gordon with 300 men of colonel Coote's battalion, reſolved to attac the enemy in his turn. On the 14th day of the month he began his march from Conjeveram for Wandewaſh, at the head 400 Europeans, 7000 ſepoys, 70 European and 300 black horſe, with 14 pieces of artillery. In his march he inveſted and took the fort of Trivitar, from whence he proceeded to the village of Wandewaſh, where the French, to the number of 1000, were ſtrongly encamped under the guns of a fort commanded by a rajah, mounting 20 cannon, under the direction of a French gunner. On the 30th day of September, at two in the morning, the Engliſh attacked the village in three different places, and drove them from it after a very obſtinate diſpute; but this advantage they were not able to maintain. The blac pioneers ran away during the attac, ſo that proper traverſes could not be made in the ſtreets; and at day-break the fort poured in upon them a prodigious diſcharge of grape-ſhot with a conſiderable effect. The enemy had retired to a dry ditch, which ſerved as an entrenchment, from whence they made furious ſallies; and a body of 300 European horſe were already in motion, to fall upon and complete their confuſion. In this emergency, they retired in diſorder, and might have been entirely ruined, had not a body of reſerve effectually covered their retreat; yet this could not be effected without the loſs of ſeveral officers, and above 300 men killed and wounded. After this mortifying chec, they encamped a few days in ſight of the fort, and the rainy ſeaſon ſetting in, returned to Conjeveram. The fort of Wandewaſh was afterwards garriſoned by French and ſepoys, and the other forces of the enemy were aſſembled by brigadier-general de Buſſy at Arcot.

During theſe tranſactions by land, the ſuperiority by ſea was ſtill diſputed between the Engliſh and French admirals. On the 1ſt day of September, vice-admiral Pococke ſailed from Madras to the ſouthward, in queſt of the enemy; and next day deſcried the French fleet, conſiſting of 15 ſail, ſtanding to the northward. He forthwith threw out the ſignal for a general chaſe, and ſtood towards them with all the ſail he could carry; but the wind abating, he could not approach near enough to engage. During the three ſucceeding days, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to bring them to a battle, which they ſtill declined, and at laſt they diſappeared. He then directed his courſe to Pondicherry, on the ſuppoſition that they were bound to that harbour; and on the 8th day of the month perceived them ſtanding to the ſouthward: but he could not bring them to an engagement till the tenth, when M. d'Apché, about two in the afternoon, made the ſignal for battle, and the cannonading began without further delay. The Britiſh ſquadron did not exceed nine ſhips of the line; the enemy's fleet conſiſted of eleven; but they had ſtill a greater advantage in number of men and artillery. Both ſquadrons fought with great impetuoſity till about ten minutes after four, when the enemy's rear began to give way: this example was ſoon followed by their centre; and finally the van, with the whole ſquadron, bore to the ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, with all the canvas they could ſpread. The Britiſh ſquadron was ſo much damaged in their maſts and rigging, that they could not purſue; ſo that M. d'Apché retreated at his leiſure unmoleſted. On the 15th, admiral Pococke returned to Madras, where his ſquadron being repaired by the 26th, he ſailed again to Pondicherry, and in the road ſaw the enemy lying at anchor in line of battle. The wind being off ſhore, he made the line of battle a-head, and for ſome time continued in this ſituation. At length the French admiral weighed anchor, and came forth; but inſtead of bearing down upon the Engliſh ſquadron, which had fallen to leeward, he kept cloſe to the wind, and ſtretched away to the ſouthward. Admiral Pococke finding him averſe to another engagement, and his own ſquadron being in no condition to purſue, he, with the advice of his captains, deſiſted and meaſured bac his courſe to Madras. On the ſide of the Engliſh, above 300 men were killed in the engagement, including captain Miche, who commanded the Newcaſtle, captain Gore of the marines, two lieutenants, a maſter, gunner and boatſwain: the captains Somerſet and Brereton, with about 250 men were wounded, and many of the ſhips conſiderably damaged. The loſs of the enemy muſt have been much more conſiderable; becauſe the Engliſh in battle always fire at the body of the ſhip; becauſe the French ſquadron was crowded with men; becauſe they gave way, and declined a ſecond engagement; and finally, becauſe they now made the beſt of their way to the iſland of Mauritius, in order to be refitted, having on board general Lally, and ſome other officers. Thus they left the Engliſh maſters of the Indian coaſt; a ſuperiority ſtill more confirmed by the arrival of rear-admiral Corniſh, with four ſhips of the line, who had ſet ſail from England in the beginning of the year, and joined admiral Pococke at Madras on the 18th of October.

The French were not the only enemies with whom the Engliſh had to cope in the Eaſt-Indies. The great extention of their trade in the kingdom of Bengal had excited the envy and avarice of the Dutch factory, who poſſeſſed a ſtrong fort at Chinchura, on the river of Bengal; and reſolved, if poſſible, to engroſs the whole ſalt-peter branch of commerce. They had, without doubt, tampered with the new ſubah, who lay under ſuch obligations to the Engliſh, and probably ſecured his connivance. Their ſcheme was approved by the governor of Batavia, who charged himſelf with the execution of it; and, for that purpoſe choſe the opportunity when the Britiſh ſquadron had retired to the coaſt of Malabar. On pretence of re-enforcing the Dutch garriſons in Bengal, he equipped an armament of ſeven ſhips, having on board 500 European troops, and 600 Malayeſe, under the command of colonel Ruſſel. This armament having touched at Negapatam, proceeded up the bay, and arrived in the river of Bengal about the beginning of October. Colonel Clive, who then reſided at Calcutta, had received information of their deſign, which he was reſolved, at all events, to defeat. He complained to the ſubah, who, upon ſuch application, could not decently refuſe an order to the director and council of Hughley, implying, that this armament ſhould not proceed up the river. The colonel, at the ſame time, ſent a letter to the Dutch commodore, intimating, that as he had received intimation of their deſign, he could not allow them to land forces, and march to Chinchura. In anſwer to this declaration, the Dutch commodore, whoſe whole fleet had not yet arrived, aſſured the Engliſh commander that he had no intention to ſend any forces to Chinchura; and begged liberty to land ſome of his troops for refreſhment; a favour that was granted, on condition that they ſhould not advance. Notwithſtanding the ſubah's order, and his own engagement to this effect, the reſt of the ſhips were no ſooner arrived, than he proceeded up the river to the neighbourhood of Tannah-fort, where his forces being diſembarked, began their march to Chinchura. In the mean time, by way of retaliating the affront he pretended of having ſuſtained, in being denied a paſſage to their own factory, he took ſeveral ſmall veſſels on the river belonging to the Engliſh company; and the Calcutta Indiaman, commanded by captain Wilſon, homeward bound, ſailing down the river, the Dutchman gave him to underſtand, that if he preſumed to paſs he would ſink him without further ceremony. The Engliſh captain ſeeing them run out their guns, as if he really reſolved to put their threats in execution, returned to Calcutta, where the two other India ſhips lay at anchor, and reported the adventure to colonel Clive, who forthwith ordered the three ſhips to prepare for battle, and attac the Dutch armament. The ſhips being properly manned, and their quarters lined with ſalt-peter, they fell down the river, and found the Dutch ſquadron drawn up in the line of battle, in order to give them a warm reception, for which they ſeemed well prepared; for three of them were mounted with 36 guns each: three of them with 26, and the ſeventh carried 16. The Duke of Dorſet, commanded by captain Forreſter, being the firſt that approached them, dropped anchor cloſe to their line, and began the engagement with a broadſide which was immediately returned. A dead calm unfortunately intervening, this ſingle ſhip was for a conſiderable time expoſed to the whole fire of the enemy; but a ſmall breeze ſpringing up, the Calcutta and the Hardwicke advanced to her aſſiſtance, and a ſevere fire was maintained on both ſides, till two of the Dutch ſhips ſlipping their cables, bore away, and a third was driven a ſhore. Their commodore thus weakened, after a few broadſides ſtruc his flag to captain Wilſon, and the other three followed his example. The victory being thus obtained, without the loſs of one man on the ſide of the Engliſh, captain Wilſon took poſſeſſion of the prizes, the decs of which were ſtrewed with carnage, and ſent the priſoners to colonel Clive, at Calcutta. The detachment of troops which they had landed, to the number of 1100 men, was not more fortunate in their progreſs. Colonel Clive no ſooner received intelligence that they were in full march to Chinchura than he detached colonel Forde with

500 men, from Calcutta, in order to oppoſe, and put a ſtop to their march at the French gardens. He accordingly advanced to the northward, and entered the town of Chandernagore, where he ſuſtained the fire of a Dutch party ſent out from Chinchura to join and conduct the expected re-enforcement. Theſe being routed and diſperſed, after a ſhort action, colonel Forde in the morning proceeded to a plain in the neighbourhood of Chinchura, where he found the enemy prepared to give him battle, on the 25th day of November. They even advanced to the charge with great reſolution and activity; but found the fire of the Engliſh artillery and battalion ſo intolerably hot, that they ſoon gave way, and were totally defeated. A conſiderable number were killed, and the greater part of thoſe who ſurvived the action were taken priſoners. During this conteſt, the nabob, at the head of a conſiderable army, obſerved a ſuſpicious neutrality; and in all likelihood would have declared for the Dutch, had they proved victorious, as he had reaſon to believe they would, from their great ſuperiority in number. But fortune no ſooner determined in favour of the Engliſh than he made a tender of his ſervice to the victor, and even offered to reduce Chincura with his own army. In the mean time, propoſals of accommodation being ſent to him by the directors and council of the Dutch factory at Chinchura, a negotiation enſued, and a treaty was concluded to the ſatisfaction of all parties. Above 300 of the priſoners entered into the ſervice of Great-Britain; the reſt embarked on board their ſhips, which were reſtored ſoon as the peace was ratified, and ſet out on their return for Batavia. After all, perhaps, the Dutch company meant nothing more than to put their factory of Chinchura on a more reſpectable footing; and, by acquiring greater weight and conſequence among the people of the country than they formerly poſſeſſed, the more eaſily extend their commerce in that part of the world. At any rate, it will admit of a diſpute among thoſe who profeſs the law of nature and nations, whether the Dutch company could be juſtly debarred the privilege of ſending a re-enforcement to their own garriſons. Be that as it will, the ſhips were not reſtored until the factory at Chinchura had given ſecurity to indemnify the Engliſh for the damage they had ſuſtained on this occaſion.

The ſucceſs of the Engliſh company was ſtill more conſpicuous on the coaſt of Coromandel. The governor and council of Madras having received information, that the French general Lally had ſent a detachment of his army to the ſouthward, taken Syringham, and threatened Trichenapally with a ſiege, it was determined that colonel Coote, who had lately arrived from England, ſhould take the field, and endeavour to make a diverſion to the ſouthward. He accordingly began his march at the head of 1700 Europeans, including cavalry, and 3000 blacks, with 14 pieces of cannon and one howitzer. On the 27th day of November he inveſted the fort of Wandewaſh: having made a practicable breach, the garriſon, conſiſting of near 900 men, ſurrendered priſoners of war; and he found in the place 49 pieces of cannon, with a great quantity of ammunition. Then he undertook the ſiege of Carangoly, a fortreſs commanded by colonel O'Kennely, at the head of 100 Europeans, and 500 ſepoys. In a few days he diſmounted the greater part of their guns; and they ſubmitted, on condition that the Europeans ſhould be allowed to march out with the honours of war, but the ſepoys were diſarmed and diſmiſſed.

General Lally, alarmed at the progreſs of this brave, vigilant, and enterprizing officer, aſſembled all his forces at Arcot, to the number of 2200 Europeans, including horſe, 300 caffres, and 10,000 blac troops, or ſepoys, with 25 pieces of cannon. Of theſe he aſſumed the command in perſon; and on the 10th day of January began his march, in order to recover Wandewaſh. Colonel Coote, having received intelligence on the 12th that he had taken poſſeſſion of Conjeveram, endeavoured by a forced march to ſave the place, which they accordingly abandoned at his approach, and purſuing their march to Wandewaſh, inveſted the fort without delay. The Engliſh commander paſſed the river Palla, in order to follow the ſame rout; and, on the 21ſt day of the month, underſtanding that a breach was already made, reſolved to give them battle without further delay. The cavalry being formed, and ſupported by five companies of ſepoys, he advanced againſt the enemy's horſe, which, being at the ſame time galled by two pieces of cannon, retired with precipitation. Then colonel Coote, having taken poſſeſſion of a tank which they had occupied, returned to the line, which was by this time formed in order of battle. Seeing the men in high ſpirits, and eager to engage, he ordered the whole army to advance, and by nine in the morning they were within two miles of the enemy's camp, where they had halted about half an hour. During this interval, the colonel reconnoitred the ſituation of the French forces, who were very advantageouſly poſted, and made a movement to the right, which obliged them to alter their diſpoſition. They now advanced, in their turn, within three quarters of a mile of the Engliſh line, and the cannonading began with great fury on both ſides. About noon their European cavalry coming up with a reſolute air to charge the left of the Engliſh, colonel Coote brought up ſome companies of ſepoys, and two pieces of cannon to ſuſtain the horſe, which were ordered to oppoſe them, and theſe advancing on their flank, diſturbed them ſo much, that they broke, and were driven by the Engliſh cavalry above a mile from the left, upon the rear of their own army. Mean while, both lines continued advancing to each other, and about one o'clock the firing with ſmall arms began with great vivacity. One of the French tumbrils being blown up by an accidental ſhot, the Engliſh commander took immediate advantage of their confuſion. He orderd major Brereton to wheel Draper's regiment to the left, and fall upon the enemy's flank. This ſervice was performed with ſuch reſolution and ſucceſs, that the left wing of the French was completely routed, and fell upon their centre, now cloſely engaged with the left of the Engliſh. About two in the afternoon their whole line gave way, and fled towards their own camp, which, perceived themſelves cloſely purſued, they precipitately abandoned, together with 22 pieces of cannon. In this engagement they loſt about 800 men killed and wounded, beſides about 50 priſoners, including brigadier-general de Buſſy, the chevalier Godeville, quarter-maſter-general, lieutenant-colonel Murphy, three captains, five lieutenants, and ſome other officers. On the ſide of the Engliſh 262 were killed or wounded, and among the former the gallant and accompliſhed major Brereton, whoſe death was a real loſs to his country.

General Lally having retreated with his broken troops to Pondicherry, the baron de Vaſſerot was detached towards the ſame place, with 1000 horſe and 300 ſepoys, to ravage and lay waſte the French territory. In the mean time, the indefatigable colonel Coote undertook the ſiege of Chilliput, which in two days was ſurrendered by the chevalier de Tilly, himſelf, and his garriſon remaining priſoners of war. Such alſo was the fate of fort Timmery, which being reduced, the colonel proſecuted his march to Arcot, the capital of the province, againſt the fort of which he opened his batteries on the 5th day of February. When he had carried on his approaches within 60 yards of the creſt of the glacis, the garriſon, conſiſting of 250 Europeans, and near 300 ſepoys, ſurrendered as priſoners of war, and here the Engliſh commander found 22 pieces of cannon, four mortars, and a great quantity of all kinds of military ſtores. Thus the campaign was glorioufly finiſhed with the conqueſt of Arcot, after the French army had been routed and ruined by the diligence of colonel Coote, whoſe courage, conduct, and activity cannot be ſufficiently admired. The reader will perceive, that, rather than interrupt the thread of ſuch an intereſting narration, we have ventured to encroach upon the annals of the year 1760.

Having thus followed the Britiſh banners through the glorious tracts they purſued in different parts of Aſia and America, we muſt now convert our attention to the continent of Europe, where the Engliſh arms, in the courſe of this vere, triumphed with equal luſtre and advantage. But firſt it may be neceſſary to ſketch out the ſituations in which the belligerent powers were found at the cloſe of winter. The viciſſitudes of fortune with which the preceding campaign had been checquered were ſufficient to convince every potentate concerned in the war, that neither ſide poſſeſſed ſuch a ſuperiority in ſtrength or conduct as was requiſite to impoſe terms upon the other. Battles had been fought with various ſucceſs; and ſurpriſing efforts of military ſkill had been exhibited, without producing one event which tended to promote a general peace, or even engender the leaſt deſire of accommodation; on the contrary, the firſt and moſt violent tranſports of animoſity had by this time ſubſided into a confirmed habit of deliberate hatred, and every contending power ſeemed more than ever determined to protract the diſpute, while the neutral ſtates kept aloof, without expreſſing the leaſt deſire of interpoſing their mediation. Some of them were reſtrained by conſiderations of conveniency; and others waited in ſuſpence for the death of the Spaniſh monarch, as an event which they imagined would be attended with very important con-

ſequences in the ſouthern parts of Europe. With reſpect to the maintenance of the war, whatever difficulties might have ariſen in ſettling funds to ſupport the expence, and finding men to recruit the different armies, certain it is all theſe difficulties were ſurmounted before the opening of the campaign. The court of Vienna, though hampered by the narrowneſs of its finances, ſtill found reſources in the fertility of its provinces, in the number and attachment of its ſubjects, who, more than any other people in Europe, acquieſce in the diſpoſitions of their ſovereign; and, when pay cannot be afforded, willingly contribute free quarters for the ſubſiſtence of the army. The czarina, though ſhe complained that the ſtipulated ſubſidies were ill paid, nevertheleſs perſiſted in purſuing thoſe favourite aims which had for ſome time influenced her conduct; namely, her perſonal animoſity to the king of Pruſſia, and her deſire of obtaining a permanent intereſt in the German empire. Sweden ſtill made a ſhow of hoſtility againſt the Pruſſian monarch, but continued to ſlumber over the engagements ſhe had contracted. France, exhauſted in her finances, and abridged of her marine commerce, maintained a reſolute countenance, ſupplied freſh armies for her operations in Weſtphalia, projected new ſchemes of conqueſt, and cajoled her allies with fair promiſes, when ſhe had nothing more ſolid to beſtow. The king of Pruſſia's dominions were generally drained, or in the hands of the enemy; but, to balance theſe diſadvantages, he kept poſſeſſion of Saxony, and enjoyed his annual ſubſidy from Great-Britain, which effectually enabled him to maintain his armies on a reſpectable footing, and open the campaign with equal eagerneſs and confidence.

The Hanoverian army, commanded by prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, was ſtrengthened by freſh re-enforcements from England, augmented with German recruits, regularly paid, and well ſupplied with every comfort and convenience which foreſight could ſuggeſt, or money procure; yet, in ſpite of all the precautions that could be taken, they were cut off from ſome reſources which the French, in the beginning of the year, opened to themſelves by a flagrant ſtroke of perfidy, which even the extreme neceſſities of a campaign can hardly excuſe. On the 2d day of January, the French regiment of Naſſau preſented itſelf before the gates of Frankfort on the Maine a neutral imperial city, and demanding a paſſage, it was introduced, and conducted by a detachment of the garriſon through the city, as far as the gate of Saxen-hauſen, where it unexpectedly halted, and immediately diſarmed the guards. Before the inhabitants could recover from the conſternation into which they were thrown by this outrageous inſult, five other French regiments entered the place, and here their general, the prince de Soubiſe, eſtabliſhed his head-quarters. How deeply ſoever this violation of the laws of the empire might be reſented by all honeſt Germans, who retained affection for the conſtitutions of their country, it was a ſtep from which the French army derived a very manifeſt and important advantage; for it ſecured to them the courſe of the Maine and the Upper-Rhine; by which they received, without difficulty or danger, every ſpecies of ſupply from Mentz, Spire, Worms, and even the country of Alſace; while it maintained their communication with the chain formed by the Auſtrian forces and the army of the empire.

The ſcheme of operations for the enſuing campaign was already formed between the king of Pruſſia and prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick; and before the armies took the field ſeveral ſkirmiſhes were fought, and quarters ſurpriſed. In the latter end of February, the prince of Yſembourg detached major-general Urſt with four battalions and a body of horſe, who, aſſembling in Rotenbourg, ſupriſed the enemy's quarters in the night between the firſt and ſecond day of March, and drove them from Hirchfield, Vacha, and all the Heſſian bailiwicks of which they had taken poſſeſſion; but the Auſtrians ſoon returning in greater numbers, and being ſupported by a detachment of French troops from Franckfort, the allies fell bac in their turn. In a few days, however, they themſelves retreated again with great precipitation, though they did not all eſcape. The hereditary prince of Brunſwick, with a body of Pruſſian huſſars, fell upon them ſuddenly at Molrichſtadt, where he routed and diſperſed a regiment of Hohenzollern cuiraſſiers, and a battalion of the troops of Wurtzburg. He next day, which was the 1ſt of April, advanced with a body of horſe and foot to Meinungen, where he found a conſiderable magazine, took two battalions priſoners, and ſurprized a third poſted at Wafungen, after having defeated ſome Auſtrian troops that were on the march to its relief. While the hereditary prince was thus employed, the duke of Holſtein, with another body of the confederates, diſlodged the French from the poſt of Freyinſtenau.

But the great object was to drive the enemy from Franckfort before they ſhould receive the expected re-enforcements. Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, being determind upon this enterpriſe, aſſembled all his forces near Fulda, to the amount of 40,000 choice troops, and began his march on the 10th day of April. On the 13th he came in ſight of the enemy, whom he found ſtrongly encamped about the village of Bergen, between Franckfort and Hanau. Their general the Duke de Broglio, counted one of the beſt officers in France with reſpect to conduct and intrepidity, having received intelligence of the prince's deſign, occupied this poſt on the 12th, the right of his army being at Bergen, and his centre and flanks ſecured in ſuch a manner, that the allies could not make their attac any other way but by the village. Notwithſtanding the advantage of their ſituation, prince Ferdinand reſolved to give them battle, and made his diſpoſitions accordingly. About 10 in the morning the grenadiers of the advanced guard began the attac on the village of Bergen with great vivacity, and ſuſtained a moſt terrible fire from eight German battalions, ſupported by ſeveral brigades of the French infantry. The grenadiers of the allied army, though re-enforced by ſeveral battalions under the command of the prince of Yſembourg, far from diſlodging the enemy from the village, were, after a very obſtinate diſpute, obliged to retreat in ſome diſorder, but rallied again behind a body of Heſſian cavalry. The allies being repulſed in three different attacs, their general made a new diſpoſition, and brought up his artillery, with which the village and different parts of the French line were ſeverely cannonaded. They were not ſlow in retorting an equal fire, which continued till night, when the allies retreated to Windeken, with the loſs of five pieces of cannon, and about 2000 men, including the prince of Yſembourg, who fell in the action. The French, by the nature of their ſituation, could not ſuffer much, but they were ſo effectually amuſed by the artful diſpoſition of prince Ferdinand, that, inſtead of taking meaſures to harraſs him in his retreat, they carefully maintained their ſituation, apprehenſive of another general attac. Indeed they had great reaſon to be ſatisfied with the iſſue of this battle, without riſking, in any meaſure, the advantage they had gained. It was their buſineſs to remain quiet, until their re-enforcement ſhould arrive, and this plan they invariably purſued. On the other hand, the allies, in conſequence of their miſcarriage, were reduced to the neceſſity of acting upon the defenſive, and encountering a great number of difficulties and inconveniencies, during great part of the campaign, until the miſconduct of the enemy turned the ſcale in their favour. In the mean time, the prince thought proper to begin his retreat in the night towards Fulda, in which his rear ſuffered conſiderably from a body of the enemy's light troops, under the command of M. de Blatſel, who ſurpriſed two ſquadrons of dragoons, and a battalion of grenadiers. The firſt were taken or diſperſed; the laſt eſcaped with the loſs of their baggage. The allied army returned to their cantonments about Munſter, and the prince began to make preparations for taking the field in earneſt.

While the French enjoyed plenty in the neighbourhood of Duſſeldorp and Crevelt, by means of the Rhine, the allies laboured under a dearth and ſcarcity of every ſpecies of proviſion, becauſe the country which they occupied was already exhauſted, and all the ſupplies were brought from an immenſe diſtance. The ſingle article of forage occaſioned ſuch enormous expence, as alarmed the adminiſtration of Great-Britain, who, in order to prevent miſmanagement and fraud for the future, nominated a member of parliament inſpector-general of the forage, and ſent him over to Germany in the beginning of the year, with the rank and appointments of a general officer, that the importance of his character, and the nature of his office, might be a chec upon thoſe who were ſuſpected of iniquitous appropriations. This gentleman is ſaid to have met with ſuch a cold reception, and ſo many mortifications in the execution of his office, that he was in a very little time ſic of his employment. An enquiry into the cauſes of this reception, and of the practices which rendered it neceſſary to appoint ſuch a ſuperintendant, may be the province of ſome future hiſtorian, when truth may be iveſtigated freely, without any apprehenſion of pains and penalties.

While great part of the allied army remained in cantonments about Munſter, the French armies on the Upper and Lower Rhine, being put in motion, joined of the 3d day of June near Marpurg, under the command of the mareſchal

de Contades, who advanced to the northward, and fixed his head-quarters at Corbach; from whence he detached a body of light troops to take poſſeſſion of Caſſel, which at his approach was abandoned by general Imhoff. The French army being encamped at Stadtberg, the duke de Broglio, who commanded the right wing, advanced from Caſſel into the territories of Hanover, where he occupied Gottingen without oppoſition; while the allied army aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Lipſtadt, and encamped about Soeſt and Werle. Prince Ferdinand, finding himſelf inferior to the united forces of the enemy, was obliged to retire as they advanced, after having left ſtrong garriſons in Lipſtadt, Retberg, Munſter, and Minden. Theſe precautions, however ſeemed to produce little effect in his favour. Retberg was ſurpriſed by the duke de Broglio, who likewiſe took Minden by aſſault, and made general Zaſtrow, with his garriſon of 1500 men priſoners of war; a misfortune conſiderably aggravated by the loſs of an immenſe magazine of hay and corn, which fell into the hands of the enemy. They likewiſe made themſelves maſters of Munſter, inveſted Lipſtadt, and all their operations were hitherto crowned with ſucceſs. The regency of Hanover, alarmed at their progreſs, reſolved to provide for the worſt, by ſending their chancery and moſt valuable effects to Stade, from whence, in caſe of neceſſity, they might be conveyed by ſea to England. In the mean time, they exerted all their induſtry in preſſing men for recruiting and re-enforcing the army under prince Ferdinand, who ſtill continued to retire; and on the 11th day of July removed his head-quarters from Oſnabruck to Bomte, near the Weſer. Here having received advice that Minden was taken by the French, he ſent forwards a detachment to ſecure the poſt of Soltznau on that river, where on the 15th he encamped.

The general of the allied army had for ſome time exhibited marks of animoſity towards lord George Sackville, the ſecond in command, whoſe extenſive underſtanding, penetrating eye, and inquiſitive ſpirit, could neither be deceived, dazzled, nor ſoothed into tame acquieſcence. He had oppoſed, with all his influence, a deſign of retiring towards the frontiers of Brunſwick, in order to cover that country. He ſupported his oppoſition, by alledging that it was the enemy's favourite object to cut off their communication with the Weſer and the Elbe; in which, ſhould they ſucceed, it would be found impoſſible to tranſport the Britiſh troops to their own country, which was, at that time threatened with an invaſion. He therefore, inſiſted on the army's retreating, ſo as to keep the communication open with Stade, where, in caſe of emergency, the Engliſh troops might be embarked. By adhering tenaciouſly to this opinion, and exhibiting other inſtances of a prying depoſition, he had rendered himſelf ſo diſagreeable to the commander in chief, that, in all appearance, nothing was ſo eagerly deſired as an opportunity of removing him from the ſtation he filled.

Mean while, the French general, advancing to Minden, encamped in a ſtrong ſituation, having that town on his right, a ſteep hill on his left, a moraſs in front, and rivulet in rear. The duke de Broglio commanded a ſeparate body between Hanſbergen and Minden, on the other ſide of the Weſer; and a third, under the duke de Briſſac, conſiſting of 8000 men, occupied a ſtrong poſt by the village of Coveldt, to facilitate the rout of the convoys from Paderborn. Prince Ferdinand having moved his camp from Soltznau to Peterſhagen, detached the hereditary prince on the 28th day of July to Lubeke from whence he drove the enemy; and proceeding to Rimſel, was joined by major-general Dreves, who had retaken Oſnabruck, and cleared all that neighbourhood of the enemy's parties: then he advanced towards Hervorden, and fixed his quarters at Kirchlinneger, to hamper the enemy's convoys from Parderborn. During theſe tranſactions, prince Ferdinand marched with the allied army in three columns from Peterſhagen to Hille, where it encamped, having a moraſs on the right, the village of Fredewalde on the left, and in front thoſe of Northemmern and Holtzenhauſen. Fifteen battalions and nineteen ſquadrons, with a brigade of heavy artillery, where left under the command of general Wangenheim, on the left, behind the village of Dodenhauſen, which was fortified with ſome redoubts, defended by two battalions. Colonel Luckner, with the Hanoverian huſſars, and a brigade of hunters, ſuſtained by two battalions of grenadiers, was poſted between Buckebourg, and the Weſer, to obſerve the body of troops commanded by the duke de Broglio on the other ſide of the river.

On the laſt day of July, the mareſchal de Contades reſolving to attac the allied army, ordered the corps of Broglio to repaſs the river; and advancing in eight columns, about midnight paſſed the rivulet of Barta, that runs along the moraſs, and falls into the Weſer at Minden. At day break he formed his army in order of battle, part of it fronting the corps of general Wangenheim at Dodenhauſen, and part of it facing Hille; the two wings conſiſting of infantry, and the cavalry being ſtationed in the centre. At three in the morning the enemy began to cannonade the prince's quarters at Hille from a battery of ſix cannon, which they had raiſed in the preceding evening, on the dike of Eickhorſt. This was probably the firſt intimation he received of their intention. He forthwith cauſed two pieces of artillery to be conveyed to Hille, and ordered the officer of the piquet-guard poſted there to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity: at the ſame time, ſent orders to general Gieſen, who occupied Lubeke, to attac the enemy's poſt at Eickhorſt; and this ſervice was ſucceſsfully performed. The prince of Anhalt, lieutenant-general for the day, took poſſeſſion with the reſt of the piquets of the village of Halen, where prince Ferdinand reſolved to ſupport his right. It was already in the hands of the enemy, but they ſoon abandoned it with precipitation. The allied army, being put in motion, advanced in eight columns, and occupied the ground between Halen and Hemmern, while general Wangenheim's corps filled up the ſpace between this laſt village and Dodenhauſen. The enemy made their principal effort on the left, intending to force the infantry of Wangenheim's corps, and penetrate between it and the body of the allied army. For this purpoſe, the duke de Broglio attacked them with great fury, but was ſeverely checked by a battery of thirty cannon, prepared for his reception by the count de Buckebourg, grand-maſter of the artillery, and ſerved with admirable effect, under his own eye and direction. About five in the morning both armies cannonaded each other; at ſix the fire of muſquetry began with great vivacity, and the action became very hot towards the right, where ſix regiments of Engliſh infantry, and two battalions of Hanoverian guards, not only bore the whole brunt of the French carabineers and gendarmerie, but abſolutely broke every body of horſe and foot that advanced to attac them on the left and in the centre. The Heſſian cavalry, with ſome regiments of Holſtein, Pruſſian, and Hanoverian dragoons poſted on the left, performed good ſervice. The cavalry on the right had no opportunity of engaging. They were deſtined to ſupport the infantry of the third line; they conſiſted of the Britiſh and Hanoverian horſe, commanded by lord George Sackville, whoſe ſecond was the marquis of Granby. They were poſted at a conſiderable diſtance from the firſt line of infantry, and divided from it by a ſcanty wood that bordered on a heath. Orders were ſent, during the action, to bring them up, but whether theſe orders were contradictory, unintelligible, or imperfectly executed, they did not arrive in time to have any ſhare in the action[w]; nor, indeed, were they originally intended for that purpoſe; nor was there the leaſt

[w] That the general was not pleaſed with the behaviour of lord George Sackville, may be gathered from the following compliment to the marquis of Granby, implying a ſevere reflexion upon his ſuperior in command:

Orders of his Serene Highneſs Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, relative to the behaviour of the troops under him at the famous battle near Minden, on the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1759.

'HIS ſerene highneſs orders his greateſt thanks to be given to the whole army, for their bravery and good behaviour yeſterday, particularly to the Engliſh infantry, and the two battalions of Hanoverian guards: to all the cavalry of the left wing, and to general Wangenheim's corps, particularly the regiment of Holſtein, the Heſſian cavalry, the Hanoverian regiment du Corps, and Hammerſtin's; the ſame to all the brigades of heavy artillery. His ſerene highneſs declares publicly, that next to God he attributes the glory of the day to the intrepidity and extraordinary good behaviour of theſe troops, which he aſſures them he ſhall retain the ſtrongeſt ſenſe of as long as he lives; and if ever, upon any occaſion, he ſhall be able to ſerve theſe brave troops, or any of them in particular, it will give him the utmoſt pleaſure. His ſerene highneſs orders his particular thanks to be likewiſe given to general Sporcken, the duke of Holſtein, lieutenant-generals Imhoff and Urf. His ſerene highneſs is extremely obliged to the count de Buckebourg, for his extraordinary care and trouble in the management of the artillery, which was ſerved with great effect; likewiſe to the commanding officers of the ſeveral brigades of artillery, viz. Colonel Browne, lieutenant-colonel Hutte, major Haſſe, and the three Engliſh captains, Philips, Drummond, and Foy. His ſerene highneſs thinks himſelf infinitely obliged to major-generals Waldegrave and Kingſley, for their great courage, and good order in which they conducted their brigades. His ſerene highneſs further orders it to be declared to lieutenant-general the marquis of Granby, that he is perſuaded, that if he had had the good fortune to have had him at the head of the cavalry of the right wing, his preſence would have greatly contributed to make the deciſion of that day more complete and more brilliant. In ſhort, his ſerene highneſs orders that thoſe of his ſuite whoſe behaviour he moſt admired be named, as the duke of Richmond, colonel Fitzroy, captain Ligonier, colonel Watſon, captain Wilſon, aide-du-camp to major-general Waldegrave, adjutants-generals Erſtoff, Bulow, Durendolle, the count Tobe, and Malerti; his ſerene highneſs having much reaſon to be ſatisfied with their conduct. And his ſerene highneſs deſires and orders the generals of the army, that upon all occaſions when orders are brought to them by his aides-du camp, that they may be obeyed punctually, and without delay.'

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The Battle of Minden, or Thornhausen, in Westphalia, where the Allied Army, commanded by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttle, obtained a glorious Victory over the French army, commanded by Marshal de Contades, Aug.t 1.1759.

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occaſion for their ſervice; nor could they have come up in time and condition to perform effectual ſervice, had the orders been explicit and conſiſtent, and the commander acted with all poſſible expedition. Be that as it will, the enemy were repulſed in all their attacs with conſiderable loſs: at length they gave way in every part; and about noon, abandoning the field of battle, were purſued to the ramparts of Minden. In this action they loſt a great number of men, with 43 large cannon, and many colours and ſtandards; whereas the loſs of the allies was very inconſiderable, as it chiefly fell upon a few regiments of Britiſh infantry, commanded by the major-generals Waldegrave and Kingſley. To the extraordinary proweſs of theſe gallant brigades, and the fire of the Britiſh artillery, which was admirably ſerved by the captains Philips, Macbean, Drummond, and Foy, the victory was in a great meaſure aſcribed. The ſame night the enemy paſſed the Weſer, and burned the bridges over that river. Next day the garriſon of Minden ſurrendered at diſcretion, and here the victors found a great number of French officers wounded.

At firſt the mareſchal de Contades ſeemed inclined to retreat through the defiles of Wittekendſtein, to Paderborn; but he was fain to change his reſolution, in conſequence of his having received advice, that on the very day of his own defeat the duke de Briſſac was vanquiſhed by the hereditary prince in the neighbourhood of Coveldt, ſo that the paſſage of the mountains was rendered impracticable. The duke de Briſſac had been advantageouſly encamped with his left to the village of Coveldt, having the Werra in his front, and his right extending to the ſaltpits. In this advantageous ſituation he was attacked by the hereditary prince and general de Kilmanſeg with ſuch vivacity and addreſs, that his troops were totally routed, with the loſs of ſix cannon, and a conſiderable number of men killed, wounded, or taken priſoners. After the battle of Minden, colonel Freytag, at the head of the light troops, took, in the neighbourhood of Detmold, all the equipage of the mareſchal de Contades, the prince of Condé, and the duke de Briſſac, with part of their military cheſt and chancery, containing papers of the utmoſt conſequence[x].

Prince Ferdinand having garriſoned Minden, marched to Hervorden; and the hereditary prince paſſed the Weſer at Hamelen, in order to purſue the enemy, who retreated to Caſſel, and from thence, by the way of Marpurg, as far as Gieſſen. In a word, they were continually harraſſed by that enterprizing prince, who ſeized every opportunity of making an impreſſion upon their army: took the greateſt part of their baggage; and compelled them to abandon every place they poſſeſſed in Weſtphalia. The number of his priſoners amounted to 1500 men, beſides the garriſon left at Caſſel, which ſurrendered at diſcretion. He likewiſe ſurpriſed a whole battalion, and defeated a conſiderable detachment under the command of M. d'Armentieres. In the mean time, the allied army advanced in regular marches; and prince Ferdinand, having taken poſſeſſion of Caſſel, detached general Imhoff, with a body of troops, to reduce the city of Munſter, which he accordingly began to bombard and cannonade; but d'Armentieres, being joined by a freſh body of troops from the lower Rhine, advanced to its relief, and compelled Imhoff to raiſe the ſiege. It was not long, however, before this general was alſo re-enforced; then he meaſured bac his march to Munſter, and the French commander withdrew in his turn. The place was immediately ſhut up by a cloſe blockade; which, however, did not prevent the introduction of ſupplies. The city of Munſter, being an object of importance, was diſputed with great obſtinacy. Armentieres received re-enforcements, and the body commanded by Imhoff was occaſionaly augmented; but the ſiege was not formally undertaken till November, when ſome heavy artillery being brought from England, the place was regularly inveſted, and the operations carried on with ſuch vigour, that in a few days the city ſurrendered on capitulation.

Prince Ferdinand having poſſeſſed himſelf of the town and caſtle of Marpurg, proceeded with the army to Neidar-Weimar, and there encamped; while Contades remained at Gieſſen on the ſouth ſide of the river Lahn, where he was joined by a colleague in the perſon of the mareſchal d'Eſtrees. By this time he was become very unpopular among the troops, on account of the defeat at Minden, which he is ſaid to have charged on the miſconduct of Broglio, who recriminated on him in his turn, and ſeemed to gain credit at the court of Verſailles. While the two armies lay encamped in the neighbourhood of each other, nothing paſſed but ſkirmiſhes among the light troops, and little excurſive expeditions. The French army was employed in removing their magazines, and fortifying Gieſſen, as if their intention was to retreat to Frankfort on the Maine, after having conſumed all the forage, and made a military deſert between the Lahn and that river. In the begining of November, the mareſchal duke de Broglio returned from Paris, and aſſumed the command of the army, from whence Contades and d'Eſtrees immediately retired, with ſeveral other general officers that were ſenior to the new commander.

The duke of Wirtemberg having taken poſſeſſion of Fulda, the hereditary prince of Brunſwick reſolved to beat up his quarters. For this purpoſe he ſelected a body of troops, and began his march from Marpurg early in the morning on the 28th day of November. Next night they lay at Augerbach, where they defeated the volunteers of Naſſau: and at one o'clock in the morning of the 30th, they marched directly to Fulda, where the duke of Wirtemberg, far from expecting ſuch a viſit, had invited all the faſhionable people in Fulda to a ſumptuous entertainment. The hereditary prince, having reconnoitred the

[x] The following extracts of letters from the duke de Belleiſle to the mareſchal de Contades will convey ſome idea of the virtue, policy, and neceſſities of the French miniſtry:

'I am ſtill afraid that Fiſcher ſets out too late: it is, however, very important, and very eſſential, that we ſhould raiſe large contributions. I ſee no other reſource for our moſt urgent expences, and for refitting the troops, but in the money we may draw from the enemy's country; from whence we muſt likewiſe procure ſubſiſtence of all kinds (independently of the money) that is to ſay, hay, ſtraw, oats for the winter, bread, corn, cattle, horſes, even men, to recruit our foreign troops. The war muſt not be prolonged, and perhaps it may be neceſſary, according to the events which may happen between this time and the end of September, to make a downright deſert before the line of the quarters which it may be thought proper to keep during the winter, in order that the enemy may be under a real impoſſibility of approaching us: at the ſame time reſerving for ourſelves a bare ſubſiſtence on the rout which may be the moſt convenient for us to take, in the middle of winter, to beat up or ſeize upon the enemy's quarters. That this object may be fulfilled, I cauſe the greateſt aſſiduity to be uſed in preparing what is neceſſary for having all your troops, without exception, well clothed, well armed, well equipped, and well refitted, in every reſpect, before the end of November, with new tents, in order that, if it ſhould be adviſeable for the king's political and military affairs, you may be able to aſſemble the whole, or part of your army, to act offenſively, and with vigour, from the beginning of January; and that you may have the ſatisfaction to ſhow your enemies, and all Europe, that the French know how to act, and carry on war, in all ſeaſons, when they have ſuch a general as you are, and a miniſter of the department of war that can foreſee and concert matters with the general.

'You muſt be ſenſible, ſir, that what I ſay to you may become not only uſeful and honourable, but perhaps even neceſſary, with reſpect to what you know, and of which I ſhall ſay more in my private letter.

'M. Duc de BELLEISLE.'

'After obſerving all the formalities due to the magiſtrates of Cologn, you muſt ſeize on their great artillery by force, telling them, that you do ſo for their own defence againſt the common enemy of the empire; that you will reſtore them when their city has nothing further to fear, &c. After all, you muſt take every thing you have occaſion for, and give them receipts for it.'—

'You muſt, at any rate, conſume all ſorts of ſubſiſtence on the higher Lippe, Paderborn, and Warſburg; you muſt deſtroy every thing which you cannot conſume, ſo as to make a deſert of all Wheſtphalia, from Lipſtadt and Munſter, as far as the Rhine, on one hand: and on the other, from the higher Lippe and Paderborn, as far as Caſſel; that the enemy may find it quite impracticable to direct their march to the Rhine, or the Lower Roer; and this with regard to your army, and with regard to the army under M. de Soubiſe, that they may not have it in their power to take poſſeſſion of Caſſel, and much leſs to march to Marpug, or to the quarters which he will have along the Lahn, or to thoſe which you will occupy, from the lower part of the left ſide of the Roer, and on the right ſide of the Rhine, as far as Duſſeldorp, and at Cologn.'

'You know the neceſſity of conſuming or deſtroying, as far as poſſible all the ſubſiſtance, eſpecially, the forage, betwixt the Weſer and the Rhine on the one hand, and on the other, betwixt the Lippe, the biſhopric of Paderborn, the Dymel, the Fulda, and the Nerra; and ſo to make a deſert of Weſtphalia and Heſſe.'——

'Although the prince of Waldeck appears outwardly neutral, he is very ill diſpoſed, and deſerves very little favour. You ought, therefore, to make no ſcruple of taking all you find in that territory: but this muſt be done in an orderly manner, giving receipts, and obſerving the moſt exact diſcipline. All the ſubſiſtence you leave in his country will fall to the enemy's ſhare who will, by that means, be enabled to advance to the Lahn, and towards the quarters which you are to occupy on the left ſide of the Roer. It is, therefore, a precaution become in a manner indiſpenſible neceſſary, to carry it all away from thence.'——

'The queſtion now is, what plan you ſhall think moſt proper for accompliſhing, in the quickeſt and ſureſt manner, our great purpoſe: which muſt be to conſume, carry off, or deſtroy all the forage and ſubſiſtence of the country which we cannot keep poſſeſſion of.'——

'The upper part of the Lippe, and the country of Paderborn, are the moſt plentiful; they muſt, therefore, be eat to the very roots.'——

'You did mighty well, to talk in the moſt abſolute tone with regard to the neceſſaries Racroth and Duyſbourg muſt furniſh our troops; it is neceſſary to ſpeak in that tone to Germans; and you will find your account in uſing the ſame to the regencies of the elector of Cologn, and ſtill more to that of the Palatine.

'After uſing all becoming ceremony, as we have the power in our hands we muſt make uſe of it, and draw from the country of Bergue what ſhall be neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of the garriſon of Duſſeldorp, and of the light troops, and reſerve what may be brought thither from Alſace and the biſhoprics for a caſe of neceſſity.'

avenues in perſon, took ſuch meaſures, that the troops of Wirtemberg, who were ſcattered in ſmall bodies, would have been cut off, if they had not haſtily retired into the town, where, however, they found no ſhelter. The prince forced open the gates; and they retreated to the other ſide of the town, where four battalions of them were defeated and taken; while the duke himſelf, with the reſt of his forces, filed off on the other ſide of the Fulda. Two pieces of cannon, two pair of colours, and all their baggage, fell into the hands of the victors; and the hereditary prince advanced as far as Rupertenrade, a place ſituated on the right flank of the French army. Perhaps this motion haſtened the reſolution of the duke de Broglio to abandon Gieſſen, and fall bac to Friedberg, where he eſtabliſhed his head-quarters. The allied army immediately took poſſeſſion of his camp at Kleinlinnes and Heuchelam, and ſeemed to make preparations for the ſiege of Gieſſen.

While both armies remained in this poſition, the duke de Broglio received the ſtaff as mareſchal of France, and made an attempt to beat up the quarters of the allies. Having called in all his detachments, he marched up to them on the 25th day of December; but found them ſo well diſpoſed to give him a warm reception, that he thought proper to lay aſide his deſign, and nothing but a mutual cannonade enſued; then he returned to his former quarters. From Kleinlinnes the allied army removed to Corſdorff, where they were cantoned till the beginning of January, when they fell bac as far as Marpurg, where prince Ferdinand eſtabliſhed his head-quarters. The enemy had by this time retrieved their ſuperiority, in conſequence of the hereditary prince's being detached with 15,000 men to join the king of Pruſſia at Freyberg, in Saxony. Thus, by the victory at Minden, the dominions of Hanover and Brunſwick were preſerved, and the enemy obliged to evacuate great part of Weſtphalia. Perhaps they might have been driven to the other ſide of the Rhine, had not the general of the allies been obliged to weaken his army for the ſupport of the Pruſſian monarch, who had met with divers diſaſters in the courſe of this campaign. It was not to any relaxation or abatement of his uſual vigilence and activity that this warlike prince owed the ſeveral checs he received. Even in the middle of winter, his troops under general Manteuffel, acted with great ſpirit againſt the Swedes in Pomerania. They made themſelves maſters of Damgarten, and ſeveral other places which the Swedes had garriſoned; and, the froſt ſetting in, thoſe who were quartered in the iſle of Uſedom paſſed over the ice to Wolgaſt, which they reduced without much difficulty. They undertook the ſieges of Demmen and Anclam at the ſame time, and the garriſons of both ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, to the number of 2700 men, including officers. In Demmen they found 24 pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of ammunition. In Anclam there was a conſiderable magazine, with 36 cannon, mortars, and howitzers. A large detachment under general Knobloch ſurpriſed Erfurth, and raiſed conſiderable contributions at Gotha, Eiſenach, and Fulda; from whence alſo they conveyed all the forage and proviſions to Saxe-Naumberg. In the latter end of February, the Pruſſian major-general Woberſnow marched with a ſtrong body of troops from Glogau in Sileſia to Poland; and, advancing by the way of Liſſa, attacked the caſtle of the prince Sulkowſki, a poliſh grandee, who had been very active againſt the intereſt of the Pruſſian monarch. After ſome reſiſtance he was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, and was ſent priſoner with his whole garriſon to Sileſia. From hence Woberſnow proceeded to Poſna, where he made himſelf maſter of a conſiderable magazine, guarded by 2000 coſſacks, who retired at his approach; and, having deſtroyed ſeveral others, returned to Sileſia. In April, the fort of Penamunde, in Pomerania, was ſurrendered to Manteuffel; and about the ſame time a detachment of Pruſſian troops bombarded Schwerin, the capital of Mecklenburg. Mean while, re-enforcements were ſent to the Ruſſian army in Poland, which in April began to aſſemble upon the Viſtula. The court of Peterſburg had likewiſe begun to equip a large fleet, by means of which the army might be ſupplied with military ſtores and proviſions; but this armament was retarded by an accidential fire at Revel, which deſtroyed all the magazines and materials for ſhip-building to an immenſe value.

About the latter end of March the king of Pruſſia aſſembled his army at Rhonſtock, near Strigau; and advancing to the neighbourhood of Landſhut, encamped at Bolchenhayn. On the other hand, the Auſtrian army, under the command of mareſchal Daun, was aſſembled at Munchengratz, in Bohemia; and the campaign was opened by an exploit of general Beck, who ſurpriſed and made priſoners a battalion of Pruſſian grenadiers, poſted under colonel Duringſheven, at Griefenberg, on the frontiers of Sileſia. This advantage, however, was more than counterbalanced by the activity and ſucceſs of prince Henry, brother to the Pruſſian king, who commanded the army which wintered in Saxony. About the middle of April he marched in two columns towards Bohemia, forced the paſs of Peterſwalde, deſtroyed the Auſtrian magazine at Aſſig, burned their boats upon the Elbe, ſeized the forage and proviſion which the enemy had left at Lowoſitz and Leutmeritz, and demoliſhed a new bridge which they had built for their convenience. At the ſame time, general Hulſen attacked the paſs of Paſsberg, guarded by general Renard, who was taken, with 200 men, including 50 officers: then he advanced to Satz, in hopes of ſecuring the Auſtrian magazines; but theſe the enemy conſumed, that they might not fall into his hands, and retired towards Prague with the utmoſt precipitation.

Prince Henry having happily achieved theſe adventurers, and filled all Bohemia with alarm and conſternation, returned to Saxony, and diſtributed his troops in quarters of refreſhment in the neighbourhood of Dreſden. In a few days, however, they were again put in motion, and marched to Obelgeburgen; from whence he continued his rout through Voightland, in order to attac the army of the empire in Franconia. He accordingly entered this country by the way of Hoff, on the 7th of May, and next day ſent a detachment to attac general Macguire, who commanded a body of imperialiſts at Aſch, and ſuſtained the charge with great gallantry; but finding himſelf in danger of being overpowered by numbers, he retired in the night towards Egra. The army of the empire, commanded by the prince de Deux-Ponts, being unable to cope with the Pruſſian general in the field, retired from Cullembach to Bamberg, and from thence to Nuremberg, where, in all probability, they would not have been ſuffered to remain unmoleſted, had not prince Henry been recalled to Saxony. He had already taken Cronach and the caſtle of Rotenberg, and even advanced as far as Bamberg, when he received advice that a body of Auſtrians, under general Gemmingen, had penetrated into Saxony. This diverſion effectually ſaved the army of the empire, as prince Henry immediately returned to the electorate, after having laid the biſhoprick of Bamberg and the marquiſate of Cullembach under contribution, deſtroyed all the magazines provided for the imperial army, and ſent 1500 priſoners to Leipſick. A party of imperialiſts, under count Palfy, endeavoured to harraſs him in his retreat; but they were defeated near Hoff, with conſiderable ſlaughter nevertheleſs, the imperial army, though now reduced to 10,000 men, returned to Bamberg; and as the Pruſſians approached the frontiers of Saxony, the Auſtrian general, Gemmingen, retired into Bohemia. During all theſe tranſactions, the mareſchal count Daun remained with the grand Auſtrian army at Schurtz, in the circle of Koningſgratz; while the Pruſſians, commanded by the king in perſon, continued quietly encamped between Landſhut and Schweidnitz. General Fouquet commanded a large body of troops in the ſouthern part of Sileſia; but theſe being moſtly withdrawn, in order to oppoſe the Ruſſians, the Auſtrian general, de Fille, who hovered on the frontiers of Moravia, with a conſiderable detachment, took advantage of this circumſtance, and, advancing into Sileſia, encamped within ſight of Neiſs.

As mutual calumny and recrimination of all kinds were not ſpared on either ſide, during the progreſs of this war, the enemies of the Pruſſian monarch did not fail to charge him with cruelties committed at Schwern, the capital of Mecklenburg, which his troops had bombarded, plundered of its archives, cannon, and all its youth fit to carry arms, who were preſſed into his ſervice: he beſides taxed the duchy at 7000 men, and a million of crowns, by way of contribution. He was alſo accuſed of barbarity, in iſſuing an order for removing all the priſoners from Berlin to Spandau; but this ſtep he juſtified, in a letter to his miniſters at foreign courts, declaring that he had provided for all the officers that were his priſoners the beſt accommodation, and permitted them to reſide in his capital; that ſome of them had groſsly abuſed the liberty they enjoyed, by maintaining illicit correſpondence, and other practices equally offenſive, which had obliged him to remove them to the town of Spandau: he deſired, however, that the town might not be confounded with the fortreſs of that name, from which it was entirely ſeparated, and in which they would enjoy the ſame eaſe they had found at Berlin, though under more vigilant inſpection. His conduct, on this occaſion, he ſaid was ſufficiently authoriſed, not only by the

law of nations, but alſo by the example of his enemies; inaſmuch as the empreſs-queen had never ſuffered any of his officers, who had fallen into her hands, to reſide at Vienna; and the court of Ruſſia had ſent ſome of them as far as Caſan. He concluded with ſaying, that as his enemies had let ſlip no opportunity of blackening his moſt innocent proceedings, he had thought proper to acquaint his miniſters with his reaſons for making this alteration with regard to his priſoners, whether French, Auſtrians, or Ruſſians.

In the beginning of June, the king of Pruſſia, underſtanding that the Ruſſian army had begun their march from the Viſtula, ordered the ſeveral bodies of his troops, under Hulſen and Woberſnow, re-enforced by detachments from his other armies, to join the forces under count Dohna, as general in chief, and march into Poland. Accordingly, they advanced to Meritz, where the count having publiſhed a declaration[y], he continued his march towards Poſna, where he found the Ruſſian army under count Soltikoff ſtrongly encamped, having in their rear that city and the river Warta, and in their front a formidable entrenchment, mounted with a great number of cannon. Count Dohna judging it impracticable to attac them in this ſituation with any proſpect of ſucceſs, endeavoured to intercept their convoys in the eaſtward; but for want of proviſion, was in a little time obliged to return towards the Oder: then the Ruſſians advanced to Zullichaw, in Sileſia. The king of Pruſſia thinking count Dohna had been rather too cautious, conſidering the emergency of his affairs, gave him leave to retire for the benefit of his health, and conferred his command upon general Wedel, who reſolved to give the Ruſſians battle without delay. Thus determined, he marched againſt them in two columns; and on the 23d day of July, attacked them at Kay, near Zullichaw, where, after a very obſtinate engagement, he was repulſed with great loſs, Woberſnow, being killed, and Manteuffel wounded in the action; and in a few days the Ruſſians made themſelves maſters of Franckfort upon the Oder.

By this time, the armies of count Daun and the king of Pruſſia had made ſeveral motions. The Auſtrians having quitted their camp at Schurtz, advanced towards Zittau in Luſatia, where having halted a few days, they reſumed their march, and encamped at Gorlithayn, between Sudenberg and Mark-Liſſau. His Pruſſian majeſty, in order to obſerve their motions, marched by the way of Herchberg to Lahn; and his vanguard ſkirmiſhed with that of the Auſtrians commanded by Laudohn, who entered Sileſia by the way of Grieffenberg. The Auſtrian general was obliged to retreat with loſs; while the king penetrated into Sileſia, that he might be at hand to act againſt the Ruſſians, whoſe progreſs was now become the chief object of his apprehenſion. He no ſooner received intimation that Wedel had been worſted, than he marched with a ſelect body of 10,000 men from his camp in Sileſia, in order to take upon him the command of Wedel's army, leaving the reſt of his forces ſtrongly encamped, under the direction of his brother prince Henry, who had joined him before this event. Count Daun being appriſed of the king's intention, and knowing the Ruſſians were very defective in cavalry, immediately detached a body of 12,000 horſe, to join them, under the command of Loudohn; and theſe penetrating in two columns through Sileſia and Luſatia, with ſome loſs, arrived in the Ruſſian camp at a very critical juncture. Mean while the king of Pruſſia joined general Wedel on the fourth day of Auguſt at Muhlroſe, where he aſſumed the command of the army: but finding it greatly inferior to the enemy, he recalled general Finck, whom he had detached ſome time before, with a body of 9000 men, to oppoſe the progreſs of the imperialiſts in Saxony: for when prince Henry joined his brother in Sileſia the army of the empire had entered that electorate. Thus re-enforced, the number of the king's army at Muhlroſe did not exceed 50,000, whereas the Ruſſians were more numerous by 30,000. They had choſen a ſtrong camp at the village of Cunerſdorf, almoſt oppoſite to Franckfort upon the Oder, and increaſed the natural ſtrength of their ſituation by intrenchments mounted with a numerous artillery. In other circumſtances it might have been deemed a raſh and ridiculous enterprize to attac ſuch an army under ſuch complicated diſadvantages; but here was no room for heſitation. The king's affairs ſeemed to require a deſperate effort; and perhaps he was partly impelled by ſelf-confidence and animoſity.

Having determined to hazard an attac, he made his diſpoſition, and on the 12th day of Auguſt, at two in the morning, his troops were in motion. The army being formed in a wood, advanced towards the enemy; and about 11 the action was begun with a ſevere cannonade. This having produced the deſired effect, he charged the left wing of the Ruſſian army with his beſt troops formed in columns. After a very obſtinate diſpute the enemy's entrenchments were forced with great ſlaughter, and 70 pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the Pruſſians. A narrow defile was afterwards paſſed, and ſeveral redoubts that covered the village of Cunerſdorf were taken by aſſault, one after another: one half of the taſk was not yet performed: the Ruſſians made a firm ſtand at the village; but they were overborne by the impetuoſity of the Pruſſians, who drove them from poſt to poſt up the laſt redoubts they had to defend. As the Ruſſians kept their ground until they were hewn down in their ranks, this ſucceſs was not acquired without infinite labour, and a conſiderable expence of blood. After a furious conteſt of ſix hours, fortune ſeemed to declare ſo much in favour of the Pruſſians, that the king diſpatched the following billet to the queen at Berlin:

'Madam,

'We have driven the Ruſſians from their entrenchments. In two hours expect to hear of a glorious victory.'

This intimation was permature, and ſubjected the writer to the ridicule of his enemies. The Ruſſians were ſtaggered, not routed. General Soltikoff rallied his troops, and re-enforced his left wing under cover of a redoubt, which was erected on an eminence called the Jews' Burying-ground, and here they ſtood in order of battle, with the moſt reſolute countenance; favoured by the ſituation, which was naturally difficult of acceſs, and now rendered almoſt impregnable by the fortification, and a numerous artillery, ſtill greately ſuperior to that of the Pruſſians. Had the king contented himſelf with the advantage already gained, all the world would have acknowledged he had fought againſt terrible odds with aſtoniſhing proweſs; and that he judiciouſly deſiſted, when he could no longer perſevere without incurring the imputation of being actuated

[y] The following declarations were publiſhed by count Dohna, a Pruſſian general, on his entering Poland with a body of Pruſſian troops.

On the 15th of June.

HIS Pruſſian majeſty, finding himſelf under a neceſſity to cauſe part of his armies to enter the territories of the republic of Poland, in order to protect them againſt the threatened invaſion of the enemy, declares, that,

It muſt not be underſtood that his majeſty, by this ſtep taken, intends to make any breach in the regard he has always had for the illuſtrious republic of Poland, or to leſſen the good underſtanding which has hitherto ſubſiſted between them, but, on the contrary, to ſtrengthen the ſame, in expectation that the illuſtrious republic will, on its part, act with the like neighbourly and friendly good-will as is granted to the enemy, than which nothing more is deſired.

The nobility, gentry, and magiſtracy, in their reſpective diſtricts, between the frontiers of Pruſſia, ſo far as beyond Poſen, are required to furniſh all kinds of proviſions, corn, and forage neceſſary to ſupport an army of 40,000 men, with the utmoſt diſpatch, with an aſſurance of being paid ready-money for the ſame. But, if contrary to expectation, any deficiency ſhould happen in ſupplying this demand, his majeſty's troops will be obliged to forage, and uſe the ſame means as thoſe taken by the enemy for their ſubſiſtence.

In confidence thereof, that the ſeveral juriſdictions upon the Pruſſian frontiers within the territories of Poland, will exert themſelves to comply with this demand as ſoon as poſſible, for the ſubſiſtence of the royal army of Pruſſia, they are aſſured that thereby all diſorders will be prevented, and whatever is delivered will be paid for in ready-money.

On the 17th of June.

It is with the greateſt aſtoniſhment that the king, my moſt gracious lord and maſter, heard that ſeveral of his own ſubjects had ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced from their allegiance ſo far as to enter into the ſervice of a potentate with whom he is at war; his majeſty, therefore, makes known by theſe preſents, that all of his ſubjects ſerving in the enemies armies, who ſhall be taken with arms in their hands, ſhall, agreeably to all laws, be ſentenced to be hanged without mercy, as traitors to their king and country. Of which all whom it may concern are deſiaed to take notice, &c.

On the 22d of June.

We invite and deſire that the nobility, archbiſhops, biſhops, abbeys, convents, ſeignories, magiſtrates, and inhabitants of the republic of Poland, on the road of Poſnania, and beyond it, would repair in perſon, or by deputies, in the courſe of this week, or as ſoon after as poſſible, to the Pruſſian head-quarters, there to treat with the commander in chief, or to the commiſſary at war, for the delivery of forage and proviſions for the ſubſiſtence of the army, to be paid with ready-money.

We promiſe and aſſure ourſelves, that no perſon in Poland will attempt to ſeduce the Pruſſian troops to deſert; that no aſſiſtance will be given them in ſuch perfidious practices; that they will neither be ſheltered, concealed, or lodged; which would be followed by very diſagreeable conſequences; we expect, on the contrary, that perſons of all ranks and conditions will ſtop any run-away or deſerter, and deliver him up at the firſt advanced poſt, or at the head-quarters; and all expences attending the ſame ſhall be paid, and a reaſonable gratification ſuperadded.

If any one hath inclination to enter into the king of Pruſſia's ſervice, with an intention to behave well and faithfully, he may apply to the head-quarters, and be aſſured of a capitulation for three or four years.

If any prince or member of the republic of Poland be diſpoſed to aſſemble a body of men, and to join in a troop, or in company of the Pruſſian army, to make a common cauſe with it, he may depend on a gracious reception, and that due regard will be ſhown to his merit, &c.

by frenzy or deſpair. His troops had not only ſuffered ſeverely from the enemy's fire, which was cloſe, deliberate, and well directed, but they were fatigued by the hard ſervice, and fainting with the heat of the day, which was exceſſive. His general officers are ſaid to have reminded him of all theſe circumſtances; and to have diſſuaded him from hazarding an attempt attended with ſuch danger and difficuly, as even an army of freſh troops could hardly hope to ſurmount. He rejected this ſalutary advice, and ordered his infantry to begin a new attac, which being an enterprize beyond their ſtrength, they were repulſed with great ſlaughter. Being afterwards rallied, they returned to the charge: they miſcarried again, and their loſs was redoubled. Being thus rendered unfit for further ſervice, the cavalry ſucceeded to the attac, and repeated their unſucceſsful efforts until they were almoſt broke, and entirely exhauſted. At this critical juncture, the whole body of the Auſtrian and Ruſſian cavalry, which had hitherto remained inactive, and were therefore freſh and in ſpirits, fell in among the Pruſſian horſe with great fury, broke their line at the firſt charge, and forcing them bac upon the infantry, threw them into ſuch diſorder as could not be repaired. The Pruſſian army being thus involved in confuſion, was ſeized with a panic, and in a few minutes totally defeated and diſperſed, notwithſtanding the perſonal efforts of the king, who hazarded his life in the hotteſt parts of the battle, led on his troops three times to the charge, had two horſes killed under him, and his clothes in ſeveral parts penetrated with muſquet-balls. His army being routed, and the greater part of his generals either killed or diſabled by wounds, nothing but the approach of night could have ſaved him from total ruin. When he abandoned the field of battle, he diſpatched another billet to the queen, couched in theſe terms: 'Remove from Berlin with the royal family. Let the archieves be carried to Potſdam. The town may make conditions with the enemy.' The horror and confuſion which this intimation produced at Berlin may be eaſily conceived: horror the more aggravated, as it ſeized them in the midſt of their rejoicing occaſioned by the firſt diſpatch; and this was ſtill more dreadfully augmented, by a ſubſequent indiſtinct relation, importing that the army was totally routed, the king miſſing, and the enemy in full march to Berlin. The battle of Cunerſdorf was by far the moſt bloody action that had happened ſince the commencement of hoſtilities. The carnage was truely horrible: above 20,000 Pruſſians lay dead on the field, and among theſe general Putkammer. The generals Seidlitz, Itzenplitz, Hulſen, Finck, and Wedel, the prince of Wirtemberg, and five major-generals were wounded. The loſs of the enemy amounted to 10,000. It muſt be owned, that if the king was prodigal of his own perſon, he was likewiſe very free with the lives of his ſubjects. At no time, ſince the days of ignorance and barbarity, were the lives of men ſquandered away with ſuch profuſion as in the courſe of this German war. They were not only unneceſſarily ſacrificed in various exploits of no conſequence, but laviſhly expoſed to all the rigour and diſtemper of winter-campaigns, which were introduced on the continent, in deſpight of nature, and in contempt of humanity. Such are the improvements of warriors without feeling! ſuch the refinements of German diſcipline! On the day that ſucceeded the defeat at Cunerſdorf, the king of Pruſſia having loſt the beſt part of his army, together with his whole train of artillery, re-paſſed the Oder, and encamped at Retwin; from whence he advanced to Fuſtenwalde, and ſaw with aſtoniſhment the forbearance of the enemy. Inſtead of taking poſſeſſion of Berlin, and overwhelming the wrec of the king's troops, deſtitute of cannon, and cut off from all communication with prince Henry, they took no ſtep to improve the victory they had gained. Laudohn retired with his horſe immediately after the battle, and count Soltikoff marched with part of the Ruſſians into Luſatia, where he joined Daun, and held conſultations with that general. Perhaps the ſafety of the Pruſſian monarch was owing to the jealouſies ſubſiſting among his enemies. In all probability, the court of Vianna would have been chagrined to ſee the Ruſſians in poſſeſſion of Brandenburgh, and therefore thwarted their deſigns upon that electorate. The king of Pruſſia had now reaſon to be convinced that his ſituation could not juſtify ſuch a deſperate attac as that in which he had miſcarried at Cunerſdorf; for if the Ruſſians did not attempt the reduction of this capital, now that he was totally defeated, and the flower of his army cut off, they certainly would not have aſpired at that conqueſt while he lay encamped in the neighbourhood with 50,000 veterans, inured to war, accuſtomed to conquer, confident of ſucceſs, and well ſupplied with proviſion, ammunition, and artillery. As the victors allowed him time to breathe, he improved this interval with equal ſpirit and ſagacity. He re-aſſembled and refreſhed his broken troops; he furniſhed his camp with cannon from the arſenal at Berlin, which likewiſe ſupplied him with a conſiderable number of recruits: he recalled general Kleiſt, with 5000 men, from Pomerania; and in a little time retrieved his former importance.

The army of the empire having entered Saxony, where it reduced Leipſick, Torgau, and even took poſſeſſion of Dreſden itſelf, the king detached 6000 men under general Wunch, to chec the progreſs of the imperialiſts in that electorate; and perceiving the Ruſſians intended to beſiege Great-Glogau, he, with the reſt of his army, took poſt between them and that city, ſo as to fruſtrate their deſign. While the four great armies, commanded by the king of Pruſſia, general Soltikoff, prince Henry, and count Daun, lay encamped in Luſatia, and on the borders of Sileſia, watching the motions of each other, the war was carried on by detachments with great vivacity. general Wunch having retaken Leipſick, and joined Finck at Eulinbourg, the united body began their march towards Dreſden; and a detachment from the army of the empire, which had encamped near Dobelin, retired at their approach. As they advanced to Noſſin, general Haddick abandoned the advantageous poſts he occupied near Roth-Scemberg, and, being joined by the whole army of the empire, reſolved to attac the Pruſſian generals, who now encamped at Corbitz near Meiſſen; accordingly, on the 21ſt day of September, he advanced againſt them, and endeavoured to diſlodge them by a furious cannonade, which was mutually maintained from morning to night, when he found himſelf obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs, leaving the field of battle, with about 500 priſoners, in the hands of the Pruſſians.

This advantage was ſucceeded by another exploit of prince Henry, who, on the 23d day of the month, quitted his camp at Hornſdorf, near Gorlitz, and, after an incredible march of eleven German miles, by the way of Rothenberg, arrived, about five in the afternoon, at Hoyerſwerda, where he ſurpriſed a body of 4000 men, commanded by general Vehla, killed 600, and made twice that number priſoners; including the commander himſelf. After this achievement he joined the corps of Finck and Wunch; while mareſchal Daun likewiſe abandoned his camp in Luſatia, and made a forced march to Dreſden, in order to fruſtrate the prince's ſuppoſed deſign on that capital. The Ruſſians, diſappointed in there ſcheme upon Glogau, had repaſſed the Oder at Neuſalze, and were encamped at Frauſtadt; general Laudohn, with a body Auſtrians, lay at Sclichtinſkeim; and the king of Pruſſia at Koben; all three on or near the banks of that River. Prince Henry perceiving his army almoſt ſurrounded by Auſtrian detachments, ordered general Finck to drive them from Vogelſang, which they abandoned accordingly; and ſent Wunch, with ſix battalions and ſome cavalry, acroſs the Elbe, to join the corps of general Rebentiſh at Wittenburg, whither he retired from Duben at the approach of the Auſtrians. On the 29th day of October the duke d'Aremberg, with 16,000 Auſtrians, decamped from Dammitch, in order to occupy the heights near Pretſch, and was encountred by general Wunch, who being poſted on two riſing grounds, cannonaded the Auſtrians on their march with conſiderable effect, and the prince took 1200 priſoners, including lieutenant-general Gemmingen, and twenty inferior officers, with ſome cannon, great part of their tents, and a large quantity of baggage. The duke was obliged to change his rout, while Wunch marched from Duben to Eulenburg; and general Waſſerſleben occupied Strehla, where next day the whole army encamped. In this ſituation the prince remained till the 16th day of November, when being in danger of having his communication with Torgau cut off by the enemy, he removed to a ſtrong camp, where his left flank was covered with that city and the river Elbe: his right being ſecured by a wood, and great part of his front by an impaſſable moraſs. Here he was re-enforced with about 20,000 men from Sileſia, and joined by the king himſelf, who forthwith detached general Finck, with 19 battalions and 35 ſquadrons, to take poſſeſſion of the defiles of Maxen and Ottendorf, with a view to hinder the retreat of the Auſtrians to Bohemia. This motion obliged Daun to retire to Plauen; and the king advanced to Wilſdurf, imagining that he had effectually ſucceeded in his deſign. Letters were ſent to Berlin and Magdebourg, importing, that count Daun would be forced to hazard a battle, as he had now

no reſource but in victory. Finck had no ſooner taken poſt on the hill near the village of Maxen, than the Auſtrian general ſent officers to reconnoitre his ſituation, and immediately reſolved to attac him with the corps de reſerve under the baron de Sincere, which was encamped in the neighbourhood of Dippodeſwalda. It was forthwith divided into four columns, which filed off through the neighbouring woods; and the Pruſſians never dreamed of their approach until they ſaw themſelves entirely ſurrounded. In this emergency they defendeded themſelves with their cannon and muſketry until they were overpowered by numbers, and their battery was taken; then they retired to another riſing-ground, where they rallied, but were driven from eminence to eminence, until, by favour of the night, they made their laſt retreat to Falkenhayn. In the mean time, count Daun had made ſuch diſpoſitions, that at day-break general Finck found himſelf entirely encloſed, without the leaſt poſſibility of eſcaping, and ſent a trumpet to count Daun, to demand a capitulation. This was granted in one ſingle article, importing, That he and eight other Pruſſian generals, with their whole body of troops they commanded, ſhould be received as priſoners of war. He was obliged to ſubmit, and his whole corps, amounting to 19 battalions and 35 ſquadrons, with 64 pieces of cannon, 50 pair of colours, and 25 ſtandards, fell into the hands of the Auſtrian general. This misfortune was the more mortifying to the king of Pruſſia, as it implied a cenſure on his conduct, for having detached ſuch a numerous body of troops to a ſituation where they could not be ſuſtained by the reſt of his army. On the other hand, the court of Vienna exulted in this victory, as an infallible proof of Daun's ſuperior talents; and, in point of glory and advantage, much more than an equivalent for the loſs of the Saxon army, which, though leſs numerous, capitulated in the year 1756, after having held out ſix weeks againſt the whole power of the Pruſſian monarch. General Hulſen had been detached, with about nine battalions and 30 ſquadrons, to the aſſiſtance of Finck; but he arrived at Klingenberg too late to be of any ſervice; and, being recalled, was next day ſent to occupy the important poſt of Freyberg.

The defeat of general Finck was not the only diſaſter which befel the Pruſſians at the cloſe of this campaign. General Diercke, who was poſted with ſeven battalions of infantry, and 1000 horſe, on the right bank of the Elbe, oppoſite to Meiſſen, finding it impracticable to lay a bridge of pontoons acroſs the river, on account of the floating ice, was obliged to tranſport his troops in boats; and when all were paſſed, except himſelf, with the rear-guard, conſiſting of three battalions, he was, on the 3d day of December, in the morning, attacked by a ſtrong body of Auſtrians, and taken, with all his men, after an obſtinate diſpute. The king of Pruſſia, weakened by theſe two ſucceſſive defeats, that happened in the rear of an unfortunate campaign, would hardly have been able to maintain his ground at Freyberg, had not he been at this juncture re-enforced by the body of troops under the command of the hereditary prince of Brunſwick. As for Daun, the advantages he had gained did not elevate his mind above the uſual maxims of his cautious diſcretion. Inſtead of attacking the king of Pruſſia, reſpectable and formidable even in adverſity, he quietly occupied the ſtrong camp at Pirna, where he might be at hand to ſuccour Dreſden, in caſe it ſhould be attacked, and maintain his communication with Bohemia.

By this time the Ruſſians had retired to winter-quarters in Poland; and the Swedes, after a fruitleſs excurſion in the abſence of Manteuffel, retreated to Stralſund and the iſle of Rugen. This campaign, therefore, did not prove more deciſive than the laſt. Abundance of lives were loſt, and great part of Germany was expoſed to rapine, murder, famine, deſolation, and every ſpecies of miſery that war could engender. In vain the confederating powers of Auſtria, Ruſſia, and Sweden united their efforts to cruſh the Pruſſian monarch. Though his army had been defeated, and he himſelf totally overthrown, with great ſlaughter, in the heart of his own dominions, though he appeared in a deſperate ſituation, environed by hoſtile armies, and two conſiderable detached bodies of his troops were taken or deſtroyed; yet he kept all his adverſaries at bay till the approach of winter, which proved his beſt auxiliary; and even maintained his footing in the electorate of Saxony, which ſeemed to be the prize conteſted between him and the Auſtrian general. Yet, long before the approach of winter one would imagine he muſt have been cruſhed between the ſhoc of ſo many adverſe hoſts, had they been intent upon cloſing him in, and heartily concurred for his deſtruction: but, inſtead of urging the war with accumulated force, they acted in ſeparate bodies, and with jealous eyes ſeemed to regard the progreſs of each other. It was not, therefore, to any compunction, or kind of forbearance, in the court of Vienna, that the inactivity of Daun was owing. The reſentment of the houſe of Auſtria ſeemed, on the contrary, to glow with redoubled indignation, and the majority of the Germanick body ſeemed to enter with warmth into her quarrel.[z]

When the proteſtant ſtates in arms againſt the court of Vienna were put under the ban of the empire, the evangelical body, though without the concurrence of the Swediſh and Daniſh miniſters iſſued an arret at Ratiſbon, in the month of November of the laſt year, and to this annexed the twentieth article of the capitulation ſigned by the emperor at his election, in order to demonſtrate that the proteſtant ſtates claimed nothing but what was agreeable to the conſtitution. They declared that their aſſociation was no more than a mutual engagement, by which they obliged themſelves to adhere to the laws, without ſuffering, under any pretext, that the power of putting under the ban of the empire ſhould reſide wholly in the emperor. They affirmed that this power was renounced, in expreſs terms, by the capitulation; they, therefore, refuſed to admit, as legal, any ſentence of the ban deficient in the requiſite conditions; and inferred, that, according to law, neither the elector of Bradenburgh, nor the elector of Hanover, nor the duke of Wolfenbuttel, nor the landgrave of Heſſe, nor the count of Lippe-Buckebourg, ought to be preſcribed. The imperial proteſtant cities having acceded to this arret or declaration, the emperor, in a reſcript, required them to retract their acceſſion to the reſolution of the evangelick body; which, it muſt be owned, was altogether inconſiſtent with their former acceſſion to the reſolutions of the diet againſt the king of Pruſſia. This reſcript having produced no effect, the arret was anſwered in February by an imperial decree of commiſſion carried to the dictature, importing, that the imperial court could not longer heſitate about the execution of the ban, without infringing that very article of the capitulation which they had ſpecified: that the invalidity of the arret was manifeſt, inaſmuch as the electors of Bradenburgh and Brunſwick, the dukes of Saxe-Gotha and Brunſwick-Wolfenbuttel, and the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, were the very perſons who diſturbed the empire; this, therefore, being an affair in which they themſelves were parties, they could not poſſibly be qualified to concur in a reſolution of this nature: beſides, the number of the other ſtates which had acceded was very inconſiderable: for theſe reaſons, the emperor could not but conſider the reſolution in queſtion as an act whereby the general peace of the empire was diſturbed, both by the parties that had incurred the ban, and by the ſtates which had joined them, in order to ſupport and favour their frivolous pretenſions. His imperial majeſty expreſſed his hope and confidence, that the other electors, princes, and ſtates of the empire, would vote the ſaid reſolution to be null, and of no force; and never ſuffer ſo ſmall a number of ſtates, who were adherents of and abbettors to the diſturbers of the empire, to prejudice the rights and prerogatives of the whole Germanick body; to abuſe the name of the aſſociated eſtates of the Augſbourg confeſſion, in order forcibly to impoſe a factum, entirely repugnant to the conſtitution of the empire; to deprive their co-eſtates of the right of voting freely, and thereby endeavouring totally to ſubvert the ſyſtem of the Germanick body. Theſe remarks will ſpeak for themſelves to the reflection of the unprejudiced reader.

The implacability of the court of Vienna was equalled by nothing but the perſeverance of the French miniſtry. Though their numerous army had not gained one inch of ground in Weſtphalia, the campaign on that ſide having

[z] The obſtinacy of the powers in oppoſition to Great-Britain and Pruſſia appeared ſtill more remarkable in their ſlighting the following declaration, which duke Louis of Brunſwick delivered to their miniſters at the Hague, in the month of December, after Quebeck was reduced, and the fleet of France totally defeated:

'Their Britannic and Pruſſian majeſties, moved with compaſſion at the miſchiefs which the war that has been kindled for ſome years has already occaſioned, and muſt neceſſarily produce, would think themſelves wanting to the duties of humanity, and particularly to their tender concern for the preſervation and well-being of their reſpective kingdoms and ſubjects, if they neglected the proper means to put a ſtop to the progreſs of ſo ſevere a calamity, and to contribute to the re-eſtabliſhment of public tranquility. In this view, and in order to manifeſt the purity of their intentions in this reſpect, their ſaid majeſties have determined to make the following declaration, viz.

'That they are ready to ſend plenipotentiaries to the place which ſhall be thought moſt proper, in order there to treat, conjointly, of a ſolid and general peace with thoſe whom the belligerent parties ſhall think fit to authoriſe, on their part, for the attaining ſo ſalutary an end.'

ended exactly where it had begun: though the chief ſource of their commerce in the Weſt-Indians had fallen into the hands of Great-Britain, and they had already laid their account with the loſs of Quebeck: though their coffers rung with emptineſs, and their confederates were clamorous for ſubſidies, they ſtill reſolved to maintain the war in Germany; this was doubtleſs the moſt politic reſolution to which they could adhere, becauſe their enemies, inſtead of exerting all their efforts where there was almoſt a certainty of ſucceſs, kindly condeſcended to ſeek them where alone their whole ſtrength could be advantageouſly employed, without any great augmentation of their ordinary expence. Some of the ſprings of their national wealth were indeed exhauſted, or diverted into other channels; but the ſubjects declared for a continuation of the war, and the neceſſities of the ſtate were ſupplied by the loyalty and attachment of the people. They not only acquieſced in the bankruptcy of public credit, when the court ſtopped payment of the intereſt on twelve different branches of the national debt, but they likewiſe ſent in large quantities of plate to be melted down, and coined into ſpecie, for the maintenance of the war. All the bills drawn on the government by the colonies were proteſted, to an immenſe amount, and a ſtop was put to all the annuities granted at Marſeilles on ſums borrowed for the uſe of the marine. Beſides the conſiderable ſavings occaſioned by theſe acts of ſtate bankruptcy, they had reſources of credit among the merchants of Holland, who beheld the ſucceſs of Great-Britain with an eye of jealouſy; and were moreover inflamed againſt her with the moſt rancorous reſentment, on account of the captures which had been made of their Weſt-India ſhips by the Engliſh cruiſers.

In the month of February, the merchants of Amſterdam, having received advice that the cargoes of their Weſt-India ſhips, detained by the Engliſh, would, by the Britiſh courts of judicature, be declared lawful prizes, as being French property, ſent a deputation, with a petition to the ſtates-general, entreating them to uſe their interceſſion with the court of London, repreſenting the impoſſibility of furniſhing the proofs required in ſo ſhort a time as that preſcribed by the Britiſh admiralty; and that, as the iſland of St. Euſtatia had but one road, and there was no other way of taking in cargoes but that of Overſchippen[a], to which the Engliſh had objected, a condemnation of theſe ſhips, as legal prizes, would give the finiſhing ſtroke to the trade of the colony. Whatever remonſtrances the ſtates-general might have made on this ſubject to the miniſtry of Great-Britain, they had no effect upon the proceedings of the court of admiralty, which continued to condemn the cargoes of the Dutch ſhips as often as they were proved to be French property; and this reſolute uniformity in a little time intimidated the ſubjects of Holland from perſevering in this illicit branch of commerce. The enemies of England in that republic, however, had ſo far prevailed, that in the beginning of the year the ſtates of Holland had paſſed a formal reſolution to equip 25 ſhips of war; and orders were immediately diſpatched to the officers of admiralty to complete the armament with all poſſible expedition. In the month of April, the ſtates-general ſent over to London three miniſters extraordinary, to make repreſentations, and remove, if poſſible, the cauſes of miſunderſtanding that had ariſing between Great-Britain and the United-Provinces. They delivered their credentials to the king, with a formal harangue: they ſaid his majeſty would ſee, by the contents of the letter they had the honour to preſent, how ardently their high-mightineſſes deſired to cultivate the ſincere friendſhip which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the two nations, ſo neceſſary for their common welfare and preſervation: they expreſſed an earneſt wiſh that they might be happy enough to remove thoſe difficulties which had for ſome time ſtruc at this friendſhip, and cauſed ſo much prejudice to the principal ſubjects of the republic: who, by the commerce they carried on, conſtituted its greateſt ſtrength, and chief ſupport. They declared their whole confidence was placed in his majeſty's equity, for which the republic had the higheſt regard, and in the good-will he had always expreſſed towards a ſtate, which, on all occaſions, had intereſted itſelf in promoting his glory; a ſtate which was the guardian of the precious truſt bequeathed by a princeſs ſo dear to his affection.—'Full of this confidence (ſaid they) we preſume to flatter ourſelves that your majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to liſten to our juſt demands; and we ſhall endeavour, during the courſe of our miniſtry, to merit your approbation, in ſtrengthening the bonds by which the two nations ought to be for ever united.' In anſwer to this oration, the king aſſured them that he had always regarded their high-mightineſſes as his beſt friends. He ſaid, if difficulties had ariſen concerning trade, they ought to be conſidered as the conſequences of a burthenſome war which he was obliged to wage with France. He deſired they would aſſure their high-mightineſſes, that he ſhould endeavour, on his part, to remove the obſtacles in queſtion, and expreſſed his ſatisfaction, that they (the deputies) were come over with the ſame diſpoſition. What repreſentations theſe deputies made, further than complaints of ſome irregularities in the conduct of the Britiſh ſea-officers, we cannot pretend to ſpecify: but as the ſubject in diſpute related entirely to the practice of the courts of judicature, it did not fall properly under the cognizance of the government, which had no right to interfere with the adminiſtration of juſtice. In all probability, the ſubjects of Holland were by no means pleaſed with the ſucceſs of this negotiation, for they murmured againſt the Engliſh nation without ceaſing. They threatened and complained by turns, and eagerly ſeized all opportunities of diſplaying their partiality in favour of the enemies of Great-Britain.

In the month of September major-general Yorke, the Britiſh miniſter at the Hague, preſented a memorial to the ſtates-general, remonſtrating, that the merchants of Holland carried on contraband trade in favour of France, by tranſporting cannon and warlike ſtores from the Baltick to Holland, in Dutch bottoms, under the borrowed names of private perſons; and then conveying them by the inland rivers and canals, or through the Dutch fortreſſes, to Dunkirk, and other places of France. He deſired that the king his maſter might be made eaſy on that head, by their putting an immediate ſtop to ſuch practices, ſo repugnant to the connections ſubſiſting by treaty between Great-Britain and the United-Provinces, as well as to every idea of neutrality. He obſerved, that the attention which his majeſty had lately given to their repreſentations againſt the exceſſes of the Engliſh privateers, by procuring an act of parliament which laid them under proper reſtrictions, gave him a good title to the ſame regard on the part of their high-mightineſſes. He reminded them that their trading towns felt the good effects of theſe reſtrictions; and that the freedom of navigation which their ſubjects enjoyed amidſt the troubles and diſtractions of Europe had conſiderably augmented their commerce. He obſerved, that ſome return ought to be made to ſuch ſolid proofs of the king's friendſhip and moderation; at leaſt, the merchants, who were ſo ready to complain of England, ought not to be countenanced in exceſſes which would have juſtified the moſt rigorous examination of their conduct. He recalled to their memories, that, during the courſe of the preſent war, the king had ſeveral times applied to their high-mightineſſes, and to their miniſters, on the liberty they had given to carry ſtores through the fortreſſes of the republic for the uſe of France, to invade the Britiſh dominions; and though his majeſty had paſſed over in ſilence many of theſe inſtances of complaiſance to his enemy, he was no leſs ſenſible of the injury; but he choſe rather to be a ſufferer himſelf, than to increaſe the embarraſſment of his neighbours, or extend the flames of war. He took notice, that even the court of Vienna had, upon more than one occaſion, employed its intereſt with their high-mightineſſes, and lent its name to obtain paſſes for warlike ſtores and proviſions for the French troops, under colour of the Barrier-Treaty, which it no longer obſerved: nay, after having put France in poſſeſſion of Oſtend and Nieuport, in manifeſt violation of that treaty, and without any regard to the rights which they and the king his maſter had acquired in that treaty, at the expence of ſo much blood and treaſure.

The memorial ſeems to have made ſome impreſſion on the ſtates-general, as they ſcrupled to allow the artillery and ſtores belonging to the French king to be removed from Amſterdam: but theſe ſcruples vaniſhed entirely on the receipt of a counter-memorial preſented by the count d'Affry, the French embaſſador, who mingled ſome effectual threats with his expoſtulation. He deſired them to remember, that, during the whole courſe of the war, the French king had required nothing from their friendſhip that was inconſiſtent with the ſtricteſt impartiality: and if he had deviated from the engagments ſubſiſting between him and the republic, it was only by granting the moſt eſſential and lucrative favours to the ſubjects of their high-mightineſſes. He obſerved that the Engliſh, notwithſtand-

[a] The method called Overſchippen is that of uſing French boats to load Dutch veſſels with the produce of France.

ing the insolence of their behaviour to the republic, had derived, on many occasions, assistance from the protection their effects had found in the territories of the United-Provinces; that the artillery, stores, and ammunition belonging to Wessel were deposited in their territories, which the Hanoverian army in passing the Rhine had very little respected: that when they repassed that river, they had no other way of saving their sic and wounded from the hands of the French, than by embarking them in boats, and conveying them to places where the French left them unmolested, actuated by their respect for the neutrality of the republic: that part of their magazines was still deposited in the towns of the United-Provinces; where also the enemies of France had purchased and contracted for very considerable quantities of gunpowder. He told them, that though these and several other circumstances might have been made the subject of the justest complaints, the king of France did not think it proper to require that the freedom and independency of the subjects of the republic should be restrained in branches of commerce that were not inconsistent with its neutrality, persuaded that the faith of an engagement ought to be inviolably preserved, though attended with some accidental and transient disadvantages; he gave them to understand, that the king his master had ordered the generals of his army carefully to avoid encroaching on the territory of the republic, and transferring thither the theatre of the war, when his enemies retreated that way before they were forced to pass the Rhine. After such unquestionable marks of regard, he said, his king would have the justest ground of complaint, if, contrary to expectations, he should hear that the artillery and stores belonging to him were detained at Amsterdam. Thirdly, he declared that such detention would be construed as a violation of the neutrality; and demanded, in the name of the king his master, that the artillery and stores should, without delay, be forwarded to Flanders by the canals of Amsterdam and the inland navigation. This last argument was so conclusive, that they immediately granted the necessary passports, in consequence of which the cannon were conveyed to the Austrian Netherlands.

The powers in the southern parts of Europe were too much engrossed with their own concerns to interest themselves deeply in the quarrels that distracted the German empire. The king of Spain, naturally of a melancholy complexion and delicate constitution, was so deeply affected with the loss of his queen, who died in the course of the preceding year, that he renounced all company, neglected all business, and immured himself in a chamber at Villa-Viciosa, where he gave a loose to the most extravagant sorrow. He abstained from food and rest until his strength was quite exhausted. He would neither shift himself, nor allow his beard to be shaved: he rejected all attempts of consolation, and remained deaf to the most earnest and respectful remonstrances of those who had a right to render their advice. In this case, the affliction of the mind must have been re-enforced by some peculiarity in the constitution. He inherited a melancholy taint from his father, and this seems to have been dreaded as a family disease; for the infant don Louis, who likewise resided in the palace of Villa-Viciosa, was fain to amuse himself with hunting, and other divertions, to prevent his being infected with the king's disorder, which continued to gain ground, notwithstanding all the efforts of medicine. The Spanish nation, naturally superstitious, had recourse to saints and relicks; but they seemed insensible to all their devotion. The king, however, in the midst of all his distress, was prevailed upon to make his will, which was written by the count de Valparaiso, and signed by the duke de Bejar, high-chancellor of the kingdom. The exorbitancy of his grief, and the mortifications he underwent, soon produced an incurable malady, under which he languished from the month of September in the preceding year till the tenth of August in the present, when he expired. In his will he had appointed his brother don Carlos, king of Naples, successor to the crown of Spain; and nominated the queen-dowager as regent of the kingdom, until that prince should arrive. Accordingly, she assumed the reins of government, and gave directions for the funeral of the deceased king, who was interred with great pomp in the church belonging to the convent of the Visitation at Madrid.

As the death of this prince had been long expected, so the politicians of Europe had universally prognosticated that this demise would be attended with great commotions in Italy. It had been agreed among the subscribing powers to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, that in case don Carlos should be advanced in the course of succession to the throne of Spain, his brother don Philip should succeed him on the throne of Naples; and the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, which now constituted his establishment, should revert to the house of Austria. The king of Naples had never acceded to this article, therefore he paid no regard to it on the death of his elder brother; but retained both kingdoms, without minding the claims of the empress-queen, who, he knew, was at that time in no condition to support her pretensions. Thus the German war proved a circumstance very favourable to his interest and ambition. Before he embarked for Spain, however, he took some extraordinary steps, which evinced him a sound politician and sagacious legislator. His eldest son don Philip, who had now attained the 13th year of his age, being found in a state of incurable ideotism [b], he wisely and resolutely removed him from the succession, without any regard to the pretended right of primogeniture, by a solemn act of abdication, and the settlement of the crown of the Two Sicilies in favour of his third son, don Ferdinand. In this extraordinary act he observes, That, according to the spirit of the treaties of this age, Europe required that the sovereignty of Spain should be separated from that of Italy, when such a separation could be effected without transgressing the rules of justice: that the unfortunate prince-royal having been destitute of reason and reflection ever since his infancy, and no hope remaining that he could ever acquire the use of these faculties, he could not think of appointing him to the succession, how agreeable soever such a disposition might be to nature and his paternal affection: he was, therefore, constrained, by the divine will to set him aside, in favour of his third son, don Ferdinand, whose minority obliged him to vest the management of these realms in a regency, which he accordingly appointed, after having previously declared his son Ferdinand from that time emancipated, and freed not only from all obedience to his paternal power, but even from all submission to his supreme and sovereign authority. He then declared, that the minority of the prince succeeding to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies should expire with the 15th year of his age, when he should act as sovereign, and have the entire power of the administration. He next established and explained the order of succession in the male and female line; on condition that the monarchy of Spain should never be united with the kingdoms of the Two Sicilies. Finally, he transferred and made over to the said don Ferdinand these kingdoms, with all that he possessed in Italy; and this ordinance, signed and sealed by himself and the infant don Ferdinand, and counter-signed by the counsellors and secretaries of state, in quality of members of the regency, received all the usual forms of authenticity. Don Carlos having taken these precautions for the benefit of his third son, whom he left king of Naples, embarked with the rest of his family on board a squadron of Spanish ships, which conveyed him to Barcelona. There he landed in the month of October, and proceeded to Madrid, where, as king of Spain, he was received amidst the acclamations of his people. He began his reign, like a wise prince, by re-

[b] Abstract of the report made to his catholic majesty by the physicians appointed to examine the prince-royal, his eldest son, in consequence of which his royal highness was declared incapable of succeeding to the throne of Spain. Translated from the original, published at Naples, Sept. 27.

1. Though his royal highness don Philip is 13 years old, he is of low stature, and yet the king his father, and the queen his mother, are both of a very proper height.

2. His royal highness has some contraction in his joints, though he can readily move, and make use of them upon all occasions.

3. His royal highness is apt to stoop and to hold down his head, as people of weak eyes often do.

4. The prince most evidently squints, and his eyes frequently water and are gummy, particularly his left eye; though we cannot say he is blind, but are rather certain of the contrary, as his royal highness can without doubt distinguish object, both as to their colour and situation.

5. In his natural functions, and the most common sensations, he is sometimes indifferent to things that are convenient for him, and at other times is too warm and impetuous. In general his passions are not restrained by reason.

6. The prince has an obstinate aversion to some kind of common food, such as fruits, sweetmeats, &c.

7. All sorts of noise and sound disturb and disconcert him; and it has the same effect whether it be soft and harmonious, or harsh and disagreeable.

8. The impressions that he receives from pain or pleasure are neither strong nor lasting, and he is utterly unacquainted with all the punctilios of politeness and good breeding.

9. As to facts and places he sometimes remembers them and sometimes not; but he seems not to have the least ideas of the mysteries of our holy religion.

10. He delights in childish amusements; and those which are the most boisterous please him best. He is continually changing them, and shifting from one thing to another.

Signed by don Francis Beniore, chief physician to the king and kingdom; don Emmanuel de la Rosa, physician to the queen; and the physicians Cæsar Ciribue, don Thomas Pinto, don Francis Sarrao, and don Dominique San Severino.

gulating the interior œconomy of his kingdom; by purſuing the plan adopted by his predeceſſor; by retaining the miniſtry under whoſe auſpicies the happineſs and commerce of his people had been extended; and, with reſpect to the belligerent powers, by ſcrupulouſly adhering to that neutrality from whence theſe advantages were in a great meaſure derived.

While he ſerenely enjoyed the bleſſings of proſperity, his neighbour the king of Portugal was engroſſed by a ſpecies of employment, which, of all others, muſt be the moſt diſagreeable to a prince of ſentiment, who loves his people; namely the trial and puniſhment of thoſe conſpirators, by whoſe atrocious attempt his life had been ſo much endangered. Among theſe were numbered ſome of the firſt noblemen of the kingdom, irritated by diſappointment ambition, inflamed by bigotry, and exaſperated by revenge. The principal conſpirator, don Joſepth Maſcarenhas and Lencaſtre, duke de Aveiro, marquis of Torres Novas, and conde of Santa Cruz, was hereditary lord-ſteward of the king's houſehold, and preſident of the palace-court, or laſt tribunal of appeal in the kingdom; ſo that he poſſeſſed the firſt office at the palace, and the ſecond of the realm. Franciſco de Aſſiz, marquis of Tavora, conde of St. John and Alvor, was general of the horſe, and head of the third noble houſe of the Tavoras, the moſt illuſtrious family in the kingdom, deriving their origin from the ancient kings of Leon: he married his kinſwoman, who was marchioneſs of Tavora in her own right, and by this marriage acquired the marquiſate. Louis Bernardo de Tavora was their eldeſt ſon, who, by virtue of a diſpenſation from the pope had eſpouſed his own aunt, Donna Thereſa de Tavora. Joſeph Maria de Tovera; his youngeſt brother, was alſo involved in the guilt of his parents. The third principal concerned was don Jeronymo de Attaide, conde of Attouguia, himſelf a relation, and married to the eldeſt daughter of the marquis of Tavora. The characters of all theſe perſonages unblemiſhed and reſpectable, until this machination was detected. In the courſe of inveſtigating this dark affair, it appeared that the duke de Alveiro had conceived a perſonal hatred to the king, who had diſappointed him in a projected match between his ſon and a ſiſter of the duke de Cadaval, a minor, and prevented his obtaining ſome commanderies which the late duke de Aveiro had poſſeſſed: that this nobleman, being determined to gratify his revenge againſt the perſon of his ſovereign, had exerted all his art and addreſſes in ſecuring the participation of the mal-contents: that, with this view, he reconciled himſelf to the Jeſuits, with whom he had been formerly at variance, knowing they were at this time implacably incenſed againſt the king, who had diſmiſſed them from their office of penitentiaries at court, and branded them with other marks of diſgrace, on account of their illegal and rebellious practices in South-America: the duke, moreover, inſinuated himſelf into the confidence of the marchioneſs of Tavora, notwithſtanding an inveterate rivalſhip of pride and ambition, which had long ſubſiſted between the two families. Her reſentment againſt the king was inflamed by the mortification of her pride in repeated repulſes, when ſhe ſollicited the title of duke for her huſband. Her paſſion were artfully fomented and managed by the Jeſuits, to whom ſhe had reſigned the government of her conſcience; and they are ſaid to have perſuaded her, that it would be a meritorious action to take away the life of a prince who was an enemy to the church, and a tyrant to his people. She, being reconciled to the ſcheme of aſſaſſination, exerted her influence in ſuch a manner as to inveigle her huſband, her ſons, and ſon-in-law into the ſame infamous deſign; and yet this lady had been always remarkable for her piety, affability, and ſweetneſs of diſpoſition. Many conſultations were held by the conſpirators at the colleges of the Jeſuits, St. Antoa, and St. Roque, as well as at the houſes of the duke and the marquis. At laſt, they reſolved that the king ſhould be aſſaſſinated; and employed two ruffians, called Antonio Alvarez and Joſeph Policarpio, for the execution of this deſign, the miſcarriage of which we have related among the tranſactions of the preceding year. In the beginning of January, before the circumſtances of the conſpiracy were known, the counts de Oberas and de Ribeira Grande were impriſoned in the caſtle of St. Julian, on a ſuſpicion ariſing from their freedom of ſpeech. The ducheſs de Aveiro, the counteſs of Attouguia, and the marchioneſs of Alorna, with their children, were ſent to different nunneries; and eight Jeſuits were taken into cuſtody. A council being appointed for the trial of the priſoners, the particulars we have related were brought to light by the torture; and ſentence of death was pronounced and executed upon the convicted criminals. Eight wheels were fixed upon a ſcaffold, raiſed in the ſquare oppoſite to the houſe where the priſoners had been confined, and the 13th of January was fixed for the day of execution. Antonio Alvarez Ferreira, one of the aſſaſſins who had fired into the king's equipage, was fixed to a ſtake at one corner of the ſcaffold; and at the other was placed the effigies of his accomplice, Joſeph Policarpio de Azevedo, who had made his eſcape. The marchioneſs of Tavora, being brought upon the ſcaffold between eight and nine in the morning, was beheaded at one ſtroke, and then covered with a linen cloth. Her two ſons, and her ſon-in-law, the count of Attouguia, with three ſervants of the duke de Aveiro, were firſt ſtrangled at one ſtake, and afterwards broke upon wheels, where their bodies remained covered: but the duke and the marquis, as chiefs of the conſpiracy, were broke alive, and underwent the moſt excruciating torments. The laſt that ſuffered was the aſſaſſin Alvarez, who being condemned to be burnt alive, the combuſtibles which had been placed under the ſcaffold, were ſet on fire, the whole machine with their bodies conſumed to aſhes, and theſe aſhes thrown into the ſea. The eſtates of the three unfortunate noblemen were confiſcated, and their dwelling-houſes raſed to the ground. The name of Tavora was ſuppreſſed for ever by a public decree; but that of Maſcarenhas ſpread, becauſe the duke de Aviero was a younger branch of the family. A reward of 10,000 crowns was offered to any perſon who ſhould apprehend the aſſaſſin who had eſcaped: then the embargo was taken off the ſhipping. The king and royal family aſſiſted at a public Te Deum ſung in the chapel of Noſſa Senhora de Livramento; on which occaſion the king, for the ſatisfaction of his people, waved his handkerchief with both hands, to ſhow he was not maimed by the wounds he had received. If ſuch an attempt upon the life of a king was infamouſly cruel and perfidious, it muſt be owned that the puniſhment inflicted upon the criminals was horrible to human nature. The attempt itſelf was attended with ſome circumſtances that might have ſtaggered belief, had it not appeared but too plain that the king was actually wounded. One would imagine, that the duke de Aviero, who was charged with deſigns on the crown, would have made ſome preparations for taking advantage of the confuſion and diſorder which muſt have been produced by the king's aſſaſſination; but we do not find that any thing of this nature was premeditated. It was no more than a deſperate ſcheme of perſonal revenge, conceived without caution, and executed without conduct: a circumſtance the more extraordinary, if we ſuppoſe the conſpirators were actuated by the councils of the Jeſuits, who have been ever famous for fineſſe and dexterity. Beſides the diſcovery of all the particulars was founded upon confeſſion extorted by the rac, which, at beſt, is a ſuſpicious evidence. Be that as it will, the Portugueſe government, without waiting for a bull from the pope, ſequeſtered all the eſtates and effects of the jeſuits in that kingdom, which amounted to conſiderable ſums, and reduced the individuals of the ſociety to a very ſcanty allowance. Complaints of their conduct having been made to the pope, he appointed a congregation to examine into the affairs of the jeſuits in Portugal. In the mean time, the court of Liſbon ordered a conſiderable number of them to be embarked for Italy, and reſolved that no jeſuit ſhould hereafter reſide within its realms. When theſe tranſports arrived at Civita-Vecchia, they were, by the pope's order, lodged in the Dominican and Capuchin convents of that city, until proper houſes could be prepared for their reception at Trivoli and Freſcati. The moſt guilty of them, however, were detained in cloſe priſon in Portugal, reſerved, in all probability, for a puniſhment more adequate to their enormities.

England ſtill continued to enjoy the bleſſings of peace, even amidſt the triumphs of war. In the month of November the ſeſſion of parliament was opened by commiſſion; and, the commons attending in the houſe of peers, the lord-keeper harangued the parliament to this effect: he gave them to underſtand that his majeſty had directed him to aſſure them that he thought himſelf peculiarly happy in being able to convoke them in a ſituation of affairs ſo glorious to his crown, and advantageous to his kingdoms: that the king ſaw and devoutly adored the hand of Providence, in the many ſignal ſucceſſes both by ſea and land with which his arms had been bleſſed in the courſe of the laſt campaign: that he reflected with great ſatisfaction on the confidence which the parliament had placed in him, by making ſuch ample proviſions, and entruſting him with ſuch extenſive powers for carrying on a war, which the defence

their valuable rights and poſſeſſions, together with the preſervation of the commerce of his people, had rendered both juſt and neceſſary. He enumerated the late ſucceſſes of the Britiſh arms, the reduction of Goree on the coaſt of Africa, the conqueſt of ſo many important places in America, the defeat of the French army in Canada, the reduction of their capital city of Quebeck, effected with ſo much honour to the courage and conduct of his majeſty's officers and forces, the important advantage obtained by the Britiſh ſquadron off Cape-Lagos, and the effectual blocking up for ſo many months the principal part of the French navy in their own harbours; events which muſt have filled the hearts of all his majeſty's faithful ſubjects with the ſincereſt joy: and convinced his parliament that there had been no want of vigilance or vigour on his part, in exerting thoſe means which they, with ſo much prudence and public-ſpirited zeal, had put into his majeſty's hands. He obſerved, that the national advantages had extended even as far as the Eaſt-Indies, where, by the Divine Bleſſing, the dangerous deſigns of his majeſty's enemies had miſcarried, and that valuable branch of commerce had received great benefit and protection. That the memorable victory gained over the French at Minden had long made a deep impreſſion on the minds of his majeſty's people: that if the criſis in which the battle was fought, the ſuperior number of the enemy, the great and able conduct of his majeſty's general, prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, were conſidered, that action muſt be the ſubject of laſting admiration and thankfulneſs: that if any thing could fill the breaſts of his majeſty's good ſubjects with ſtill further degrees of exultation, it would be the diſtinguiſhed and unbroken valour of the Britiſh troops, owned and applauded by thoſe whom they overcame. He ſaid the glory they had gained was not merely their own, but, in a national view, was one of the moſt important circumſtances of our ſucceſs, as it muſt be a ſtriking admonition to our enemies with whom they have to contend. He told them that his majeſty's good brother and ally, the king of Pruſſia, attacked and ſurrounded by ſo many conſiderable powers, had, by his magnanimity and abilities, and the bravery of his troops, been able, in a ſurpriſing manner, to prevent the miſchiefs concerted with ſuch united force againſt him. He declared, by the command of his ſovereign, that as his majeſty entered into this war not from views of ambition, ſo he did not wiſh to continue it from motives of reſentment: that the deſire of his majeſty's heart was to ſee a ſtop put to the effuſion of chriſtian blood: that, whenever ſuch terms of peace could be eſtabliſhed as ſhould be juſt and honourable for his majeſty and his allies; and by procuring ſuch advantages as, from the ſucceſſes of his majeſty's arms, might in reaſon and equity be expected, ſhould bring along with them full ſecurity for the future, his majeſty would rejoice to ſee the repoſe of Europe reſtored on ſuch ſolid and durable foundations; and his faithful ſubjects, to whoſe liberal ſupport and unſhaken firmneſs his majeſty owed ſo much, happy in the enjoyment of the bleſſings of peace and tranquillity: but, in order to this great and deſirable end, he ſaid his majeſty was confident the parliament would agree with him, that it was neceſſary to make ample proviſion for carrying on the war, in all parts, with the utmoſt vigour. He aſſured the commons, that the great ſupplies they had granted in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament had been faithfully employed for the purpoſes for which they were granted; but the uncommon extent of the war, and the various ſervices neceſſary to be provided for, in order to ſecure ſucceſs to his majeſty's meaſures, had unavoidably occaſioned extraordinary expences. Finally, he repeated the aſſurances from the throne of the high ſatisfaction his majeſty took in that union and good harmony which was ſo conſpicuous among his good ſubjects; he ſaid, his ſovereign was happy in ſeeing it continued and confirmed; he obſerved, that experience had ſhown how much the nation owed to this union, which alone could ſecure the true happineſs of his people.

We ſhall not anticipate the reader's own reflection, by pretending to comment upon either the matter or the form of this harangue, which, however, produced all the effect which the ſovereign could deſire. The houſes, in their reſpective addreſſes, ſeemed to vie with each other in expreſſions of attachment and complacency. The peers profeſſed their utmoſt readineſs to concur in the effectual ſupport of ſuch further meaſures as his majeſty, in his great wiſdom, ſhould judge neceſſary or expedient for carrying on the war with vigour, in all parts, and for diſappointing and repelling any deſperate attempts which might be made upon theſe kingdoms. The commons expreſſed their admiration of that true greatneſs of mind which diſpoſed his majeſty's heart, in the midſt of proſperities, to wiſh a ſtop put to the effuſion of chriſtian blood, and to ſee tranquillity reſtored. They declared their entire reliance on his majeſty's known wiſdom and firmneſs, that this deſirable object, whenever it ſhould be obtained would be upon terms juſt and honourable for his majeſty and his allies; and, in order to effect that great end, they aſſured him they would chearfully grant ſuch ſupplies as ſhould be found neceſſary to ſuſtain, and preſs with effect, all his extenſive operations againſt the enemy. They did not fail to re-echo the ſpeech, as uſual, enumerating the trophies of the year, and extolling the king of Pruſſia for his conſummate genius, magnanimity, unwearied activity, and unſhaken conſtancy of mind. Very great reaſon, indeed, had his majeſty to be ſatisfied with an addreſs of ſuch a nature from a houſe of commons, in which oppoſition lay ſtrangled at the foot of the miniſter; in which thoſe demagogues, who had raiſed themſelves to reputation and renown, by declaiming againſt continental meaſures, were become ſo perfectly reconciled to the object of their former reprobation, as to cultivate it even with a degree of enthuſiaſm unknown to any former adminiſtration, and lay the nation under ſuch contributions in its behalf as no other miniſtry durſt ever meditate. Thus diſpoſed, it was no wonder they admired the moderation of their ſovereign, in offering to treat of peace, after above a million of men had periſhed by the war, and twice that number been reduced to miſery; after whole provinces had been depopulated, whole countries ſubdued, and the victors themſelves almoſt cruſhed by the trophies they had gained.

Immediately after the addreſſes were preſented, the commons reſolved themſelves into a committee of the whole houſe, and having unanimouſly voted a ſupply to his majeſty, began to take the particulars into conſideration. This committee was continued till the 12th of May, when that whole buſineſs was accompliſhed. For the ſervice of the enſuing year they voted 70,000 ſeamen including 18,355 marines; and for their maintenance allotted 3,640,000l. The number of land-forces, including the Britiſh troops in Germany, and the invalids, they fixed at 57,294 men, and granted for their ſubſiſtence 1,383,748l. 10d. For maintaining other forces in the plantations, Gibraltar, Guadaloupe, Africa, and the Eaſt-Indies, they allowed 846,168l. 19s.: for the expence of four regiments on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, ſerving in North-America, they voted 35,744l. 8s. 4d. For pay to the general and general ſtaff-officers, and officers of the hoſpital for the land-forces, they aſſigned 54,454l. 11s. 9d. They voted for the expence of the militia in South and North-Britain the ſum of 102,061. 4s. 8d. They granted for the maintenance of 38,750 men, being the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttel, Saxe-Gotha and Buckebourg, retained in the ſervice of Great-Britain, the ſum of 447,882l. 10s. 5½d.; and for 19,000 Heſſian troops in the ſame pay, they gave 366,725l. 1s. 6d. They afterwards beſtowed the ſum of 108,012l. 12s. 7d. for defraying the additional expence of augmentations in the troops of Hanover and Heſſe, and the Britiſh army ſerving in the empire. For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to ſea-officers; for carrying on the building of two hoſpitals, one near Goſport, and the other in the neighbourhood of Plymouth: for the ſupport of the hoſpital at Greenwich; for purchaſing ground, erecting wharfs, and other accommodations neceſſary for refitting the fleets at Halifax, in Nova-Scotia: for the charge of the office of ordnance, and defraying the extraordinary expence incurred by that office in the courſe of the laſt year, they allowed 781,489l. 6s. 6d. Towards paying off the navy debt, building, re-buildings, and repairs of the king's ſhips, together with the charge of tranſport-ſervice, they granted 1,701,078l. 16s. 6d. For defraying the extraordinary expences of the land-forces, and other ſervices not provided for by parliament, comprehending the penſions for the widows of reduced officers, they allotted the ſum of 955,344l. 15s. 5½d. They voted one million, to empower his majeſty to diſcharge the like ſum, raiſed in purſuance of an act made in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, and charged upon the firſt aids or ſupplies to be granted in this ſeſſion of parliament. They gave 670,000l. for enabling his majeſty to make good his engagements with the king of Pruſſia, purſuant to a new convention between him and that monarch, concluded on the 9th day of November in the preſent year. Fifteen thouſand pounds they allowed, upon account, towards enabling the principal officers of his majeſty's ordnance to defray the neceſſary charges and expences of taking down and removing the preſent magazine for gunpowder, ſituated in the neighbourhood of Greenwich, and of erecting it in ſome leſs dangerous ſitua-

tion. Sixty thouſand pounds they gave, to enable his majeſty to fulfil his engagements with the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, purſuant to the ſeparate article of a treaty between the two powers, renewed in the month of November; the ſum to be paid as his moſt ſerene highneſs ſhould think it moſt convenient, in order to faciliate the means by which the landgrave might again fix his reſidence in his own dominions, and by his preſence give freſh courage to his faithful ſubjects. Five hundred thouſand pounds they voted upon account, as a preſent ſupply towards defraying the charges of forage, bread, bread-waggons, train of artillery, wood, ſtraw, proviſions, and contingences of his majeſty's combined army under the command of prince Ferdinand. To the Foundling-hoſpital they granted 5000l.; and 15,000l. for improving, widening, and enlarging the paſſage over and through London-bridge. To replace divers ſums taken from the ſinking-fund, they granted 225,281l. 19s. 4d. For the ſubſiſtence of reduced officers, including the allowances to the ſeveral officers and private men of the two troops of horſe-guards and regiment of horſe reduced, and to the ſuperannuated gentlemen of the four troops of horſe-guards, they voted 38,597l. 9s. Upon occount, for the ſupport of the colonies of Nova-Scotia and Georgia, they granted 21,694l. 2s. 2d. For enabling the king to give a proper compenſation to the provinces in North-America for the expences they might incur in levying and maintaining troops, according as the vigour and activity of thoſe reſpective provinces ſhould be thought by his majeſty to merit. They advanced the ſum of 200,000l. The Eaſt-India company they gratified with 20,000l. towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their ſettlements, in lieu of a battalion of the king's troops now returned to Ireland. Twenty-five thouſand pounds were provided for the payment of the out-penſioners of Chelſea-hoſpital. For ſubſequent augmentations of the Britiſh forces, ſince the firſt eſtimate of guards and garriſons for the enſuing year was preſented, they allowed 134,139l. 17s. 4d. They further voted, upon account, towards enabling the governors and guardians of the Foundling-hoſpital to maintain, educate, and bind apprentice the children admitted into the ſaid charity, the ſum of 47,285l. For defraying the expence of maintaining the militia in South and North-Britain, to the 24th day of December of the enſuing year, they voted an additional grant of 290,826l. 16s. 8d.; and moreover, they granted 80,000l. upon account, towards defraying the charge of pay and clothing of the unembodied militia for the year, ending on the 25th day of March 1761. For reemburſing the colony of New-York their expences in furniſhing proviſions and ſtores to the troops raiſed by them for his majeſty's ſervice, in the campaign of the year 1756, they allowed 2,977l. 7s. 8d.; and for maintaining the Britiſh forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa they renewed the grant of 10,000l. For maintenance and augmentation of the troops of Brunſwick in the pay of Great-Britain for the enſuing year, purſuant to an ulterior convention concluded and ſigned at Paderborn, on the 5th day of March, in the year 1760, they granted the ſum of 90,769l. 8s. 11¼d.; and for the troops of Heſſe-Caſſel in the ſame pay, during the ſame period, they allotted 101,096l. 3s. 2d. For the extraordinary expences of the land-forces, and other ſervices incurred from the 24th day of November in the preſent year to the 24th of December following, and not provided for, they granted the ſum of 420,120l. 1s. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the ſervice of the year 1759 they aſſigned the ſum of 75,170l. 3¼d. For printing the journals of the houſe of commons they gave 5000l.; and 634l. 13s. 7d. as intereſt, at the rate of four per cent. per ann. from the 25th day of Auguſt in the preſent year, to the ſame day of April next, for the ſum of 23,800l. 11s. 11d. remaining in the office of ordnance, and not paid into the hands of the deputy of the king's remembrancer of the court of Exchequer, as directed by an act made in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament; to make compenſation for lands and hereditaments purchaſed for his majeſty's ſervice at Chatham, Portſmouth, and Plymouth, by reaſon of doubts and difficulties which had ariſen touching the execution of the ſaid act. For defraying the extraornninary charge of the Mint, during the preſent year, they allowed 11,940l. 13s. 10d. and 2500l. upon account, for paying the debts claimed and ſuſtained upon a forfeited eſtate in North-Britain. They likewiſe allowed 12,874l. 15s. 10d. for defraying the charge of a regiment of light dragoons, and of an additional company to the corps commanded by lieutenant-colonal Vaughan. Finally, they voted one million upon account, to enable the king to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the ſervice of the year 1760; and to take all ſuch meaſures as might be neceſſary to defeat any enterprize or deſigns of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs might require. On the whole, the ſum total granted in this ſeſſion of parliament amounted to 15,503,563l. 15s. 9½d.: a ſum ſo enormous, whether we conſider the nation that raiſed it, or the purpoſes for which it was raiſed, that every Britain of a ſedate mind, attached to the intereſt and welfare of his country, muſt reflect upon it with equal aſtoniſhment and concern; a ſum conſiderably more then double the largeſt ſubſidy that was granted in the reign of queen Anne, when the nation was in the zenith of her glory, and retained half the powers of Europe in her pay; a ſum near double of what any former adminiſtration durſt have aſked; and near double of what the moſt ſanguine calculators who lived in the beginning of this century thought the nation could give without the moſt eminent hazard of immediate bankruptcy. Of the immenſe ſupply which we have particulariſed, the reader will perceive that 2,344,486l. 16s. 7½d. were paid to foreigners for ſupporting the war in Germany, excluſive of the money expended by the Britiſh troops in that country, the number of which amounted, in the courſe of the enſuing year, to 20,000 men; a number the more extraordinary, if we conſider they were all tranſported to that continent during the adminiſtration of thoſe who declared in parliament (the words ſtill ſounding in our ears) that not a man, nor even half a man, ſhould be ſent from Great-Britain to Germany, to fight the battles of any foreign elector. Into the expence of the German war ſuſtained by Great-Britain we muſt alſo throw the charge of tranſporting the Engliſh troops, the article of forage, which alone amounted, in the courſe of the laſt campaign, to 1,200,000l. beſides pontage, waggons, horſes, and many other contigences. To the German war we may alſo impute the extraordinary expence incurred by the actual ſervice of the militia, which the abſence of the regular troops rendered in a great meaſure neceſſary; and the loſs of ſo many hands withdrawn from induſtry, from huſbandry, and manufacture. The loſs ſuſtained by this connexion was equally grievous and apparent; the advantage accruing from it, either to Britain or Hanover, we have not diſcernment ſufficient to perceive, conſequently cannot be ſuppoſed able to explain.

The committee of ways and means, having duely deliberated on the articles of ſupply, continued ſitting from the 22d day of November to the 14th of May, during which period they eſtabliſhed the neceſſary funds to produce the ſums which had been granted. The land-tax at 4s. in the pound, and the malt-tax, were continued, as the ſtanding revenue of Great-Britain. The whole proviſion made by the committee of ways and means amounted to 16,130,561l. 9s. 8d. exceeding the grants for the ſervice of the year 1760 in the ſum of 626,997l. 13s. 10½d. This exceſs, however, will not appear extraordinary, when we conſider, that it was deſtined to make good the premium of 240,000l. to the ſubſcribers upon the eight million loan, as well as the deficiencies in the other grants, which never fail to make a conſiderable article in the ſupply of every ſeſſion. That theſe gigantic ſtrides towards the ruin of public credit were ſuch as might alarm every well-wiſher to his country, will perhaps, more plainly appear in the ſum total of the national debt, which including the incumbrance of one million charged upon the civil-liſt revenue, and provided for by a tax upon ſalaries and penſions payable out of that revenue, amounted, at this period, to the tremendous ſum of 108,493,154l. 14s. 11¼d. A comfortable reflection this to a people involved in the moſt expenſive war that ever was waged, and already burthened with ſuch taxes as no other nation ever bore.

It is not at all neceſſary to particulariſe the acts that were founded upon the reſolutions touching the ſupply. We ſhall only obſerve that in the act for the land-tax, and in the act for the malt-tax, there was a clauſe of credit, empowering the commiſſioners of the treaſury to raiſe the money which they produced by loanes on exchequer-bills, bearing an intereſt of four per cent. per annum, that is, one per cent. higher than the intereſt uſually granted in time of peace. While the houſe of commons deliberated on the bill for granting to his majeſty ſeveral duties upon malt, and for raiſing a certain ſum of money to be charged on the ſaid duties, a petition was preſented by the maltſters of Ipſwich and parts adjacent againſt an additional duty on the ſtoc of malt in hand: but no regard was paid to this remonſtrance: and the bill, with ſeveral new amendments, paſſed through both houſes, under the title of 'An act for granting to his majeſty ſeveral duties upon malt, and for raiſing the ſum of eight millions by way of annuities and

a lottery, to be charged on the ſaid duties; and to prevent the fraudulent obtaining of allowances in the gauging of corn making into malt; and for making forth duplicates of exchequer-bills, tickets, certificates, receipts, annuity-orders, and other orders loſt, burned or otherwiſe deſtroyed.' The other three bills that turned wholly on the ſupply were paſſed in common courſe, without the leaſt oppoſition in either houſe, and received the royal aſſent by commiſſion, at the end of the ſeſſion. The firſt of theſe intituled, 'A bill for enabling his majeſty to raiſe a certain ſome of money for the uſes and purpoſes therein mentioned,' contained a clauſe of approbation, added to it by inſtruction: and the bank was enabled to lend the million which the commiſſioners of the treaſury were empowered by the act to borrow, at the intereſt of 4l. per cent. The ſecond, granting to his majeſty a certain ſum of money out of the ſinking-fund, for the ſervice of the year 1760, comprehended a clauſe of credit for borrowing the money thereby granted; and another clauſe, empowering the bank to lend it without any limitation of intereſt; and the third enabling his majeſty to raiſe a certain ſum of money towards diſcharging the debt of the navy, and for naval ſervices during the enſuing year, enacted, that the exchequer-bills thereby to be iſſued ſhould not be received, or paſs to any receiver or collector of the public revenue, or at the receipt of the exchequer, before the 26th day of March in the year 1761.

As the act of the preceding ſeſſion, prohibiting the malt-diſtillery, was to expire at Chriſtmas, the commons, thinking it neceſſary to conſider of proper methods for laying the malt-diſtillery under ſuch regulations as might prevent, if poſſible, its being prejudicial to the health and morals of the people, began as early as the month of November to deliberate on this affair; which being under agitation, petitions were preſented to the houſe by ſeveral of the principal inhabitants of Spitalfields; the mayor and commonalty of New Sarum; the gentlemen, clergy, merchants, manufacturers, tradeſmen, and other inhabitants of Colcheſter; the mayor, aldermen, and common-council of King's Lynn in Norfolk; the mayor and baliffs of Berwick-upon-Tweed; repreſenting the advantages accruing from the prohibition of the malt-diſtillery, and praying the continuance of the act by which it was prohibited. On the other hand, counter-petitions were offered by the mayor, magiſtrates, merchants, manufacturers, and other gentlemen of the city of Norwich; by the land-owners and holders of the ſouth-weſt part of Eſſex; and by the freeholders of the ſhires of Roſs and Cromartie, in North-Britain; alledging, that the ſcarcity of corn, which had made it neceſſary to prohibit the malt-diſtillery, had ceaſed; and that the continuing the prohibition beyond the neceſſity which had required it would be a great loſs and diſcouragement to the landed intereſt; they, therefore prayed that the ſaid diſtillery might be again opened, under ſuch regulations and reſtrictions as the houſe ſhould think proper. Theſe remonſtrances being taken into conſideration, and divers accounts peruſed, the houſe unanimouſly agreed that the prohibition ſhould be continued for a limited time; and a bill being brought in, purſuant to this reſolution, paſſed through both houſes, and received the royal aſſent; by which means the prohibition of the malt-diſtillery was continued till the 24th day of December in the year 1760, unleſs ſuch continuation ſhould be abridged by any other act to be paſſed in the preſent ſeſſion.

The committee, having examined a great number of accounts and papers relating to ſpirituous liquors, agreed to four reſolutions, importing, that the preſent high price of ſpirituous liquors is a principal cauſe of the diminution in the home-conſumption thereof, and hath greatly contributed to the health, ſobriety, and induſtry of the common people: that, in order to continue for the future the preſent high price of all ſpirits uſed for home-conſumption, a large additional duty ſhould be laid upon all ſpirituous liquors whatſoever diſtilled within or imported into Great-Britain: that there ſhould be a drawbac of the ſaid additional duties upon all ſpirituous liquors diſtilled in Great-Britain, which ſhould be exported; and that an additional bounty ſhould be granted, under proper regulations, upon the exportation of all ſpirituous liquors drawn from corn in Great-Britain. A great many accounts being puruſed, and witneſſes examined, relating to the diſtillery, a bill was brought in, to prevent the exceſſive uſe of ſpirituous liquors, by laying an additional duty thereupon; and to encourage the exportation of Britiſh-made ſpirits. Conſiderable oppoſition was made to the bill, on the opinion that the additional duty propoſed was too ſmall; and that, among the reſolutions, there was not ſo much as one that looked like a proviſion or reſtriction for preventing the pernicious abuſe of ſuch liquors. Nay, many perſons affirmed, that what was propoſed looked more like a ſcheme for increaſing the public revenues, than a ſalutary meaſure to prevent exceſs. The merchants and manufacturers of the town of Birmingham petitioned for ſuch reſtrictions. The lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London preſented a petition by the hands of the two ſheriffs, ſetting forth, that the petitioners had, with great pleaſure, obſerved the happy conſequences produced upon the morals, behaviour, induſtry, and health of the lower claſs of people, ſince the prohibition of the malt diſtillery: that the petitioners, having obſerved a bill was brought in to allow the diſtilling of ſpirits from corn, were apprehenſive that the encouragement given to the diſtillers thereof would prove detrimental to the commercial intereſts of the nation; and they conceived the advantages propoſed to be allowed upon the exportation of ſuch ſpirits, being ſo much above the value of their commodity, would lay ſuch a temptation for ſmuggling and purjury as no law could prevent. They expreſſed their fears, that, ſhould ſuch a bill paſs into a law, the exceſſive uſe of ſpirituous liquors would not only debilitate and enervate the labourers, manufacturers, ſailors, ſoldiers, and all the lower claſs of people, and thereby extinguiſh induſtry, and that remarkable intrepidity which had lately ſo eminently appeared in the Britiſh nation, which muſt always depend on the vigour and induſtry of its people; but alſo its liberty and happineſs, which cannot be ſupported without temperance and morality, would run the utmoſt riſque of being deſtroyed. They declared themſelves alſo apprehenſive, that the extraordinary conſumption of bread corn by the ſtill would not only raiſe the price, ſo as oppreſs the lower claſs of people; but would raiſe ſuch a bar to the exportation thereof, as to deprive the nation of a great influx of money, at that time eſſential towards the maintaining of an expenſive war, and therefore highly injure the landed and commercial intereſt: they, therefore, prayed that the preſent prohibition of diſtilling ſpirits from corn might be continued, or that the uſe of wheat might not be allowed in diſtillation. This remonſtrance was corroborated by another, to the ſame purpoſe, from ſeveral merchants, manufacturers, and traders reſiding in and near the city of London; and ſeemed to have ſome weight with the commons, who made ſeveral amendments in the bill, which they now intituled, 'A bill for preventing the exceſſive uſe of ſpirituous liquors, by laying additional duties thereon; for ſhortening the prohibition for making low wines and ſpirits from wheat; for encouraging the exportation of Britiſh-made ſpirits, and preventing the fraudulent relanding or importation thereof.' Thus altered and amended, it paſſed on a diviſion; and, making its way through the houſe of lords, acquired the royal ſanction. Whether the law be adequate to the purpoſes for which it was enacted time will determine. The beſt way of preventing the exceſs of ſpirituous liquors would be to lower the exciſe on beer and ale, ſo as to enable the poorer claſs of labourers to refreſh themſelves with comfortable liquor for nearly the ſame expence that will procure a quantity of Geneva ſufficient for intoxication; for it cannot be ſuppoſed that a poor wretch will expend his laſt penny upon a draft of ſmall beer, without ſtrength, or the leaſt ſatisfactory operation, when for the half of that ſum he can purchaſe a cordial, that will almoſt inſtantaneouſly allay the ſenſe of hunger and cold, and regale his imagination with the moſt agreeable illuſions. Malt was at this time ſold cheaper than it was in the firſt year of king James I. when the parliament enacted, that no innkeeper, victualler, or alehouſe-keeper, ſhould ſell leſs than a full quart of the beſt ale or beer, or two quarts of the ſmall for 1d. under the penalty of 20s. It appears, then, that in the reign of king James the ſubject paid but 4d. for a gallon of ſtrong beer, which now coſt 1s.; and as the malt is not increaſed in value, the difference in the price muſt be entirely owing to the taxes on beer, malt, and hops, which are indeed very grieveous, though perhaps neceſſary. The duty on ſmall beer is certainly one of the heavieſt taxes impoſed upon any ſort of conſumption that cannot be conſidered as an article of luxury. Two buſhels of malt, and two pounds of hops, are required to make a barrel of good ſmall beer, which was formerly ſold for 6s.; and the taxes payable on ſuch a barrel amounted to 3s. 6d.; ſo that the ſum total of the impoſition on this commodity was equal to a land-tax of 11s. 8d. in the pound.

Immediately after the reſolution relating to the prohibition of ſpirits from wheat, a motion was made, and leave given, to bring in a bill to continue, for a time limited, the act of the laſt ſeſſion, permitting the importation of ſalted beef from Ireland. This permiſſion was accordingly

extended to the 24th day of December, in the year 1761. In all probability this ſhort and temporary continuance was propoſed by the favourers of the bill, in order to avoid the clamour and oppoſition of prejudice and ignorance, which would have been dangerouſly alarmed, had it been rendered perpetual. Yet, as undoubted evidence had proved before the committee, while the bill was depending, that the importation had been of great ſervice to England, particularly in reducing the price of ſalted beef for the uſe of the navy, perhaps no conſideration ought to have prevented the legiſlature from perpetuating the law; a meaſure that would encourage the graſiers of Ireland to breed and fatten horned cattle, and certainly put a ſtop to the practice of exporting ſalted beef from that kingdom to France, which undoubtedly furniſhes the traders of that kingdom with opportunities of exporting wool to the ſame country.

As ſeveral lieutenants of counties had, for various reaſons, ſuſpended all proceedings in the execution of the laws relating to the militia for limited times, which ſuſpenſions were deemed inconſiſtent with the intent of the legiſlature, a bill was now brought in, to enable his majeſty's lieutenants of the ſeveral counties of England and Wales to proceed in the execution of the militia laws, notwithſtanding any adjournments. It was enacted, that, as the ſpeedy execution of the laws for regulating the militia was moſt eſſentially neceſſary at this juncture to the peace and ſecurity of the kingdom, every lieutenant of the place where ſuch ſuſpenſion had happened ſhould, within one month after the paſſing of this act, proceed as if there had been no ſuſpenſion; and ſummon a meeting for the ſame purpoſe once in every ſucceeding month, until a ſufficient number of officers, qualified and willing to ſerve, ſhould be found, or until the expiration of the act for the better ordering the militia forces. The eſtabliſhment of a regular militia in South-Britain could not fail to make an impreſſion upon the patriots of Scotland. They were convinced, from reaſon and experience, that nothing could more tend to the peace and ſecurity of their country than ſuch an eſtabliſhment in North-Britain, the inhabitants of which had been peculiarly expoſed to inſurrections, which a well-regulated militia might have prevented, or ſtifled in the birth; and their coaſt had been lately alarmed by a threatened invaſion, which nothing but the want of ſuch an eſtabliſhment had rendered formidable to the natives. They thought themſelves entitled to the ſame ſecurity which the legiſlature had provided for their fellow-ſubjects, in South-Britain, and could not help being uneaſy at the proſpect of ſeeing themſelves left unarmed, and expoſed to injuries both foreign and domeſtic, while the ſword was put in the hands of their ſouthern neighbours. Some of the members who repreſented North-Britain in parliament, moved by theſe conſiderations, as well as by the earneſt injunctions of their conſtituents, reſolved to make a vigorous effort, in order to obtain the eſtabliſhment of a regular militia in Scotland. In the beginning of March it was moved, and reſolved, that the houſe would, on the 12th day of the month, reſolve itſelf into a committee, to conſider of the laws in being which relate to the militia in that part of Great-Britain called Scotland. The reſult of that enquiry was, that theſe laws were ineffectual. Then a motion was made for leave to bring in a bill for the better ordering of the militia forces in North-Britain, and though it met with great oppoſition, was carried by a large majority. The principal Scottiſh members of the houſe were appointed, in conjunction with others, to prepare the bill, which was ſoon printed, and re-enforced by petitions preſented by the gentlemen, juſtices of the peace, and commiſſioners of the ſupply for the ſhire of Ayr; and by the freeholders of the ſhires of Edinburgh, Stirling, Perth, and Forfar. They expreſſed their approbation of the eſtabliſhed militia in England, and their ardent wiſh to ſee the benefit of that wiſe and ſalutary meaſure extended to North-Britain. This was an indulgence they had the greater reaſon to hope for, as by the articles of the Union they were undoubtedly entitled to be on the ſame footing with their brethren of England, and as the legiſlature muſt now be convinced of the neceſſity of ſome ſuch meaſure, by the conſternation lately produced in their defenceleſs country, from the threatened invaſion of a handful of French freebooters. Theſe remonſtrances had no weight with the majority in the houſe of commons, who, either unable or unwilling to make proper diſtinctions between the ill and well-affected ſubjects of North-Britain, rejected the bill, as a very dangerous experiment in favour of a people among whom ſo many rebellions had been generated and produced. When the motion was made for the bill's being committed, a warm debate enſued, in the courſe of which many Scottiſh members ſpoke in behalf of their country with great force of argument, and a very laudable ſpirit of freedom. Mr Elliot, in particular, one of the commiſſioners of the board of admiralty, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a noble flow of eloquence adorned with all the graces of oratory, and warmed with the true ſpirit of patriotiſm. Mr Oſwald, of the treaſury, acquitted himſelf with great honour on the occaſion; ever nervous, ſteady, and ſagacious, independent though in office, and invariable in purſuing the intereſt of his country. It muſt be owned, for the honour of North-Britain, that all her repreſentatives, except two, warmly contended for this national meaſure, which was carried in the negative by a majority of 106, though the bill was exactly modelled by the late act of parliament for the eſtabliſhment of the militia in England.

Even this inſtitution, though certainly laudable and neceſſary, was attended with ſo many unforeſeen difficulties, that every ſeſſion of parliament ſince it was firſt eſtabliſhed has produced new acts for its better regulation. In April, leave was given to prepare a bill for limiting, confining, and better regulating the payment of the weekly allowances made by act of parliament for the maintenance of families unable to ſupport themſelves during the abſence of militia-men embodied, and ordered out into actual ſervice; as well as for amending and improving the eſtabliſhment of the militia, and leſſening the number of officers entitled to pay within that part of Great-Britain called England. While this bill was under conſideration, the houſe received a petiton from the mayor, aldermen, town-clerk, ſheriffs, gentlemen, merchants, clergy, tradeſmen, and others, inhabitants of the ancient city of Lincoln, repreſenting, That by an act paſſed relating to the militia, it was provided, that when any militia-men ſhould be ordered out into actual ſervice, leaving families unable to ſupport themſelves during their abſence, the overſeers of the pariſh where ſuch families reſide ſhould allow them ſuch weekly ſupport as ſhould be preſcribed by any one juſtice of the peace, which allowance ſhould be re-emburſed out of the county ſtoc. They alledged, that a conſiderable number of men, inhabitants of the ſaid city, had entered themſelves to ſerve in the militia of the county of Lincoln, as volunteers, for ſeveral pariſhes and perſons; yet their families were, nevertheleſs, ſupported by the county ſtoc of the city and county of the city of Lincoln. They took notice of the bill under deliberation, and prayed, that if it ſhould paſs into a law they might have ſuch relief in the premiſſes, as to the houſe ſhould ſeem meet. Regard was had to this petition in the amendments to the bill[c], which paſſed through both houſes, and ſoon after received the royal aſſent by commiſſion. During the dependance of this bill, another was brought in, to explain ſo much of the militia act paſſed in the 31ſt year of his majeſty's reign as related to the money to be given to private militia-men, upon their being ordered out into actual ſervice. By this law it was enacted, that the guinea, which by the former act was due to every private man of every regiment or company of militia, when ordered out into actual ſervice, ſhould be paid to every man that ſhall afterwards be enrolled into ſuch regiment or company whilſt in actual ſervice; that no man ſhould be intitled to his clothes for his own uſe until he ſhould have ſerved three years, if unembodied, or one year, if embodied, after the delivery of the clothes; and that the full pay of the militia ſhould commence from the date of his majeſty's warrant for drawing them out. The difficulties which theſe ſucceſſive re-

[c] By this law it was enacted, that if any militia-man who ſhall have been accepted and enrolled as a ſubſtitute, hired man, or volunteer, before the paſſing of the act, or who ſhall have been choſen by lot, whether before or after the paſſing of the act, ſhall, when embodied, or called out into actual ſervice, and ordered to march, leave a family unable to ſupport themſelves, the overſeers ſhall, by order of ſome one juſtice of the peace, pay, out of the poor's rates of ſuch pariſh, a weekly allowance to ſuch family, according to the uſual and ordinary price of labour and huſbandry there; viz. for one child under the age of ten years the price of one day's labour: for two children under the age aforeſaid the price of two days labour; for three or four children under the age aforeſaid the price of three days labour; for five or more children under the age aforeſaid the price of four day's labour; and for the wife of ſuch militia-man the price of one day's labour; but that the families of ſuch men only as ſhould be choſen by lot, and of the ſubſtitutes, hired men, and volunteers, already accepted and enrolled, ſhall, after the paſſing of this act, receive any ſuch weekly allowance. For removing the grievance complained of in the above petition, it is enacted, that were treaſurers ſhall re-emburſe to overſeers any money, in purſuance of this act, on account of the weekly allowance to the family of any militia-man ſerving in the militia of any county or place other than that wherein ſuch family ſhall dwell, they are to tranſmit an account thereof, ſigned by ſome juſtice for the place where ſuch family ſhall dwell, to the treaſurer of the county, &c. in the militia whereof ſuch militia-man ſhall ſerve, who is thereupon to pay him the ſums ſo re-emburſed to ſuch overſeers, and the ſame to be allowed in his accounts.

gulation were made to obviate will be amply recompenſed by the good effects of a national militia, provided it be employed in a national way, and for national purpoſes: but if the militia are embodied, and the different regiments that compoſe it are marched from the reſpective counties to which they belong; if the men are detained for any length of time in actual ſervice, at a diſtance from their families, when they might be employed at home in works of induſtry, for the ſupport of their natural dependants, the militia becomes no other than an addition to, or augmentation of a ſtanding army, inliſted for the term of three years. The labour of the men is loſt to the community; they contract the idle habits and diſſolute manners of the other troops; their families are left as incumbrances on the community, and the charge of their ſubſiſtence is, at leaſt, as heavy as that of maintaining an equal number of regular forces. It would not, we apprehend, be very eaſy to account for the government's ordering the regiments of militia to march from their reſpective counties, and to do duty for a conſiderable length of time at a great diſtance from their own homes, unleſs we ſuppoſe this meaſure was taken to create in the people a diſguſt to the inſtitution of the militia, which was an eſtabliſhment extorted from the ſecretary by the voice of the nation. We may add, that ſome of the inconveniences attending a militia will never be totally removed while the perſons drawn by lot for that ſervice are at liberty to hire ſubſtitutes; for it cannot be ſuppoſed that men of ſubſtance will incur the danger, fatigue, and damage of ſerving in perſon, while they can hire among the loweſt claſs of people mercenaries of deſperate fortune and abandoned morals, who will greedily ſeize the opportunity of being paid for renouncing that labour by which they were before obliged to maintain themſelves and their family connexion: it would, therefore, deſerve the conſideration of the legiſlature, whether the privilege of hiring ſubſtitutes ſhould not be limited to certain claſſes of men, who are either raiſed by their rank in life above the neceſſity of ſerving in perſon, or engaged in ſuch occupations as cannot be intermitted without prejudice to the common-wealth. It muſt be allowed, that the regulation in this new act, by which the families of ſubſtitutes are deprived of any relief from the pariſh, will not only diminiſh the burthen of the poor's rates; but alſo, by raiſing the price of mercenaries, oblige a greater number of the better ſort to ſerve in perſon. Without all doubt, the fewer ſubſtitutes that are employed, the more dependence may be placed upon the militia in the preſervation of our rights and privileges, and the more will the number of the diſciplined men be increaſed, becauſe, at the expiration of every three years, the lot-men muſt be changed, and new militia-men choſen; but the ſubſtitutes will, in all probability, continue for life in the ſervice, provided they can find lot-men to hire them at every rotation. The reader will forgive our being ſo circumſtantial upon the regulations of an inſtitution which we cannot help regarding with a kind of enthuſiaſtic affection.

In the latter end of November the houſe of commons received a petition from ſeveral noblemen, gentlemen, and others, inhabitants of Eaſt-Greenwich, and places adjacent, in Kent, repreſenting, that in the ſaid pariſh, within a quarter of a mile of the town diſtinguiſhed by a royal palace, and royal hoſpital for ſeamen, there was a magazine, containing great quantities of gunpowder, frequently to the amount of 6000 barrels: that, beſides the great danger which muſt attend all places of that kind, the ſaid magazine ſtood in an open field, unencloſed by any fortification or defence whatſoever, conſequently expoſed to treachery, and every other accident. They alledged, that if, through treachery, lightning, or any other accident, this magazine ſhould take fire, not only their lives and properties, but the palace and hoſpital, the king's yards and ſtores at Deptford and Woolwich, the banks and navigation of the Thames, with the ſhips ſailing and at anchor in that river, would be inevitably deſtroyed, and inconceivable damage would accrue to the cities of London and Weſtminſter. They, moreover, obſerved that the magazine was then in a dangerous condition, ſupported on all ſides by props that were decayed at the foundation; that in caſe it ſhould fall, the powder would, in all probability, take fire, and produce the dreadful calamities above recited: they, therefore, prayed that the magazine might be removed to ſome more convenient place, where any accident would not be attended with ſuch diſmal conſequences. The ſubject of this remonſtrance was ſo preſſing and important, that a committee was immediately appointed to take the affair into conſideration, and procure an eſtimate for purchaſing lands, and erecting a powder-magazine, at Purfleet, in Eſſex, near the banks of the river, together with a guard-houſe, barracs, and all other neceſſary conveniences. While the report of the committee lay upon the table for the peruſal of the members, mr. Chancellor of the exchequer, by his majeſty's command, acquainted the houſe, that the king, having been informed of the ſubject matter of the petition, recommended it to the conſideration of the commons. Leave was immediately given to prepare a bill, founded on the reſolutions of the committee; which, having been duely conſidered, altered, and amended, paſſed through both houſes to the foot of the throne, where it obtained the royal ſanction. The magazine was accordingly removed to Purfleet, an inconſiderable and ſolitary village, where there will be little danger of accident, and where no great damage would attend an exploſion: but, in order to render this poſſible exploſion ſtill leſs dangerous, it would be neceſſary to form the magazine of ſmall diſtinct apartments, totally independent of each other, that, in caſe one ſhould be accidentally blown up, the reſt might ſtand unaffected. The ſame plan ought to be adopted in the conſtruction of all combuſtible ſtores ſubject to conflagration. The marine bill, and mutiny bill, as annual regulations, were prepared in the uſual form, paſſed both houſes without oppoſition, and received the royal aſſent.

The next affair that engroſſed the deliberation of the commons was a meaſure relating to the internal œconomy of the metropolis. The ſheriffs of London delivered a petition from the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, in common-council aſſembled, repreſenting, that ſeveral ſtreets, lanes, and paſſages within the city of London, and liberties thereof, were too narrow and incommodious for the paſſing and repaſſing as well of foot paſſengers as of coaches, carts, and other carriages, to the prejudice and inconvenience of the owners and inhabitants of houſes, and to the great hindrance of buſineſs, trade, and commerce. They alledged, that theſe defects might be remedied, and ſeveral new ſtreets opened within the ſaid city and liberties, to the great eaſe, ſafety, and convenience of paſſengers, as well as to the advantage of the public in general, if they, the petitioners, were enabled to widen and enlarge the narrow ſtreets, lanes, and paſſages, to open and lay out ſuch new ſtreets and ways, and to purchaſe the ſeveral houſes, buildings, and grounds which might be neceſſary for theſe purpoſes. They took notice, that there were ſeveral houſes within the city and liberties, partly erected over the ground of other proprietors; and others, of which the ſeveral floors or apartments belonged to different perſons; ſo that difficulties and diſputes frequently aroſe amongſt the ſaid ſeveral owners and proprietors about pulling down or re-building the party-walls and premiſſes; that ſuch re-building was often prevented or delayed, to the great injury and inconvenience of thoſe owners who were deſirous to re-build; that it would, therefore, be of public benefit, and frequently prevent the ſpreading of the fatal effects of fire, if ſome proviſion were made by law, as well for determining ſuch diſputes in a ſummary way, as for explaining and amending the laws then in being relating to the building of party-walls. They, therefore, prayed that leave might be given to bring in a bill for enabling the petitioners to widen and enlarge the ſeveral ſtreets, lanes, and paſſages, and to open new ſtreets and ways to be therein limited and deſcribed; as well for determining, in a ſummary way, all diſputes ariſing about the rebuilding of houſes or tenements within the ſaid city and liberties, wherein ſeveral perſons have an intermixed property; and for explaining and amending the laws in being relating to theſe particulars. A committee being appointed to examine the matter of this petition, agreed to a report, upon which leave was given to prepare a bill, and this was brought in accordingly. Next day a great number of citizens repreſented, in another petition, that the pavement of the city and liberties was often damaged, by being broken up for the purpoſes of amending or new-laying water-pipes belonging to the proprietors of water-works; and praying that proviſion might be made in the bill then depending to compel thoſe proprietors to make good any damage that ſhould be done to the pavement by the leaking or burſting of the water-pipes, or opening the pavement for alterations. In conſequence of this repreſentation, ſome amendments were made in the bill, which paſſed through both houſes, and was enacted into a law, under the title of 'An act for widening certain ſtreets, lanes,

and paſſages, within the city of London and liberties thereof; and for opening certain new ſtreets and ways within the ſame, and for other purpoſes therein mentioned [d].

The inhabitants of Weſtminſter had long laboured under the want of a fiſh-market, and complained that the price of this ſpecies of proviſion was kept up at an exorbitant rate by the fraudulent combination of a few dealers, who engroſſed the whole market at Billingſgate, and deſtroyed great quantities of fiſh, in order to enhance the value of thoſe that remained. An act of parliament had paſſed in the 22d year of his preſent majeſty's reign, for eſtabliſhing a free market for the ſale of fiſh in Weſtminſter; and, ſeven years after that period, it was found neceſſary to procure a ſecond, for explaining and amending the firſt: but neither effectually anſwered the purpoſes of the legiſlature. In the month of January of the preſent ſeſſion the houſe took into conſideration a petition of the ſeveral fiſhermen trading to Billingſgate-market repreſenting the hardſhip to which they were expoſed by the ſaid acts; particularly forfeitures of veſſels and cargoes, incurred by the negligence of ſervants, who had omitted to make the particular entries which the two acts preſcribed. This petition being examined by a committee, and the report being made, leave was given to bring in a new bill, which ſhould contain effectual proviſion for the better ſupplying the cities of London and Weſtminſter with fiſh, and for preventing the abuſes of the fiſhmongers. It was intituled, 'A bill to repeal ſo much of an act paſſed in the 29th of George II. concerning a free market for fiſh at Weſtminſter as requires fiſhermen to enter their fiſhing-veſſels at the office of the ſearcher of the cuſtoms at Graveſend, and to regulate the ſale of fiſh at the firſt hand in the fiſh-markets in London and Weſtminſter; and to prevent ſaleſmen of fiſh buying fiſh to ſell again on their own account; and to allow bret and turbot, brill and pearl, although under the reſpective dimenſions mentioned in a former act, to be imported and ſold; and to puniſh perſons who ſhall take or ſell any ſpawn, brood, or fiſh of fry, unſizeable fiſh, or fiſh out of ſeaſon, or ſmelts under the ſize of five inches, and for other purpoſes.' Though this and the former bill, relating to the ſtreets and houſes of London, are inſtances that evince the care and attention of the legiſlature, even to minute particulars of the internal œconomy of the kingdom, we can hardly conſider them as objects of ſuch dignity and importance as to demand the deliberations of the parliament, but think they naturally fall within the cognizance of the municipal magiſtracy. After all, perhaps the moſt effectual method for ſupplying Weſtminſter with plenty of fiſh, at reaſonable rates, would be to execute with rigour the laws already enacted againſt foreſtalling and regrating; an expedient that would ſoon diſſolve all monopolies and combinations among the traders; to increaſe the number of markets in London and Weſtminſter; and to eſtabliſh two general markets at the Nore, one on each ſide of the river, where the fiſhing veſſels might unload their cargoes, and return to ſea without delay. A number of light boats might be employed to convey freſh fiſh from theſe marts to London and Weſtminſter, where all the different fiſh-markets might be plentifully ſupplied at a reaſonable expence; for it cannot be ſuppoſed, that while the freſh fiſh are brought up the river in the fiſhing ſmacs themſelves, which can hardly ſave the tides, to Billingſgate, they will ever dream of carrying their cargoes above bridge; or that the price of fiſh can be conſiderably lowered, while the fiſhing veſſels loſe ſo much time in running up to Graveſend or Billingſgate.

The annual committee being appointed to enquire what laws were expired, or near expiring, agreed to certain reſolutions; upon which a bill was prepared, and obtained the royal aſſent, importing a continuation of ſeveral laws, namely, the ſeveral clauſes mentioned of the acts in the fifth and eighth of George I. againſt clandeſtine running of uncuſtomed goods, except the clauſes relating to quarantine; the act paſſed in the third of George II. relating to the carrying rice from Carolina; the act in the ſeventh of the ſame reign, relating to cochineal and indigo; and that of the twelfth of George II. ſo far as it related to the importation of printed books. There was alſo a law enacted, to continue to the 29th day of September, in the year 1767, an act paſſed in the 12th year of queen Anne, for encouraging the making of ſail-cloth, by a duty of 1d. per ell laid upon all foreign-made ſails and ſail-cloth imported, and a bounty in the ſame proportion granted upon all home-made ſail-cloth and canvas fit for, or made into ſails, and exported; another act was paſſed, for continuing certain laws relating to the additional number of 100 hackney coaches and chairs, which law was rendered perpetual. The next law we ſhall mention was intended to be one of the moſt important that ever fell under the cognizance of the legiſlature: it was a law that affected the freedom, dignity, and independency of parliaments. By an act paſſed in the ninth year of the reign of queen Anne it was provided that no perſon ſhould be choſen a member of parliament who did not poſſeſs in England or Wales, an eſtate freehold or copyhold, for life, according to the following qualifications: for every knight of a ſhire 600l. per annum, over and above what will ſatisfy all incumberances; and 300l. per annum for every citizen, burgeſs, and baron of the cinque-ports. It was alſo decreed, that the return of any perſon not thus qualified ſhould be void; and that every candidate, ſhould, at the reaſonable requeſt of any other candidate at the time of election, or by two or more perſons who had a right to vote, take an oath preſcribed to eſtabliſh his qualifications. This reſtraint was by no means effectual. So many oaths of different kinds had been preſcribed ſince the Revolution, that they began to loſe the effect they were intended to have on the minds of men; and, in particular, political perjury grew ſo common, that it was no longer conſidered as a crime. Subterfuges were diſcovered, by means of which this law relating to the qualification of candidates was effectually eluded. Thoſe who were not actually poſſeſſed of ſuch eſtates procured temporary conveyances from their friends and patrons, on condition of their being reſtored and cancelled after the election. By this ſcandalous fraud the intention of the legiſlature was fruſtrated, the dignity of parliament proſtituted, the example of perjury and corruption extended, and the vengeance of heaven ſet at defiance. Through this infamous channel the miniſtry had it in their power to thruſt into parliament a ſet of venal beggars, who, as they depended upon their bounty, would always be obſequious to their will, and vote according to direction, without the leaſt regard to the dictates of their conſcience, or to the advantage of their country. The miſchiefs attending ſuch a vile colluſion, and in particular the undue influence which the crown muſt have acquired from the practice, were either felt or apprehended by ſome honeſt patriots, who after divers unſucceſsful efforts, at length preſented to the houſe a bill, importing that every perſon who ſhall be elected a member of the houſe of commons ſhould, before he preſumed to take his ſeat, deliver to the clerk of the houſe, at the table, while the commons are ſitting, and the ſpeaker in the chair, a paper or ſchedule, ſigned by himſelf, containing a rental or particular of the lands, tenements, or hereditaments whereby he makes out his qualification, ſpecifying the nature of his eſtate, whether meſſuage, land, rent, tythe, or what elſe; and if ſuch eſtate conſiſts of meſſuages, lands, or tythes, then ſpecifying in whoſe occupation they are; and if in rent, then ſpecifying the names of the owners or poſſeſſors of the lands and tenements out of which ſuch rent is iſſuing, and alſo ſpecifying the pariſh, townſhip, or precinct and county, in which the ſaid eſtate lies, and the value thereof; and every ſuch perſon ſhall, at the ſame time, alſo take and ſubſcribe the following oath, to be fairly written at the bottom of the paper or ſchedule:

'I A. B. do ſwear that the above is a true rental: and that I truly, and bonâ fide, have ſuch an eſtate in law or equity, to and for my own uſe and benefit, of and in the lands, tenements, or hereditaments above deſcribed, over and above what will ſatisfy and clear all incumberances that may affect the ſame; and that ſuch eſtate hath not been granted or made over to me fraudently, on purpoſe to qualify me to be a member of this houſe. So help me God!'

[d] The openings to be made, and the paſſages to be improved and enlarged, were aſcertained by two ſchedules, annexed to the act. With reſpect to the houſes, buildings, and grounds to be purchaſed, the mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city, in common-council aſſembled, or a committee appointed by them, were empowered to fix the price by agreement with the reſpective proprietors, or otherwiſe by a jury, in the uſual manner. With regard to party-walls, the act ordains, that the proprietor of either adjoining houſe may compel the proprietor of the other to agree to its being pulled down and re-built, and to pay a moiety of the expence, even though it ſhould not be neceſſary to pull down or re-build either of their houſes: that all party-walls ſhall be at leaſt two bricks and a half in thickneſs in the cellar, and two bricks thick upwards, to the top of the garret-floor. It enacts, that if any decayed houſe belongs to ſeveral proprietors, any one of them, who is deſirous to rebuild, may oblige the others to concur, and join with him in the expence, or purchaſe their ſhares at a price to be fixed by a jury. If any houſe ſhould hereafter be preſented by any inqueſt, or grand-jury, in London, as being in a ruinous condition, the court of mayor and aldermen is, by this act, empowered to pull it down at the expence of the ground-landlord. As to damaged pavements, not ſufficiently repaired by the proprietors of the water-works, any juſtice of the peace in London is veſted with power, upon their refuſing or delaying to make it good, to cauſe it to be effectually relayed with good materials at their expence.

It was provided that the ſaid paper or ſchedule, with the oath aforeſaid, ſhould be carefully kept by the clerk, to be inſpected by the members of the houſe of commons, without fee or reward: that if any perſon elected to ſerve in any future parliament ſhould preſume to ſit or vote as a member of the houſe of commons before he had delivered in ſuch a paper or ſchedule, and taken the oath aforeſaid, or ſhould not be qualified according to the true intent or meaning of this act, his election ſhall be void; and every perſon ſo ſitting and voting ſhall forfeit a certain ſum, to be recovered by ſuch perſon as ſhall ſue for the ſame by action or debt, bill, plaint, or information, whereon no eſſoign, privilege, protection, or wager of law ſhould be allowed, and only one imparlance: that if any perſon ſhould have delivered in, and ſworn to, his qualification as aforeſaid, and taken his ſeat in the houſe of commons, yet at any time after ſhould, during the continuance of ſuch parliament, ſell diſpoſe of, alien, or any otherwiſe incumber the eſtate, or any part thereof compriſed in the ſchedule, ſo as to leſſen or reduce the ſame under the value of the qualification by law directed; every ſuch perſon, under a certain penalty, muſt deliver in a new, or further qualification, according to the true intent and meaning of this act, and ſwear to the ſame, in manner before directed, before he ſhall again preſume to ſit or vote as a member of the houſe of commons; that in caſe any action, ſuit, or information ſhould be brought, in purſuance of this act, againſt any member of the houſe of commons, the clerk of the houſe ſhall, upon demand, forthwith deliver a true and atteſted copy of the paper or ſchedule ſo delivered into him as aforeſaid by ſuch member as the plantiff or proſecutor, or his attorney or agent, paying a certain ſum for the ſame; which being a true copy, ſhall be admitted to be given in evidence upon the trial of any iſſue in any ſuch action. Provided always, that nothing contained in this act ſhall extend to the eldeſt ſon or heir apparent of any peer or lord of parliament, or of any perſon qualified to ſerve as knight of the ſhire, or to the members for either of the univerſities in that part of Great-Britain called England, or to the members for that part of Great-Britain called Scotland. Such was the ſubſtance of the bill, as originally preſented to the houſe of commons; but it was altered in ſuch a manner, as, we are afraid, will fail in anſwering the ſalutary purpoſes for which it was intended by thoſe who brought it into the houſe. Notwithſtanding the proviſions made in the act as it now ſtands, any miniſter or patron may ſtill introduce his penſioners, clerks, and creatures into the houſe, by means of the old method of temporary conveyance, though the farce muſt now be kept up until the member ſhall have delivered in his ſchedule, taken his oath, and his ſeat in parliament; then he may deliver up his conveyance, or execute a reconveyance, without running any riſk of loſing his ſeat, or of being puniſhed for his fraud or perjury. The extenſive influence of the crown, the general corruptibility of individuals, and the obſtacles ſo induſtriouſly thrown in the way of every ſcheme contrived to vindicate the independency of parliaments, muſt have produced very mortifying reflections on the breaſt of every Britain warmed with the genuine love of his country. He muſt have perceived that all the bulwarks of the conſtitution were little better than buttreſſes of ice, which would infallibly thaw before the heat of miniſterial influence, when artfully concentrated; that either a miniſter's profeſſions of patriotiſm were inſincere, or his credit inſufficient to effect any eſſential alteration in the unpopular meaſures of government; and that, after all, the liberties of the nation could never be ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, as by the power, generoſity, and virtue of a patriot king. This inference could not fail to awake the remembrance of that amiable prince, whom fate untimely ſnatched from the eager hopes and warm affection of a whole nation, before he had it in his power to manifeſt and eſtabliſh his favourite maxin, That a monarch's glory was inſeparably connected with the happineſs of his people.[e]

[1760] On the 1ſt day of February, a motion was made, and leave given, to bring in a bill for enabling his majeſty to make leaſes and copies of offices, lands, and hereditaments, parcel of his duchy of Cornwall, or annexed to the ſame; accordingly, it paſſed through both houſes without oppoſition, and enacted, that all leaſes and grants made, or to be made, by his majeſty, within ſeven years next enſuing in, or annexed to, the ſaid duchy, under the limitations therein mentioned, ſhould be good and effectual in law againſt his majeſty, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, and againſt all other perſons that ſhould hereafter inherit the ſaid duchy, either by act of parliament, or any limitation whatſoever. This act appears the more extraordinary, as the prince of Wales, who has a ſort of right by preſcription to the duchy of Cornwall, was then of age, and might have been put in poſſeſſion of it by the paſſing of a patent. The houſe having peruſed an account of the produce of the fund eſtabliſhed for paying annuities granted in the year 1759, with the charge on that fund on the 5th of January the ſucceeding year, it appeared that there had been a conſiderable deficiency in the ſaid fund on the 5th of July preceeding, and this had been made good out of the ſinking-fund, by a reſolution of the 7th of February, already particulariſed. They, therefore, inſtructed the committee of ways and means to conſider ſo much of the annuity and lottery act paſſed in the preceding ſeſſion as related to the three per centum annuities, amounting to the ſum of 7,590,000l. granted in the year 1759; and alſo to conſider ſo much of the ſaid act as related to the ſubſidy of poundage upon certain goods and merchandize to be imported into this kingdom, and the additional inland duty on coffee and chocolate. The committee having taken theſe points into deliberation, agreed to the two reſolutions we have already mentioned, with reſpect to the conſolidation, and a bill was brought in for adding thoſe annuities granted in the year 1759 to the joint ſtoc of three per centum annuities conſolidated by the acts of the 25th, 28th, 29th, and 32d years of his majeſty's reign; and for ſeveral duties therein mentioned, to the ſinking-fund. The committee was afterwards empowered to receive a clauſe for cancelling ſuch lottery tickets as were made forth in purſuance of an act paſſed in the 30th year of his majeſty's reign, and were not then diſpoſed of: a clauſe for this purpoſe was accordingly added to the bill, which paſſed through both houſes without oppoſition, and received the royal aſſent at the end of the ſeſſion.

On the 29th day of April, lord North preſented to the houſe a bill for encouraging the exportation of rum and ſpirits of the growth, produce, and manufacture of the

[e] The following declaration made to the chiefs of the oppoſition will render the memory of the late prince of Wales dear to lateſt poſterity:

His royal highneſs has authoriſed lord T. and ſir F. D. to give the moſt poſitive aſſurances to the gentlemen in the oppoſition of his upright intentions; that he is thoroughly convinced of the diſtreſſes and calamities that have befallen, and every day are more likely to befall, this country: and therefore invites all well-wiſhers to this country and its conſtitution to coaleſe and unite with him, and upon the following principle only:

His royal highneſs promiſes, and will declare it openly, that it is his intention totally to aboliſh any diſtinctions for the future of parties; and as far as lies in his power, and as ſoon as it does lie in his power, to take away for ever all proſcription from any ſet of men whatever who are friends to the conſtitution: and therefore, will promote for the preſent, and when it is in his power, will immediately grant,

Firſt, a bill to empower all gentlemen to act as juſtices of peace paying land-tax for 300l. per annum, in any county where he intends to ſerve.

Secondly, His royal highneſs promiſes in like manner, to ſupport, and forthwith grant, whenever he ſhall have it in his power, a bill to create and eſtabliſh a numerous and effectual militia throughout the kingdom.

Thirdly, His royal highneſs promiſes, in like manner, to promote and ſupport, and likewiſe grant, when it is in his power, a bill to exclude all military officers in the land-ſervice, under the degree of colonels of regiments, and in the ſea-ſervice, under the degree of rear-admirals, from ſitting in the houſe of commons.

Fourthly, His royal highneſs promiſes that he will, when in his power, grant enquiries into the great number of abuſes in offices, and does not doubt of the aſſiſtance of all honeſt men, to enable him to correct the ſame for the future.

Fifthly, His royal highneſs promiſes, and will openly declare, that he will make no agreement with, or join in the ſupport of any adminiſtration whatever, without previouſly obtaining the above-mentioned points in behalf of the people, and for the ſake of good government. Upon theſe conditions and theſe conditions only, his royal highneſs thinks he has a right not to doubt of having a moſt cordial ſupport from all thoſe good men who mean their country and this conſtitution well, and that they will become his and his family's friends, and unite with him to promote the good government of this country and that they will follow him, upon theſe principles, both in court and out of court, and if he ſhould live to form an adminiſtration, it ſhould be compoſed without diſtinction of men of dignity, knowledge and probity. His royal higneſs further promiſes to accept of no more, if offered to him, than 800,000l. for his civil-liſt, by way of rent-charge.

Anſwer to the foregoing propoſal.

THE lords and gentlemen to whom a paper has been communicated, containing his royal highneſs the prince's gracious intentions upon ſeveral weighty and important points, of the greateſt conſequence to the honour and intereſt of his majeſty's government, and abſolutely neceſſary for the reſtoring and perpetuating the true uſe and deſign of parliament, the purity of our excellent conſtitution, and the happineſs and welfare of the whole nation, do therein with the greateſt ſatisfaction obſerve, and moſt gratefully acknowledge, the uprightneſs and generoſity of his royal highneſs's noble ſentiments and reſolutions. And, therefore, beg leave to return their moſt dutiful and humble thanks for the ſame, and to aſſure his royal highneſs that they will conſtantly and ſteadily uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſupport thoſe his wiſe and ſalutary purpoſes, that the throne may be ſtrengthened, religion and morality encouraged, faction and corruption deſtroyed, the purity and eſſence of parliament reſtored, and the happineſs and welfare of our conſtituti- preſerved.

When the above anſwer was returned to the prince, there were preſent,

The duke of B—, the earl of L—, the earl of S—, the earl of T—, the earl of W—, the earl of S—, lord F—, lord W—, ſir Watkin William Wynne, ſir John H. C—, ſir Walter B—, ſir Robert G—, mr. F—, mr. P—, mr. C—.

Britiſh ſugar plantations from Great-Britain, and of Britiſh ſpirits made from melaſſes; a bill which in a little time acquired the ſanction of the royal aſſent. Towards the end of April, admiral Townſhend preſented a bill for the more ſecuring the payment of ſuch prize and bounty monies as are appropriated to the uſe of the Greenwich-hoſpital by an act paſſed in the 29th year of his majeſty's reign. As by that law no time was limitted, or particular method preſcribed for giving notifications of the day appointed for the payment of the ſhares of the prizes and bounty money; and many agents had neglected to ſpecify in the notification given in the London Gazette for payment of ſhares of prizes condemned in the courts of admiralty in Great-Britain, the particular day or time when ſuch payments were to commence, whereby it was rendered difficult, if not impoſſible, to aſcertain the time when the hoſpital at Greenwich became entitled to the unclaimed ſhares, of conſequence could not enjoy the full benefit of the act: the bill now prepared imported, that from and after the 1ſt day of September in the preſent year, all notifications of the payment of the ſhares of prizes taken by any of his majeſty's ſhips of war, and condemned in Great-Britain, and from and after the firſt day of February, in the year 1761, all notifications of the payment of the ſhares and prizes taken and condemned in any other of his majeſty's dominions in Europe, or in any of the Britiſh plantations in America; and from and after the 25th day of December, in the year 1761, all notifications of the payment of the ſhares of prizes taken and condemned in any other of his majeſty's dominions, ſhall be reſpectively given and publiſhed in the following manner: if the prize be condemned in any court of admiralty in Great-Britain, ſuch notification, under the agent's hand, ſhall be publiſhed in the London Gazette: and if condemned in any court of admiralty in any other of his majeſty's dominions, ſuch notification ſhall be publiſhed in like manner in the Gazette, or other newſpaper of public authority, of the iſland or place where the prize is condemned; and if there ſhould be no gazette, or ſuch newſpaper publiſhed there, then in ſome or one of the public newſpapers of the place; and ſuch agents ſhall deliver to the collector, cuſtomer, or ſearcher, or his lawful deputy, and if there ſhall be no ſuch officer, then the principal officer, or officers of the place where the prize is condemned, or to the lawful deputy of ſuch principal officer, two of the gazettes or other newſpapers in which ſuch notifications are inſerted; and if there ſhall not be any public newſpapers in any ſuch iſland or place, the agent ſhall give two ſuch notifications in writing, under his hand; and every ſuch collector, or other officer as aforeſaid, ſhall ſubſcribe his name on both the ſaid gazettes, newſpapers, or written notifications, and, by the firſt ſhip which ſhall ſail from thence to any port of Great-Britain, ſhall tranſmit to the treaſurer or deputy treaſurers of the ſaid royal hoſpital one of the ſaid notifications, with his name ſo ſubſcribed, to be there regiſtered, and ſhall faithfully preſerve and keep the other, with his name thereon ſubſcribed in his own cuſtody; and in every notification as aforeſaid the agent ſhall ſpecify his place of abode, and the preciſe day of the month and year appointed for the payment of the reſpective ſhares to the captors; and all notifications with reſpect to prizes condemned in Great-Britain ſhall be publiſhed in the London Gazette three days at leaſt before any ſhare of ſuch prize ſhall be paid; and with reſpect to prizes condemned in any other part of his majeſty's dominions, ſuch notifications ſhall be delivered to the ſaid collector, or other officers as aforeſaid, three days at leaſt before any ſhare of ſuch prize ſhall be paid. It was likewiſe enacted, that the agents for the diſtribution of bounty-bills ſhould inſert, and publiſh under their hands, in the London Gazette, three days at leaſt before payment, public notifications of the day and year appointed, for ſuch payment, and alſo inſert therein their reſpective places of abode. The bill, even as it now ſtands, is liable to ſeveral objections. It may be dangerous to leave the money of the unclaimed ſhares ſo long as three years in the hands of the agent, who, together with his ſecurities, may prove inſolvent before the expiration of that term: then the time preſcribed to the ſailors within which their claim is limited appears to be too ſhort, when we conſider that they may be ſo circumſtanced, turned over to another ſhip, and conveyed to a diſtant part of the globe, that they ſhall have no opportunity to claim payment; and ſhould three years elapſe before they could make application to the agent, they would find their bounty or prize-money appropriated to the uſe of Greenwich-hoſpital; nay, ſhould they die in the courſe of the voyage, it would be loſt to their heirs and executors, who being ignorant of their title, could not poſſibly claim within the time limited.

A committee having been appointed to enquire into the original ſtandards of weights and meaſures in the kingdom of England, to conſider the laws relating thereto, and to report their obſervations thereupon, together with their opinion of the moſt effectual means for aſcertaining and enforcing uniform and certain ſtandards of weights and meaſures, they prepared copies, models, patterns, and multiples, and preſented them to the houſe: then they were locked up by the clerk of the houſe; and lord Caryſfort preſented a bill, according to order, for enforcing uniformity of weights and meaſures to the ſtandards by law to be eſtabliſhed: but this meaſure, which had been ſo long in dependence, was not yet fully diſcuſſed, and the ſtandards and weights were reſerved to another occaſion. A law was made for reviving and continuing ſo much of an act paſſed in the 12ſt year of his majeſty's reign as relates to the more effectual trial and puniſhment of high-treaſon in the highlands of Scotland; and alſo for continuing two other acts paſſed in the 19th and 21ſt years of his majeſty's reign, ſo far as they relate to the more effectual diſarming the highlands of Scotland, and ſecuring the peace thereof; and to allow further time for making affidavits of the execution of articles or contracts of clerks to attornies or ſolicitors, and filing thereof. The king having been pleaſed to pardon George Keith, earl Mariſchal of Scotland, who had been attainted for rebellion in the year 1716, the parliament confirmed this indulgence, by paſſing an act to enable the ſaid George Keith, late earl Mariſchal, to ſue or entertain any action of ſuit, notwithſtanding his attainder, and to remove any diſability in him, by reaſon of the ſaid attainder, to take or inherit any real or perſonal eſtate that may and ſhall hereafter deſcend or come to him, or which he was intitled to in reverſion or remainder before his attainder. This nobleman, univerſally reſpected for his probity and underſtanding, had been employed as embaſſador to the court of France by the king of Pruſſia, and was actually at this juncture in the ſervice of that monarch, who, in all probability, interceded with the king of England in his behalf. When his pardon had paſſed the ſeals, he repaired to London, and was preſented to his majeſty, by whom he was very graciouſly received.

Theſe and a good number of other bills of leſs importance, both private and public, were paſſed into laws by commiſſion, on the 22d day of May, when the lord-keeper of the great ſeal cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech to both houſes. He began with an aſſurance that his majeſty looked back on their proceeding with entire ſatisfaction. He ſaid, the duty and affection which they had expreſſed for the king's perſon and government, the zeal and unanimity they had ſhowed in maintaining the true intereſt of their country, could only be equalled by what his majeſty had formerly experienced from this parliament. He told them it would have given his majeſty the moſt ſenſible pleaſure, had he been able to aſſure them that his endeavours to promote a general peace had met with more ſuitable returns. He obſerved, that his majeſty, in conjunction with his good brother and ally, the king of Pruſſia, had choſen to give their enemies proofs of this equitable diſpoſition, in the midſt of a ſeries of glorious victories; an opportunity the moſt proper to take ſuch a ſtep with dignity, and to manifeſt to all Europe the purity and moderation of his views. After ſuch a conduct, he ſaid, the king had the comfort to reflect that the further continuance of the calamities of war could not be imputed to him or his allies; that he truſted in the bleſſing of heaven upon the juſtice of his arms, and upon thoſe ample means which the zeal of the parliament in ſo good a cauſe had wiſely put into his hands, that his future ſucceſſes in carrying on the war would not fall ſhort of the paſt; and that, in the event, the public tranquillity would be reſtored on ſolid and durable foundations. He acquainted them that his majeſty had taken the moſt effectual care to augment the combined army in Germany: and at the ſame time to keep up ſuch a force at home as might fruſtrate any attemps of the enemy to invade theſe kingdoms; ſuch attemps as had hitherto ended only in their own confuſion. He took notice that the royal navy was never in a more flouriſhing and reſpectable condition; and the ſingle victory obtained laſt winter over the French fleet on their own coaſts had given luſtre to his majeſty's arms, freſh ſpirit to his maritime forces, and reduced the naval ſtrength of France to a very low ebb. He gave them to underſtand that his majeſty had diſpoſed his ſquadrons in ſuch a manner as might beſt conduce to the annoyance of his enemies; to the defence of his own dominions, both in

Europe and America; to the preſerving and purſuing his conqueſts as well as to the protection of his ſubjects, which he had extremely at heart. He told the commons, that nothing could relieve his majeſty's royal mind, under the anxiety he felt for the burthens of his faithful ſubjects, but the public-ſpirited chearfulneſs with which the houſe had granted him ſuch large ſupplies, and his conviction that they were neceſſary for the ſecurity and eſſential intereſts of his kingdoms; he, therefore, returned them his hearty thanks for theſe ſupplies, and aſſured them they ſhould be duely applied to the purpoſes for which they had been given. Finally he recommended to both houſes the continuance of that union and good harmony which he had obſerved with ſo much pleaſure, and from which he had derived ſuch important effects. He deſired they would ſtudy to promote theſe deſirable objects, to ſupport the king's government, and the good order of their reſpective counties, and conſult their own real happineſs and proſperity.

The ſucceſſes of the laſt campaign had flushed the whole nation with the moſt elevated hope of future conqueſt, and the government was enabled to take every ſtep which appeared neceſſary to realiſe that ſanguine expectation: but the war became every day more and more Germaniſed. Notwithſtanding the immenſe ſums that were raiſed for the expence of the current year; notwithſtanding the great number of land-forces maintained in the ſervice, and the numerous fleets that filled the harbours of Great-Britain, we do not find that one freſh effort was made to improve the advantages ſhe had gained upon her own element; or for puſhing the war on national principles; for the reduction of Canada was no more than the conſequence of the meaſures which had been taken in the preceding campaign. But, before we record the progreſs of the war, it may be neceſſary to ſpecify ſome domeſtic occurrences, that for a little while engroſſed the public attention. In the month of December, in the preceding year, William Andrews Horne, a gentleman of ſome fortune in Derbyſhire, was executed at Nottingham, in the 74th year of his age, for the murder of an infant born of his own ſiſter, in the year 1724. On the 3d day after the birth, this brutal ruffian thruſt the child into a linen bag, and, accompanied by his own brother on horſebac, conveyed it to Anneſley, in Nottinghamſhire, where it was next day found dead under a hay-ſtack. Though this cruel ruſtic knew how much he lay at the mercy, of his brother, whom he had made privy to this affair, far from endeavouring to engage his ſecreſy by offices of kindneſs and marks of affection, he treated him as an alien to his blood; not barely with indifference, but even in the moſt barbarous rigour. He not only defrauded him of his right, but exacted of him the loweſt menial ſervices; beheld him ſtarving in a cottage, while he lived himſelf in affluence; and refuſed to relieve with a morſel of charity the children of his own brother begging at his gate. It was reſentment of this pride and barbarity, which in all likelihood, firſt impelled the other to revenge. He pretended qualms of conſcience, and diſcloſed the tranſaction of the child to ſeveral individuals. As the brother was univerſally hated for the inſolence and brutality of his diſpoſition, information was given againſt him, and a reſolution formed to bring him to condign puniſhment. Being informed of this deſign, he tampered with his brother, and deſired that he would retract, upon the trial, the evidence he had given before the juſtices. Though the brother rejected this ſcheme of ſubordination, he offered to withdraw himſelf from the kingdom, if he might have 5l. to defray the expence of his removal. So ſordidly varicious was the other, that he refuſed to advance this miſerable pittance though he knew his own life depended upon his compliance. He was accordingly apprehended, tried, and convicted on his brother's evidence; and then he confeſſed the particulars of his expoſing the infant. He denied, indeed, that he had any thought the child would periſh, and declared he intended it as a preſent to the gentleman at whoſe gate it was laid: but as he appeared to be a hardened miſcreant, devoid of humanity, ſtained with the complicated crimes of tyranny, fraud, rapine, inceſt, and murder, very little credit is due to his declaration. In the courſe of the ſame month, part of Weſtminſter was grievouſly alarmed by a dreadful conflagration, which broke out in the houſe of a cabinet-maker near Covent-Garden, raged with great fury, and reduced near 20 houſes to aſhes. Many others were damaged, and ſeveral perſons either burned in their apartments, or buried under the ruins. The bad conſequences of this calamity were in a great meaſure alleviated by the humanity of the public, and the generous compaſſion of the prince of Wales, who contributed liberally to the relief of the ſufferers.

But no ſubject ſo much engroſſed the converſation and paſſions of the public as did the caſe of lord George Sackville, who had by this time reſigned his command in Germany, and returned to England, the country which, of all others, it would have been his intereſt to avoid at this juncture, if he was really conſcious of the guilt, the imputation of which his character now ſuſtained. With the firſt tidings of the battle fought at Minden the defamation of this officer arrived. He was accuſed of having diſobeyed orders, and his conduct repreſented as infamous in every particular. Theſe were the ſuggeſtions of a vague report, which no perſon could trace to its origin; yet this report immediately gave birth to one of the moſt inflammatory pamphlets that ever was exhibited to the public. The firſt charge had alarmed the people of England, jealous in honour, ſudden and raſh in their reſentments, and obſtinately adhering to the prejudices they have eſpouſed. The implied accuſation in the orders of prince Ferdinand, and the combuſtible matter ſuperadded, by the pamphlet writer, kindled up ſuch a blaze of indignation in the minds of the people, as admitted of no temperament or controul. An abhorence and deteſtation of lord George Sackville, as a coward and a traitor, became the univerſal paſſion, which acted by contagion, infecting all degrees of people from the cottage to the throne; and no individual, who had the leaſt regard for his own character and quiet, would venture to preach up moderation, or even adviſe a ſuſpenſion of belief until more certain information could be received. Freſh fuel was continually thrown in by obſcure authors of pamphlets and news-papers, who ſtigmatiſed and inſulted with ſuch virulent perſeverance, that one would have imagined they were actuated by perſonal motives, not retained by mercenary bookſellers, againſt that unfortunate nobleman. Not ſatisfied with inventing circumſtances to his diſhonour, in his conduct on the laſt occaſion, they pretended to take a retroſpective view of his character, and produced a number of anecdotes to his prejudice, which had never before ſeen the light, and but for this occaſion had probably never been known. Not that all the writings which appeared on this ſubject contained freſh matter of aggravation againſt lord George Sackville. Some writers, either animated by the hope of advantage, or hired to betray the cauſe which they undertook to defend, entered the liſts as profeſſed champions of the accuſed, aſſumed the pen in his behalf, devoid of ſenſe, unfurniſhed with materials, and produced performances which could not fail to injure his character among all thoſe who believed that he countenanced their endeavours, and ſupplied them with the facts and arguments of his defence. Such preciſely was the ſtate of the diſpute when lord George arrived in London. While prince Ferdinand was crownd with laurels: while the king of Great-Britain approved his conduct, and as the moſt glorious mark of that approbation, inveſted him with the order of the garter; while his name was celebrated through all England, and extolled, in the warmeſt expreſſions of hyperbole, above all the heroes of antiquity; every mouth was opened in execration of the late commander of the Britiſh troops in Germany. He was now made acquainted with the particulars of his imputed guilt, which he had before indiſtinctly learned. He was accuſed of having diſobeyed three ſucceſſive orders he had received from the general, during the action at Minden, to advance with the cavalry of the right wing, which he commanded, and ſuſtain the infantry that were engaged; and after the cavalry were put in motion, of having halted them unneceſſarily, and marched ſo ſlow, that they could not reach the place of action in time to be of any ſervice; by which conduct the opportunity was loſt of attacking the enemy when they gave way, and rendering the victory more glorious and deciſive. The firſt ſtep which lord George took towards his own vindication with the public, was in printing a ſhort addreſs, entreating them to ſuſpend their belief with reſpect to his character until the charge brought againſt him ſhould be legally diſguſſed by a court-martial; a trial which he had already ſollicited, and was in hopes of obtaining.

Finding himſelf unable to ſtem the tide of popular prejudice, which flowed againſt him with irreſiſtible impetuoſity, he might have retired in quiet and ſafety, and left it to ebb at leiſure. This would have been generally deemed a prudential ſtep, by all thoſe who conſidered the unfavourable medium through which every particular of his conduct muſt have been viewed at that juncture, even by

men who cheriſhed the moſt candid intentions; when they reflected upon the power, influence, and popularity of his accuſer; the danger of aggravating the reſentment of the ſovereign, already too conſpicuous, and the riſk of hazarding his life on the honour and integrity of witneſſes, who might think their fortunes depended upon the nature of the evidence they ſhould give. Notwithſtanding thoſe ſuggeſtions lord George, ſeemingly impatient of the imputation under which his character laboured, inſiſted upon the privilege of a legal trial, which was granted accordingly, after the judges had given it as their opinion that he might be tried by a court-martial, though he no longer retained any commiſſion in the ſervice. A court of general officers being appointed and aſſembled to enquire into his conduct, the judge-advocate gave him to underſtand that he was charged with having diſobeyed the orders of prince Ferdinand, relative to the battle of Minden. That the reader may have the more diſtinct idea of the charge, it is neceſſary to remind him that lord George Sackville commanded the cavalry of the right wing, conſiſting of Hanoverian and Britiſh horſe, diſpoſed in two lines, the Britiſh being at the extremity of the right, extending to the village of Hartum: the Hanoverian cavalry forming the left, that reached almoſt to an open wood or grove, which divided the horſe from the line of infantry, particularly from that part of the line of infantry, conſiſting of two brigades of Britiſh foot, the Hanoverian guards, and Hardenberg's regiment. This was the body of troops which ſuſtained the brunt of the battle with the moſt incredible courage and perſeverance. They of their own accord advanced to attac the left of the enemy's cavalry, through a moſt dreadful fire of artillery and ſmall arms, to which they were expoſed in front and flank; they withſtood the repeated attacs of the whole French gendarmerie, whom, at length, they totally routed, together with a body of Saxon troops on their left, and to their valour the victory was chiefly owing. The ground from which theſe troops advanced was a kind of heath or plain, which opened a conſiderable way to the left, where the reſt of the army was formed in order of battle; but on the right it was bounded by the wood, on the other ſide of which the cavalry of the right wing was poſted, having in front the village of Halen, from whence the French had been driven by the piquets in the army there poſted, and in front of them a windmill, ſituated in the middle ſpace between them and a battery placed on the left of the enemy.

Early in the morning capt. Malhorti had, by order of prince Ferdinand, poſted the cavalry of the right wing in the ſituation we have juſt deſcribed, the village of Hartum with incloſures on the right, a narrow wood on the left, the village of Halen in their front, and a windmill in the middle of an open plain, which led directly to the enemy. In this poſition lord George Sackville was directed to remain, until he ſhould receive further orders; and here it was thoſe orders were given which he was ſaid to have diſobeyed. Indeed, he was previouſly charged with having neglected the orders of the preceding evening, which imported that the horſes ſhould be ſaddled at one in the morning, though the tents were not to be ſtruc, nor the troops under arms, until they ſhould receive further orders. He was accuſed of having diſobeyed theſe orders, and of having come late into the field, after the cavalry was formed. Captain Winchingrode, aide-du-camp to prince Ferdinand, declared upon oath, that while the infantry of the right wing were advancing towards the enemy for the ſecond time, he was ſent with orders to lord George Sackville to advance with the cavalry of the right wing, and ſuſtain the infantry, which was going to engage, by forming the horſe under his command, upon the heath, in a third line behind the regiments; that he delivered theſe orders to lord George Sackville, giving him to underſtand that he ſhould march the cavalry through the wood or trees on his left to the heath where they were to be formed; that, on his return to the heath, he met colonel Fitzroy riding at full gallop towards lord George; and that he (Winchingrode) followed him bac, in order to haſten the march of the cavalry. Colonel Ligonier another of the prince's aides-du-camp, depoſed that he carried orders from the general to lord George to advance with the cavalry, in order to profit from the diſorder which appeared in the enemy's cavalry; that lord George made no anſwer to theſe orders, but turning to the troops, commanded them to draw their ſwords, and march; that the colonel ſeeing them advance a few paces on the right forwards, told his lordſhip he muſt march to the left; that in the mean time colonel Fitzroy arriving with orders for the Britiſh cavalry only to advance, lord George ſaid the orders were contradictory, and colonel Ligonier replied, they differed only in numbers, but the deſtination of his march was the ſame, to the left. Colonel Fitzroy, the third aide-du-camp to prince Ferdinand, gave evidence, that when he told lord George it was the prince's order for the Britiſh cavalry to advance towards the left, his lordſhip obſerved that it was different from the order brought by colonel Ligonier, and he could not think the prince intended to break the line; that he aſked which way the cavalry was to march, and who was to be their guide; that when he (the aide-du-camp) offered to lead the column through the wood on the left, his lordſhip ſeemed ſtill diſſatisfied with the order, ſaying it did not agree with the order brought by colonel Ligonier, and deſired to be conducted in perſon to the prince, that he might have an explanation from his own mouth; a reſolution which was immediately executed. The next evidence, an officer of rank in the army, made oath that, in his opinion, when the orders were delivered to lord George, his lordſhip was alarmed to a very great degree, and ſeemed to be in the utmoſt confuſion. A certain nobleman, of high rank and unblemiſhed reputation, declared, that captain Winchingrode having told him it was abſolutely neceſſary that the cavalry ſhould march, and form a line to ſupport the foot, he had given orders to the ſecond line to march; that as ſoon as they arrived at the place where the action began, he was met by colonel Fitzroy, with an order for the cavalry to advance as faſt as poſſible; that in marching to this place, an order came to halt, until they could be joined by the firſt line of cavalry; that afterwards, in advancing, they were again halted by Lord George Sackville; that, in his opinion, they might have marched with more expedition, and even come up time enough to act againſt the enemy: ſome other officers who were examined on this ſubject, agreed with the marquis in theſe ſentiments.

Lord George, in his defence, proved, by undeniable evidence, that he never received the orders iſſued on the eve of the battle, nor any ſort of intimation or plan of action, although he was certainly entitled to ſome ſuch communication, as commander in chief of the Britiſh forces; that, nevertheleſs, the orders concerning the horſes were obeyed by thoſe who received them; that lord George inſtead of loitering or loſing time while the troops were forming, prepared to put himſelf at the head of the cavalry on the firſt notice that they were in motion: that he was ſo eager to perform his duty, as to ſet out from his quarters without even waiting for an aide-du-camp to attend him, and was in the field before any general officer of his diviſion. He declared, that when captain Winchingrode delivered the order to form the cavalry in one line, making a third, to advance and ſuſtain the infantry, he neither heard him ſay he was to march by the left, nor ſaw him point with his ſword to the wood through which he was to paſs. Neither of theſe directions were obſerved by any of the aides-du-camp or officers then preſent, except one gentleman, the perſon who bore witneſs to the confuſion in the looks and deportment of his lordſhip. It was proved that the neareſt and moſt practicable way of advancing againſt the enemy was by the way of the windmill, to the left of the village of Halen. It appeared that lord George imagined this was the only way by which he ſhould be ordered to advance; that, in this perſuaſion, he had ſent an officer to reconnoitre the village of Halen, as an object of importance, as it would have been upon the flank of the cavalry in advancing forwards; that when he received the order from Winchingrode to form the line, and advance, he ſtill imagined this was his rout, and, on this ſuppoſition, immediately detached an aide-du-camp to remove a regiment of Saxe-Gotha, which was in the front; that he ſent a ſecond to obſerve the place where the infantry were, and a third to reconnoitre the enemy; that in a few minutes colonel Ligonier coming up with an order from prince Ferdinand to advance the cavalry, his lordſhip immediately drew his ſword, and ordered them to march forward by the windmill. The colonel declared that when he delivered the order, he added 'by the left;' but lord George affirmed that he heard no ſuch direction, nor did it reach the ears of any other perſon then preſent, except of that officer who witneſſed to the ſame direction given by Winchingrode. It was proved that immediately after the troops were put in motion. Colonel Fitzroy arrived with an order from prince Ferdinand, importing, that the Britiſh cavalry only ſhould advance by the left; that lord George declared their orders were contradictory, and ſeemed the more puzzled, as he underſtood that both the gentlemen came off nearly at the ſame time from the prince, and were probably directed to communicate the ſame order. It was, therefore, natural to

ſuppoſe there was a miſtake, as there might be danger in breaking the line, as the rout by the wood appeared more difficult and tedious than that by the windmill, which led directly through open ground to the enemy, and as he could not think that if a body of horſe was immediately wanted, the general would ſend for the Britiſh, that were at the fartheſt extremity of the wing, rather than for the Hanoverian cavalry, who formed the left of the line, and conſequently were much nearer the ſcene of action. It was proved that lord George, in this uncertainty, reſolved to apply for an explanation to the prince in perſon, who he underſtood was at a ſmall diſtance; that with this view, he ſet out with all poſſible expedition; that having entered the wood, and perceived that the country beyond it opened ſooner to the left than he had imagined, and captain Smith, his aide-du-camp, adviſing that the Britiſh cavalry ſhould be put in motion, he ſent bac that gentleman, with orders for them to advance by the left with all poſſible diſpatch; that he rode up to the general, who received him without any marks of diſpleaſure, and ordered him to bring up the whole cavalry of the right wing in a line upon the heath; an order, as the reader will perceive, quite different from that which was ſo warmly eſpouſed by the aide-du-camp; that as the marquis of Granby had already put the ſecond line in motion, according to a ſeparate order which he had received, and the head of his column was already in view, coming out of the wood, lord George thought it neceſſary to halt the troops on the left, until the right ſhould come into the line, and afterwards ſend them orders to march ſlower, that two regiments, which had been thrown out of the line, might have an opportunity to replace themſelves in their proper ſtations.

With reſpect to the confuſion which one officer affirmed was perceivable in the countenance and deportment of this commander, a conſiderable number of other officers then preſent, being interrogated by his lordſhip, unanimouſly declared that they ſaw no ſuch marks of confuſion, but that he delivered his orders with all the marks of coolneſs and deliberation. The candid reader will of himſelf determine, whether a man's heart is to be judged by any change of his complexion, granting ſuch a change to have happened; whether the evidence of one witneſs, in ſuch a caſe, will weigh againſt the concurrent teſtimony of all the officers whoſe immediate buſineſs it was to attend and obſerve the commander: whether it was likely that an officer, who had been more than once in actual ſervice, and behaved without reproach, ſo as to attain ſuch an eminent rank in the army, ſhould exhibit ſymptoms of fear and confuſion, when there was in reality no appearance of danger; for none of the orders imported that he ſhould attac the enemy, but only advance to ſuſtain the infantry. The time which elapſed from the firſt order he received by captain Winchingrode, to the arrival of colonel Ligonier, did not exceed eight minutes, during which his aid-du-camp, captain Hugo, was employed in removing the Saxe-Gotha regiment from the front, by which he propoſed to advance. From that period till the cavalry actually marched, in conſequence of an order from lord George, the length of time was differently eſtimated in the opinions of different witneſſes, but, a medium, computed by the judge-advocate at fifteen minutes, during which the following circumſtances were tranſacted; the troops were firſt ordered to advance forwards, then halted; the contradictory orders arrived and were diſputed; the commander deſired the two aides-du-camp to agree about which was the preciſe order, and he would obey it immediately; each inſiſting upon that which he had delivered, lord George haſtened to the general for an explanation; and, as he paſſed the wood, ſent bac captain Smith to the right of the cavalry, which was at a conſiderable diſtance, to put the Britiſh horſe in motion. We ſhall not pretend to determine whether the commander of ſuch an important body may be excuſable for heſitating, when he receives contradictory orders at the ſame time, eſpecially when both orders run counter to his own judgement; whether in that caſe it is allowable for him to ſuſpend the operation for a few minutes, in order to conſult in perſon the commander in chief about a ſtep of ſuch conſequence to the preſervation of the whole army. Neither will we venture to decide dogmatically on the merits of the march, after the cavalry were put in motion; whether they marched two ſlow, or were unneceſſarily halted, in their way to the heath. It was proved, indeed, that lord George was always remarkably ſlow in his movements of cavalry, on the ſuppoſition that if horſes are blown they muſt be unfit for ſervice, and that the leaſt hurry is apt to diſorder the line of horſe to ſuch a degree, as would rob them of their proper effect, and render all their efforts abortive. This being the ſyſtem of lord George Sackville, it may deſerve conſideration, whether he could deviate from it on this delicate occaſion, without renouncing the dictates of his own judgement and diſcretion; and whether he was at liberty to uſe his own judgement, after having received the order to advance. After all, whether he was intentionally guilty, and what were the motives by which he was really actuated, are queſtions which his own conſcience alone can ſolve. Even granting him to have heſitated from perplexity, to have lingered from vexation, to have failed through error of judgement, he will probably find favour with the candid and humane part of his fellow-ſubjects, when they reflect upon the nature of his ſituation, placed at the head of ſuch a body of cavalry, uninſtructed and uninformed of plan or circumſtance, divided from the reſt of the army, unacquainted with the operations of the day, chagrined with doubt and diſappointment, and perplexed by contradictory orders, neither of which he could execute without offering violence to his own judgement; when they conſider the endeavours he uſed to manifeſt his obedience; the laſt diſtinct order which he in perſon received and executed: that mankind are liable to miſtakes; that the cavalry were not originally intended to act, as appears in the account of the battle, publiſhed at the Hague, by the authority of prince Ferdinand, expreſsly declaring that the cavalry on the right did not act, becauſe it was deſtined to ſuſtain the infantry in a third line; that if it had really been deſigned for action it ought either to have been poſted in another place, or permitted to advance ſtrait forwards by the windmill, according to the idea of its commander; finally, when they recal to view the general confuſion that ſeems to have prevailed through the manœuvres of that morning, and remember ſome particulars of the action; that the brigades of Britiſh artillery had no orders until they applied to lord George Sackville, who directed them to the ſpot where they acquitted themſelves with ſo much honour and effect, in contributing to the ſucceſs of the day; that the glory and advantage acquired by the few brigades of infantry, who may be ſaid to have defeated the whole French army, was in no reſpect owing to any general or particular orders or inſtructions, but entirely flowing from the native valour of the troops, and the ſpirited conduct of their immediate commanders; and that a great number of officers in the allied army, even thoſe who remained on the open heath, never ſaw the face of the enemy, or ſaw them at ſuch a diſtance, that they could not diſtinguiſh more than the hats and the arms of the Britiſh regiments with which they were engaged. With reſpect to the imputation of cowardice levelled at lord George by the unthinking multitude, and circulated with ſuch induſtry and clamour, we ought to conſider it as a mob-accuſation, which the braveſt of men, even the great duke of Marlborough, could not eſcape; we ought to receive it as a dangerous ſuſpicion, which ſtrikes at the root of character, and may blaſt that honour in a moment which the ſoldier has acquired in a long courſe of painful ſervice, at the continual hazard of his life; we ought to diſtruſt it as a malignant charge, altogether inconſiſtent with the former conduct of the perſon accuſed, as well as with his ſubſequent impatience and perſeverance in demanding a trial, to which he never would have been called; a trial which, though his life was at ſtake, and his cauſe out of countenance, he ſuſtained with ſuch courage, fortitude, and preſence of mind, as even his enemies themſelves could not help admiring. Thus have we given a ſuccinct detail of this remarkable affair, with that ſpirit of impartiality, that ſacred regard to truth which the importance of hiſtory demands. To the beſt of our recollection we have forgot no eſſential article of the accuſation, nor ſuppreſſed any material circumſtance urged in defence of lord George Sackville. Unknown to his perſon, unconnected with his friends, unmoved by fear, unbiaſſed by intereſt, we have candidly obeyed the dictates of juſtice, and the calls of humanity, in our endeavours to diſſipate the clouds of prejudice and miſapprehenſion, warmed, perhaps, with an honeſt diſdain at the ungenerous, and, in our opinion, unjuſt perſecution, which, previous to his trial, an officer of rank, ſervice, and character, the deſcendant of an illuſtrious family, the ſon of a nobleman univerſally reſpected, a Briton, a fellow-ſubject, had undergone.

The court-martial having examined the evidence, and heard the defence, gave judgement in theſe words: 'The court, upon due conſideration of the whole matter before them, is of opinion, that lord Gorge Sackville is guilty of having diſobeyed the orders of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, whom he was, by his commiſſion and inſtructions,

directed to obey as commander in chief, according to the rules of war, and it is the further opinion of this court, that the ſaid lord George Sackville is, and he his hereby adjudged, unfit to ſerve his majeſty in any military capacity whatſoever.' His ſentence was confirmed by the king, who moreover ſignified his pleaſure that it ſhould be given out in public order, not only in Britain, but in America, and every quarter of the globe where any Engliſh troops happened to be, that officers, being convinced that neither high birth nor great employments can ſhelter offences of ſuch a nature, and that ſeeing they are ſubject to cenſures much worſe than death to a man who has any ſenſe of honour, they may avoid the fatal conſequences ariſing from diſobedience of orders. To complete the diſgrace of this unfortunate general, his majeſty in council called for the council-book, and ordered the name of lord George Sackville to be ſtruc out of the liſt of privy-counſellors.

This ſummer was diſtinguiſhed by another trial, ſtill more remarkable. Laurence earl Ferrers, a nobleman of violent ſpirit, who had committed many outrages, and, in the opinion of all who knew him, given manifold proofs of inſanity, at length perpetrated a murder, which ſubjected him to the cognizance of juſtice. His deportment to his lady was ſo brutal, that application had been made to the houſe of peers, and a ſeparation effected by act of parliament. Truſtees were nominated; and one mr. Johnſon, who had, during the beſt part of his life, been employed in the family, was now appointed receiver of the eſtates, at the earl's own requeſt. The conduct of this man, in the courſe of his ſtewardſhip, gave umbrage to lord Ferrers, whoſe diſpoſition was equally jealous and vindictive. He imagined all his own family had conſpired againſt his intereſt, and that Johnſon was one of their accomplices; that he had been inſtrumental in obtaining the act of parliament, which his lordſhip conſidered as a grievous hardſhip; that he had diſappointed him in regard to a certain contract, about coal-mines; in a word, that there was a colluſion between Johnſon and the earl's adverſaries. Fired with theſe ſuppoſitions, he firſt expreſſed his reſentment, by giving Johnſon notice to quit the farm which he poſſeſſed on the eſtate; but finding the truſtees had confirmed the leaſe, he determined to gratify his revenge by aſſaſſination, and laid his plan accordingly. On Sunday the 13th of January he appointed this unhappy man to come to his houſe on the Friday following, in order to peruſe papers, or ſettle accounts; and Johnſon went thither without the leaſt ſuſpicion of what was prepared for his reception: for although he was no ſtranger to his lordſhip's dangerous diſpoſition, and knew he had ſome time before incurred his diſpleaſure, yet he imagined his reſentment had entirely ſubſided, as the earl had of late behaved to him with remarkable complacency. He, therefore, at the time appointed, repaired to his lordſhip's houſe of Stanton, in Leiceſterſhire, at the diſtance of a ſhort mile from his own habitation, and was admitted by a maid ſervant. The earl had diſmiſſed every perſon in the houſe, upon various pretences, except three women, who were left in the kitchen. Johnſon advancing to the door of his apartment was received by his lordſhip, who deſired him to walk into another room, where he joined him in a few minutes, and then the door was locked on the inſide. After a great deal of warm expoſtulation, the earl inſiſted upon his ſubſcribing a paper, acknowledging himſelf a villain; and on his refuſing to comply with this demand, declared he would put him to death. In vain the unfortunate man remonſtrated againſt this cruel injuſtice, and deprecated the indignation of this furious nobleman. He remained deaf to all his entreaties, drew forth a piſtol, which he had loaded for the purpoſe, and commanding him to implore heaven's mercy, on his knees, ſhot him through the body, while he remained in that ſupplicating attitude. The conſequence of this violence was not immediate death; but his lordſhip, ſeeing the wretched victim ſtill alive and ſenſible, though agonized with pain, felt a momentary motion of pity. He ordered his ſervants to convey mr. Johnſon up ſtairs to a bed, to ſend for a ſurgeon, and give immediate notice of the accident to the wounded man's family. When mr. Johnſon's daughter came to the houſe, ſhe was met by the earl, who told her he had ſhot her father on purpoſe, and with deliberation. The ſame declaration he made to the ſurgeon, on his arrival. He ſtood by him while he examined the wound, deſcribed the manner in which the ball had penetrated, and ſeemed ſurpriſed that it ſhould be lodged within the body. When he demanded the ſurgeon's opinion of the wound, the operator thought proper to temporiſe, for his own ſafety, as well as for the ſake of the public, leſt the earl ſhould take ſome other deſperate ſtep, or endeavour to eſcape. He, therefore, amuſed him with hopes of Johnſon's recovery, about which he now ſeemed extremely anxious. He ſupported his ſpirits by immoderate drinking, after having retired to another apartment with the ſurgeon, whom he deſired to take all poſſible care of his patient. He declared, however, that he did not repent of what he had done; that Johnſon was a villain, who deſerved to die; that, in caſe of his death, he (the earl) would ſurrender himſelf to the houſe of peers, and take his trial. He ſaid he could juſtify the action to his own conſcience; and owned his intention was to have killed Johnſon outright; but as he ſtill ſurvived, and was in pain, he deſired that all poſſible means might be uſed for his recovery. Nor did he ſeem altogether neglectful of his own ſafety; he endeavoured to tamper with the ſurgeon, and ſuggeſt what evidence he ſhould give when called before a court of juſtice. He continued to drink himſelf into a ſtate of intoxication, and all the cruelty of his hate ſeemed to return. He would not allow the wounded man to be removed to his own houſe, ſaying, he would keep him under his own roof, that he might plague the villain. He returned to the chamber where Johnſon lay, inſulted him with the moſt opprobrius language, threatened to ſhoot him through the head, and could hardly be reſtrained from committing further acts of violence on the poor man, who was already in extremity. After he retired to bed, the ſurgeon procured a ſufficient number of aſſiſtants, who conveyed mr. Johnſon in an eaſy-chair to his own houſe, where he expired that ſame morning in great agonies. The ſame ſurgeon aſſembled a number of armed men to ſeize the murderer, who at firſt threatened reſiſtance, but was ſoon apprehended, endeavouring to make his eſcape, and committed to the county priſon. From thence he was conveyed to London by the gaoler of Leiceſter, and conducted by the uſher of the black rod and his deputy into the houſe of lords, where the coroner's inqueſt, and affidavits touching the murder, being read, the gaoler delivered up his priſoner to the care of the black rod, and he was immediately committed to the Tower. He appeared very calm, compoſed, and unconcerned, from the time of his being apprehended; converſed cooly on the ſubject of his impriſonment; made very pertinent remarks upon the nature of the habeas corpus act of parliament, of which he hoped to avail himſelf; and when they withdrew from the houſe of peers, deſired he might not be viſited by any of his relations or acquaintances. His underſtanding, which was naturally good, had been well cultivated; his arguments were rational, but his conduct was frantic.

The circumſtances of this aſſaſſination appeared ſo cruel and deliberate, that the people cried aloud for vengeance; and the government gave up the offender to the juſtice of his country. The lord-keeper Henley was appointed lord high-ſteward for the trial of earl Ferrers, and ſat in ſtate with all the peers and judges in Weſtminſter-hall, which was for this purpoſe converted into a very auguſt tribunal. On the 16th day of April the delinquent was brought from the Tower in a coach, attended by the major of the Tower, the gentleman-gaoler, the wardours, and a detachment of the foot-guards. He was brought into court about ten; and the lord-ſteward with the peers taking their places, he was arraigned aloud in the midſt of an infinite concourſe of people, including many foreigners, who ſeemed wonderfully ſtruc with the magnificence and ſolemnity of the tribunal. The murder was fully proved by unqueſtionable evidence: but the earl pleaded inſanity of mind; and in order to eſtabliſh this plea, called many witneſſes to atteſt his lunacy in a variety of inſtances, which ſeemed too plainly to indicate a diſordered imagination: unfounded jealouſy of plots and conſpiracies, unconnected ravings, fits of muſing, incoherent ejaculations, ſudden ſtarts of fury, denunciations of unprovoked revenge, frantick geſticulations, and a ſtrange caprice of temper, were proved to have diſtinguiſhed his conduct and deportment, it appeared that lunacy had been a family taint, and affected divers of his lordſhip's relations; that a ſollicitor of reputation had renounced his buſineſs, on the full perſuaſion of his being diſordered in his brain; that, long before this unhappy event, his neareſt relations had deliberated upon the expediency of taking out a commiſſion of lunacy againſt him, and were prevented by no other reaſon then the apprehenſion of being convicted of ſcandalum magnatum, ſhould the jury find his lordſhip compos mentis; a circumſtance which in all probability would have happened, inaſmuch as the earl's madneſs did not appear in his converſation, but in his

conduct. A phyſician of eminence, whoſe practice was confined to perſons labouring under this infirmity, declared that the particulars of the earl's deportment and perſonal behaviour ſeemed to indicate lunacy, indeed, all his neighbours and acquaintances had long conſidered him as a madman; and a certain noble lord declared in the houſe of peers when the bill of ſeparation was on the carpet, that he looked upon him in the light of a maniac; and that, if ſome effectual ſtep was not taken to diveſt him of the power of doing miſchief, he did not doubt but that one day they ſhould have occaſion to try him for murder. The lawyers who managed the proſecution in behalf of the crown endeavoured to invalidate the proofs of his lunacy, by obſerving, that his lordſhip was never ſo much deprived of his reaſon but that he could diſtinguiſh between good and evil; that the murder he had committed was the effect of revenge for a conceived injury of ſome time ſtanding; that the malice was deliberate, and the plan artfully conducted; that immediately after the deed was perpetrated the earl's converſation and reaſoning was cool and conſiſtent, until he drank himſelf into a ſtate of intoxication; that, in the opinion of the greateſt lawyers, no criminal can avail himſelf of the plea of lunacy, provided the crime was committed during a lucid interval: but his lordſhip, far from exhibiting any marks of inſanity, had, in the courſe of this trial, diſplayed uncommon underſtanding and ſagacity in examining the witneſſes, and making many ſhrewd and pertinent obſervations on the evidence which was given. Theſe ſentiments were conformable to the opinion of the peers, who unanimouſly declared him guilty.—After all, in examining the vicious actions of a man who has betrayed manifeſt and manifold ſymptoms of inſanity, it is not eaſy to diſtinguiſh thoſe which are committed during the lucid interval. The ſuggeſtions of madneſs are ofter momentery and tranſient: the determinations of a lunatic, though generally raſh and inſtantaneous, are ſometimes the reſult of artful contrivance; but there is alſo an abſurdity which is the criterion of the diſeaſe, either in the premiſes or concluſion. The earl, it is true, had formed a deliberate plan for the perpetration of the murder; but he had taken no precautions for his own ſafety or eſcape: and this neglect will the more plainly appear to have been the criterion of inſanity, if we reflect that he juſtified what he had done as a meritorious action; and declared he would, upon mr. Johnſon's death, ſurrender himſelf to the houſe of lords. Had he been impelled to this violence by a ſudden guſt of paſſion, it could not be expected that he ſhould have taken any meaſure for his own preſervation; but it was the execution of a deliberate ſcheme, and his lordſhip was by no means defective in pain of ingenuity, he might eaſily have contrived means for concealing the murder, until he ſhould have accompliſhed his eſcape; and, in our opinion, any other than a madman would either have taken ſome ſuch meaſures, or formed ſome plan for the concealment of his own guilt. The deſign itſelf ſeems to have been rather an intended ſacrifice to juſtice than a gratification of revenge. Neither do we think that the ſanity of his mind was aſcertained by the accuracy and deliberation with which he made his remarks, and examined the evidence at his trial. The influence of his phrenzy might by paſt; though it was no ſign of ſound reaſon to ſupply the proſecutor with ſuch an argument to his prejudice. Had his judgement been really unimpaired, he might have aſſumed the maſque of lunacy for his own preſervation.

The trial was continued for two days; and on the third the lord-ſteward, after having made a ſhort ſpeech touching the heinous nature of the offence, pronounced the ſame ſentence of death upon the earl which malefactors of the loweſt claſs undergo; that from the Tower, in which he was impriſoned, he ſhould on the Monday following, be led to the common place of execution, there to be hanged by the nec, and his body be afterwards diſſected and anatomized. This laſt part of the ſentence ſeemed to ſhoc the criminal extremely: he changed colour, his jaw quivered, and he appeared to be in great agitation; but during the remaining part of his life he behaved with ſurprizing compoſure, and even unconcern. After he had received ſentence, the lords his judges, by virtue of a power veſted in them, reſpited his execution for one month, that he might have time to ſettle his temporal and ſpiritual concerns. Before ſentence was paſſed, the earl read a paper, in which he begged pardon of their lordſhips for the trouble he had given, as well as for having, againſt his own inclination, pleaded lunacy at the requeſt of his friends. He thanked them for the candid trial with which he had been indulged, and entreated their lordſhips to recommend him to the king for mercy. He afterwards ſent a letter to his majeſty, remonſtrating, that he was the repreſentative, of a very ancient and honourable family, which had been allied to the crown; and requeſting, that if he could not be favoured with the ſpecies of death, which, in caſes of treaſon, diſtinguiſhes the nobleman from the plebian, he might at leaſt, out of conſideration for his family, be allowed to ſuffer in the Tower, rather than at the common place of execution; but this indulgence was refuſed. From his return to the Tower to the day of his execution he betrayed no mark of apprehenſion or impatience; but regulated his affairs with preciſion, and converſed without concern or reſtraint.

On the 5th day of May, his body being demanded by the ſheriffs at the Tower-gate, in conſequence of a writ under the great ſeal of England, directed to the lieutenant of the Tower, his lordſhip deſired permiſſion to go in his own landau, and appeared gaily dreſſed in a light-coloured ſuit of clothes, embroidered with ſilver. He was attended in the landau by one of the ſheriffs, and the chaplain of the Tower, followed by the chariots of the ſheriffs, a mourning-coach and ſix filled with his friends, and a hearſe for the conveyance of his body. He was guarded by a poſſe of conſtables, a party of horſe-grenadiers, and a detachment of infantry; and in this manner the proceſſion moved from the Tower, through an infinite concourſe of people, to Tyburn, where the gallows, and a ſcaffold erected under it, appeared covered with blac baiſe. The earl behaved with great compoſure to mr. Sheriff Vaillant, who attended him in the landau: he obſerved that the gaiety of his apparel might ſeem odd on ſuch an occaſion; but that he had particular reaſons for wearing that ſuit of clothes: he took notice of the vaſt multitude which crouded around him, brought thither, he ſuppoſed, by curioſity to ſee a nobleman hanged: he told the ſheriff he had applied to the king, by letter, that he might be permitted to die in the Tower, where the earl of Eſſex, one of his anceſtors, had been beheaded in the reign of queen Elizabeth; an application which, he ſaid, he had made with the more confidence, as he had the honour to quarter part of his majeſty's arms. He expreſſed ſome diſpleaſure at being executed as a common felon, expoſed to the eye of ſuch a multitude. The chaplain, who had never been admitted to him before, hinted that ſome account of his lordſhip's ſentiments on religion would be expected by the public, he made anſwer, that he did not think himſelf accountable to the public for his private ſentiments; that he had always adored one God, the creator of the univerſe: and with reſpect to any particular opinions of his own, he had never propagated them, or endeavoured to make proſelytes, becauſe he thought it was criminal to diſturb the eſtabliſhed religion of his country, as lord Bolingbroke had done, by the publication of his writings. He added, that the great number of ſects, and the multiplication of religious diſputes, had almoſt baniſhed morality. With regard to his crime for which he ſuffered, he declared that he had no malice againſt mr. Johnſon; and that the murder was owing to a perturbation of mind, occaſioned by a variety of croſſes and vexations. When he approached the place of execution, he expreſſed an earneſt deſire to ſee and take leave of a certain perſon who waited in a coach; a perſon for whom he entertained the moſt ſincere regard and affection: but the ſheriff prudently obſerving that ſuch an interview might ſhoc him, at a time when he had occaſion for all his fortitude and recollection, he acquieſced in the juſtneſs of the remark, and delivered to him a pocket-book, a ring and a purſe, deſiring they might be given to that perſon, whom he now declined ſeeing. On his arrival at Tyburn he came out of the landau, and aſcended the ſcaffold with a firm ſtep and undaunted countenance. He refuſed to join the chaplain in his devotion; but kneeling with him on blac cuſhions, he repeated the Lord's Prayer, which he ſaid, he had always admired; and added with great emergency, 'O Lord, forgive me all my errors, pardon all my ſins.' After this exerciſe, he preſented his watch to mr. Sheriff Vailant, thanked him and the other gentleman for all their civilities: and ſignified his deſire of being buried at Breden, or Stanton, in Leiceſterſhire. Finally, he gratified the executioner with a purſe of money: then the halter being adjuſted to his nec, he ſtepped upon a little ſtage, erected upon ſprings, on the middle of the ſcaffold, and the cap being pulled over his eyes, the ſheriff made a ſignal, at which the ſtage fell from under his feet, and he was left ſuſpended. His body, having hung an hour and five minutes, was cut down, placed in the hearſe, and conveyed to the public theatre for diſſection, where being opened, and lying for ſome days as the ſubject of a public lecture, at length it was car-

ried off, and privately interred. Without all doubt, this unhappy nobleman's diſpoſition was ſo dangerouſly miſchievous, that it became neceſſary for the good of ſociety, either to confine him for life, as an incorrigible lunatic, or give him up at once as a ſacrifice to juſtice. Perhaps, it might be no abſurd nor unreaſonable regulation in the legiſlature, to diveſt all lunatics of the privilege of inſanity, and in caſes of enormity, ſubject them to the common penalties of the law; for though, in the eye of caſuiſtry, conſciouſneſs muſt enter into the conſtitution of guilt, the conſequences of murder committed by a meniac may be as pernicious to ſociety as thoſe of the moſt criminal and deliberate aſſaſſination: and the puniſhment of death can be hardly deemed unjuſt or rigorous, when inflicted upon a miſchievous being, diveſted of all the perceptions of reaſon and humanity. At any rate, as the nobility of England are raiſed by many illuſtrious diſtinctions above the level of plebeians, and as they are eminetly diſtinguſhed from them in ſuffering puniſhment for high-treaſon, which the law conſiders as the moſt atrocious crime that can be committed, it might not be unworthy of the notice of the legiſlature to deliberate whether ſome pre-eminence ought not to be extended to noblemen convicted of other crimes; in order to alleviate as much as poſſible the diſgrace of noble families; which have deſerved well of their contry; to avoid any circumſtances that may tend to diminiſh the luſtre of the Engliſh nobility in the eyes of foreign nations; or to bring it into contempt with the common people of our own, already too licentious, and prone to aboliſh thoſe diſtinctions which ſerve as the baſis of decorum, order, and ſubordination.

Homicide is the reproach of England: one would imagine there is ſomething in the climate of this country, that not only diſpoſes the natives of this inhuman outrage, but even infects foreigners who reſide among them. Certain it is, high paſſions will break out into the moſt enormous violences in that country where they are leaſt controuled by the reſtraint of regulation and diſcipline; and it is equally certain, that in no civilized country under the ſun there is ſuch a relaxation of diſcipline, either religious or civil, as in England. The month of Auguſt produced a remarkable inſtance of deſperate revenge, perpetrated by one Stirn, a native of Heſſe-Caſſel, inflamed and exaſperated by a falſe punctilio of honour. This unhappy young man was deſcended of a good family, and poſſeſſed many accompliſhments both of mind and perſon: but his character was diſtinguiſhed by ſuch a jealous ſenſibility, as rendered him unhappy in himſelf, and diſagreeable to his acquaintance, after having for ſome years performed the office of uſher in a boarding-ſchool, he was admitted to the houſe of one mr. Matthews, a ſurgeon, in order to teach him the claſſics, and inſtruct his children in muſic, which he perfectly underſtood, he had not long reſided in his family when the ſurgeon took umbrage at ſome part of his conduct taxed him roughly with fraud and ingratitude, and inſiſted upon his removing to another lodging. Wheather he rejected this intimation, or found difficulty in procuring another apartment, the ſurgeon reſolved to expel him by violence, called in the aſſiſtance of a peace-officer, and turned him out into the ſtreet in the night, after having loaded him with the moſt provoking reproaches. Theſe injuries and diſgraces operating upon a mind jealous by nature, and galled by adverſity, produced a kind of phrenzy of reſentment, and took the deſperate reſolution of ſacrificing mr. Matthews to his revenge. Next day, having provided a caſe of piſtols, and charged them for the occaſion, he re-enforced his rage by drinking an unuſual quantity of wine, and repaired in the evening to a public-houſe, which mr. Matthews frequented in the neighbourhood of Hatton-Garden. There he accordingly found the unhappy victim ſitting with ſome of his friends; and the ſurgeon, inſtead of paliating his former conduct, began to inſult him a freſh with the moſt opprobrious invectives. Stirn, exaſperated by this additional indignity, pulled his piſtols from his boſom, ſhot the ſurgeon, who immediately expired, and diſcharged the other at his own breaſt, though his confuſion was ſuch that it did not take effect. He was apprehended on the ſpot, and conveyed to priſon, where for ſome days, he refuſed all kind of ſuſtenance, but afterwards became more compoſed. At his trial he pleaded inſanity of mind; but being found guilty, he reſolved to anticipate the execution of the ſentence. That ſame evening he drank poiſon; and notwithſtanding all the remedies that could be adminiſtered, died in ſtrong convulſions. His body was publicly diſſected, according to the ſentence of the law, and afterwards interred with thoſe marks of indignity which are reſerved for the perpetrators of ſuicide.

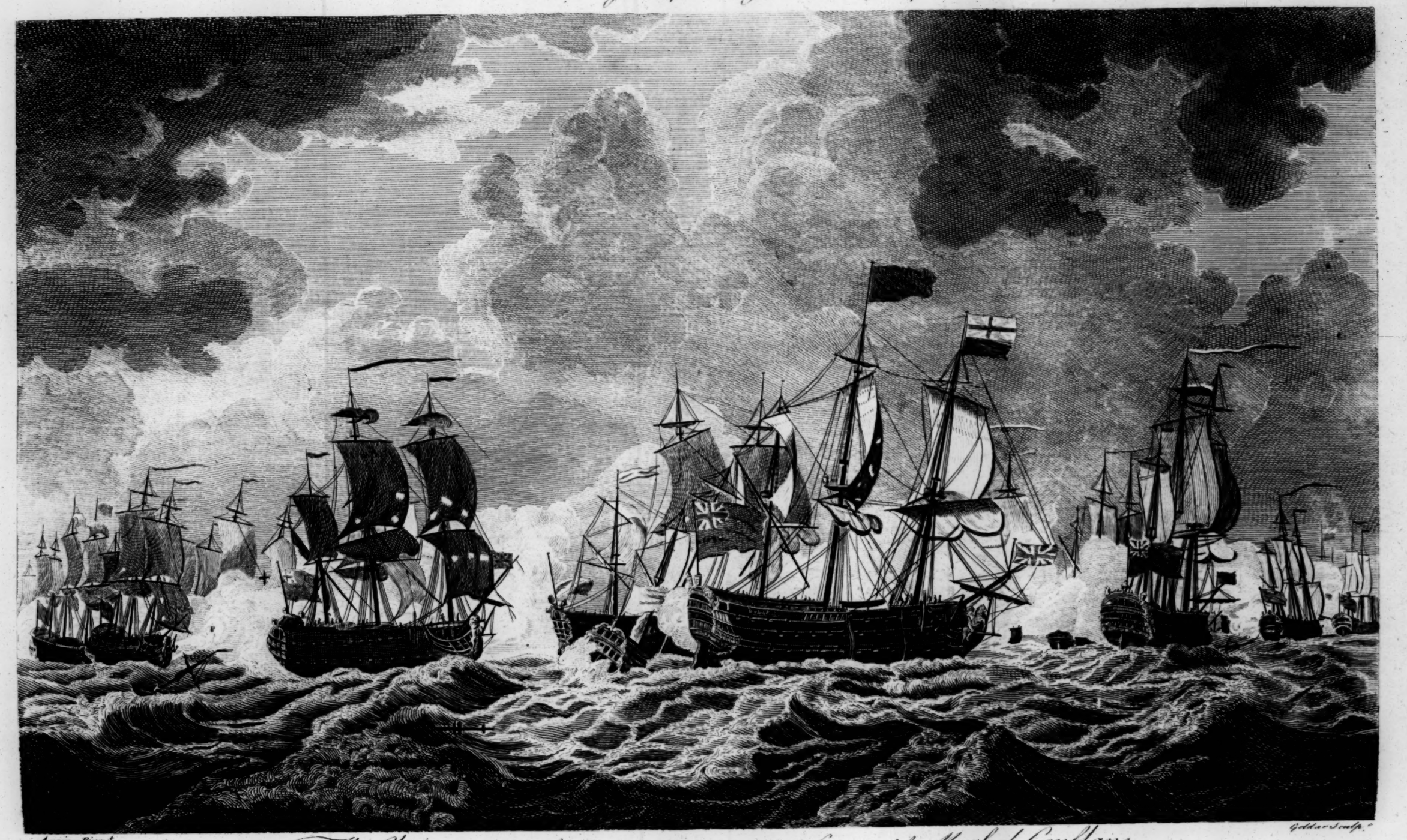
We ſhall cloſe the domeſtic occurrences of this year with an account of two incidents, which, though of a very different nature in reſpect of each other, nevertheleſs concurred in demonſtrating that the internal wealth and vigour of the nation were neither drained nor diminiſhed by the enormous expence and inconveniencies of the war. The committee appointed to manage the undertaking for a new bridge over the river Thames at Black-Friars having received and examined a variety of plans preſented by different artiſts, at length gave the preference to the deſign of one mr. Mylne, a young architect, a native of North-Britain, juſt returned from the proſecution of his ſtudies at Rome, where he had gained the prize in the capital, which the academy of that city beſtows on him who produces the moſt beautiful and uſeful plan on a given ſubject of architecture. This young man being in London, on his return to his own country, was adviſed to declare himſelf a candidate for the ſuperintendency of the new bridge; and the plan which he preſented was approved and adopted. The place being already aſcertained, the lord-mayor of London attended by the committee, and a great concourſe of people, repaired to Black-Friars, and laid the firſt ſtone of the bridge, placing upon it a plate, with an inſcription, which does more honour to the public ſpirit of the undertakers than to the claſſical taſte of the author[f]. The other inſtance that denoted the wealth and ſpirit of the nation, was the indifference and unconcern with which they bore the loſs of a vaſt magazine of naval ſtores belonging to the dock-yard at Portſmouth, which, in the month of July, was ſet on fire by lightening, and conſiſting of combuſtibles, burned with ſuch fury, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the workmen in the yard, the ſailors in the harbour, and the troops in the town, that before a ſtop was put to the conflagration, it had conſumed a variety of ſtores, to an immenſe value. The damage, however, was ſo immediately repaired, that it had no ſort of effect in diſconcerting any plan, or even in retarding any naval preparations.

How important theſe preparations muſt have been may be judged from the prodigious increaſe of the navy, which, at this juncture, amounted to 120 ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fireſhips, ſloops, bombs, and tenders. Of theſe capital ſhips, 17 were ſtationed in the Eaſt-Indies, 20 for the defence of the Weſt-India iſlands, 12 in North-America, 10 in the Mediterranean, and 61, either on the coaſt of France, in the harbours of England, or cruiſing in the Engliſh ſeas for the protection of the Britiſh commerce. Notwithſtanding theſe numerous and powerful armaments, the enemy, who had not a ſhip of the line at ſea, were ſo alert with their ſmall privateers and armed veſſels, that, in the beginning of this year, from the 1ſt of March to the 10th of June, they had made prize of 200 veſſels belonging to Great-Britain and Ireland. The whole number of ſhips taken by them, from the 1ſt day of June, in the year 1756, to the 1ſt of June in the preſent year, amounted to 2539; of theſe 78 were privateers, 321 were re-taken, and about the ſame number ranſomed. In the ſame ſpace of time, the Britiſh cruiſers had made captures of 944 veſſels, including 242 privateers, many fiſhing boats and ſmall coaſters, the value of which hardly defrayed the expence of condemnation. That ſuch a ſmall proportion of ſhips ſhould be taken from the enemy is not at all ſurpriſing, when we conſider the terrible ſhocs their commerce had previouſly received, and the great number of their mariners impriſoned in England: but the prodigious number of Britiſh veſſels

[f] Ultimo die Octobris, anno ab incarnatione
MDCCLX,
Auſpicatiſſimo principe Georgio Tertio
Regnum jam inuente,
Pontis hujus, in reipublicæ commodum
Urbiſque majeſtatem
(Latè tum flagrante bello)
à S. P. Q. L. ſuſcepti,
Primum lapidem poſuit
THOMAS CHITTY, miles,
Prætor,
ROBERTO MYLNE, architecto.
Utque apud poſteros extet monumentum
Voluntatis ſuæ erga virum,
Qui vigore ingenii, animi conſtantiâ,
Probitatis et virtutis ſuæ felici quâdam contagione,
(Favente Deo,
Fauſtiſq; Georgii Secundi auſpiciis!)
Imperium Britannicum
In Aſia, Africa, et America
Reſtituit, auxit, et ſtabilivit,
Nec non patriæ antiquum honorem et auctoritatem
Inter Europæ gentes inſtauravit,
Cives Londinenſes uno conſenſu
Huic ponti inſcribi voluerunt nomen
GULIELMI PITT.

BRITISH MUSEUM 15 JUN 20

London: Engravd for Harrisons Edition of Rapin.



Swain. Pinx.t

Goldar Sculp.o

The Glorious DEFEAT of the FRENCH FLEET, under the Command of Marshal Conflans,
off Belle-Isle, on the 20 of November 1759, by a Fleet of HIS MAJESTYS SHIPS, under the Command of the
Hon.ble Sr. Edward Hawke, Admiral of the Blue, & Knight of the most Hon.ble Order of the Bath, &c.
Whereby they were prevented Executing a Body of Troops to invade the British Dominions.

taken by their petty coaſting privateers, in the face of ſuch mighty armaments, numerous cruiſers, and convoys, ſeems to argue, that either the Engliſh ſhips of war were inactive or improperly diſpoſed, or that the merchants hazarded their ſhips without convoy. Certain it is in the courſe of this year we find fewer prizes taken from the enemy, and fewer exploits achieved at ſea, than we had occaſion to record in the annals of the paſt. Not that the preſent year is altogether barren of events which redound to the honour of our marine commanders. We have, in recounting the tranſactions of the preceding year, mentioned a ſmall armament equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of M. de Thurot, who, in ſpight of all the vigilance of the Britiſh commander ſtationed in the Downs, found means to eſcape from the harbour in the month of October laſt, and arrived at Gottenburgh, in Sweden, from whence he proceeded to Bergen, in Norway. His inſtructions were to make occaſional deſcents upon the coaſt of Ireland, and, by dividing the troops, and diſtracting the attention of the government in that kingdom, to facilitate the enterprize of M. de Conflans, the fate of which we have already narrated. The original armament of Thurot conſiſted of five ſhips, one of which, called the Mareſchal de Belleiſle, was mounted with 44 guns; the Begon, the Blond, the Terpſichore, had 30 guns each, and the Marante carried 24. The number of ſoldiers put on board this little fleet did not exceed 1270, excluſive of marines to the number of 700; but 200 of the troops were ſent ſic on ſhore, before the armament ſailed from Dunkirk; and in their voyage between Gottenburgh and Bergen they loſt company of the Begon, during a violent ſtorm. The ſeverity of the weather detained them 19 days at Bergen, at the expiration of which they ſet ſail for the weſtern iſlands of Scotland, and diſcovered the northern part of Ireland in the latter end of January. The intention of Thurot was to make a deſcent about Derry; but before this deſign could be executed, the weather growing tempeſtuous, and the wind blowing off ſhore, they were driven out to ſea, and in the night loſt ſight of the Marante, which never joined them in the ſequel. After having been tempeſt-beaten for ſome time, and expoſed to a very ſcanty allowance of proviſion, the officers requeſted of Thurot that he would return to France, leſt they ſhould all periſh by famine; but he lent a deaf ear to this propoſal, and frankly told them he could not return to France without having ſtruc ſome ſtroke for the ſervice of his country. Nevertheleſs in hopes of meeting with ſome refreſhment, he ſteered to the iſland of Iſla, where the troops were landed, and here they found blac cattle, and a ſmall ſupply of oatmeal, for which they paid a reaſonable price; and it muſt be owned, Thurot himſelf behaved with great moderation and generoſity.

While this ſpirited adventurer ſtruggled with theſe wants and difficulties, his arrival in thoſe ſeas filled the whole kingdom with alarm. Bodies of regular troops and militia were poſted along the coaſts of Ireland and Scotland; and beſides the ſquadron of commodore Boys, who ſailed to the northward on purpoſe to purſue the enemy, other ſhips of war were ordered to ſcour the Britiſh channel, and cruize between Scotland and Ireland. The weather no ſooner permitted Thurot to purſue his deſtination, than he ſailed from Iſla to the bay of Carrickfergus, in Ireland, and made all the neceſſary preparations for a deſcent; which was accordingly effected with 600 men, on the 21ſt day of February. Lieutenant-colonel Jennings, who commanded 4 companies of raw undiſciplined men at Carrickfergus, having received information that three ſhips had anchored about two miles and a half from the caſtle, which was ruinous and defenceleſs, immediately detached a party to make obſervations, and ordered the French priſoners there confined to be removed to Belfaſt. Mean while, the enemy landing without oppoſition, advanced towards the town, which they found as well guarded as the nature of the place, which was entirely open, and the circumſtances of the Engliſh commander, would allow. A regular attac was carried on, and a ſpirited defence made[g], until the ammunition of the Engliſh failed: then colonel Jennings retired in order to the caſtle, which, however, was in all reſpects untenable; for, beſides a breach in the wall near 50 feet wide, they found themſelves deſtitute of proviſion and ammunition. Nevertheleſs, they repulſed the aſſailants in their firſt attac even after the gate was burſt open, and ſupplied the want of ſhot with ſtones and rubbiſh. At length the colonel and his troops were obliged to ſurrender, on condition that they ſhould not be ſent priſoners to France, but be ranſomed, by ſending thither an equal number of French priſoners from Great-Britain or Ireland: that the caſtle ſhould not be demoliſhed, nor the town of Carrickfergus plundered or burned, on condition that the mayor and corporation ſhould furniſh the French troops with neceſſary proviſions. The enemy, after this exploit, did not preſume to advance farther into the country; a ſtep which indeed they could not have taken with any regard to their own ſafety; for by this time a conſiderable body of regular troops was aſſembled; and the people of the country manifeſted a laudable ſpirit of loyalty and reſolution, crowding in great numbers to Belfaſt, to offer their ſervice againſt the invaders. Theſe circumſtances, to which the enemy were no ſtrangers, and the defeat of Conflans, which they had alſo learned, obliged them to quit their conqueſt, and re-embark with ſome precipitation, after having laid Carrickfergus under moderate contribution.

The fate they eſcaped on ſhore they ſoon met with at ſea. Captain John Elliot, who commanded three frigates at Kinſale, and had, in the courſe of this war, more than once already diſtinguiſhed himſelf, even in his early youth, by extraordinary acts of valour, was informed by a diſpatch from the duke of Bedford, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, that three of the enemy's ſhips lay at anchor in the bay of Carrickfergus, and thither he immediately ſhaped his courſe in the ſhip Æolus, accompanied by the Pallas and Brilliant, under the command of the captains Clements and Logie. On the 28th day of February they deſcried the enemy, and gave chaſe, in ſight of the iſle of Mann; and about nine in the morning, captain Elliot, in his own ſhip, engaged the Belleiſle, commanded by Thurot, although conſiderably his ſuperior in ſtrength of men, number of guns, and weight of metal. In a few minutes his conſorts were alſo engaged with the other two ſhips of the enemy. After a warm action, maintained with great ſpirit on all ſides for an hour and a half, captain Elliot's lieutenant boarded the Belleiſle, and ſtriking her colours with his own hand, the commander ſubmitted: his example was immediately followed by the French captains, and the Engliſh commodore, taking poſſeſſion of his prizes, conveyed them into the bay of Ramſay, in the iſle of Mann, that their damage might be repaired. Though the Belleiſle was very leaky, and had loſt her boltſpit, mizen-maſt, and main-yard, in all probability the victory would not have been ſo eaſily obtained, had not the gallant Thurot fallen during the action. The victor had not even the conſolation to perform the laſt offices to his brave enemy; for his body was thrown into the ſea by his own people in the hurry of the engagement. The loſs on the ſide of the Engliſh did not exceed 40 men killed and wounded, whereas above 300 of the enemy were ſlain or diſabled. The ſervice performed on this occaſion was deemed ſo eſſential to the peace and commerce of Ireland, that the thanks of the houſe of commons in that kingdom were voted to the conquerors of Thurot, as well as to lieutenant-colonel Jennings, for his ſpirited behaviour at Carrickfergus; and the freedom of the city of Cork was preſented in ſilver boxes to the captains Elliot, Clements, and Logie. The name of Thurot was become terrible to all the trading ſea-ports of Great-Britain and Ireland; and therefore the defeat and capture of his ſquadron were celebrated with as hearty rejoicings as the moſt important victory could have produced.

In the beginning of April another engagement between four frigates, ſtill more equally matched, had a different iſſue, though not leſs honourable for the Britiſh commanders. Captain Skinner, of the Biddeford, and captain Kennedy, of the Flamborough, both frigates, ſailed on a cruize from Liſbon; and on the 4th day of April fell in with two large French frigates, convoy to a fleet of merchant-ſhips, which the Engliſh captains immediately reſolved to engage. The enemy did not decline the battle, which began about half an hour after ſix in the evening, and raged with great fury till eleven. By this time the Flamborough had loſt ſight of the Biddeford, and the frigate with which captain Kennedy was engaged bore away with all the ſail ſhe could carry. He purſued her till noon

[g] One circumſtance that attended this diſpute deſerves to be tranſmitted to poſterity, as an inſtance of that courage, mingled with humanity, which conſtitutes true heroiſm. While the French and Engliſh were hotly engaged in one of the ſtreets, a little child ran playfully between them, having no idea of the danger to which it was expoſed: a common ſoldier of the enemy, perceiving the life of this poor innocent at ſtake, grounded his piece, advanced deliberately between the lines of fire, took up the child in his arms, conveyed it to a place of ſafety; then returning to his place, reſumed his muſket and renewed his hoſtility.

the next day, when ſhe had left him ſo far a-ſtern, that he loſt ſight of her, and returned to Liſbon, with the loſs of 15 men killed and wounded, including the lieutenant of marines, and conſiderable damage both in her hull and rigging. In three days he was joined by the Biddeford, which had alſo compelled her antagoniſt to give way, and purſued her till ſhe was out of ſight. In about an hour after the action began, captain Skinner was killed by a cannon-ball, and the command devolved to lieutenant Knollis, ſon to the earl of Banbury[h], who maintained the battle with great ſpirit, even after he was wounded, until he received a ſecond ſhot in his body, which proved mortal. Then the maſter aſſuming the direction, continued the engagement with equal reſolution, until the enemy made his eſcape, which he the more eaſily accompliſhed, as the Biddeford was diſabled in her maſts and rigging.

The bravery of five Iriſhmen and a boy, belonging to the crew of a ſhip from Waterford, deſerves commemoration. The veſſel, in her return from Bilboa, laden with brandy and iron, being taken by a French privateer off Uſhant, about the middle of April, the captors removed the maſter, and all the hands but theſe five men and the boy, who were left to aſſiſt nine Frenchmen in navigating the veſſel to France. The ſtout Hibernians immediately formed a plan of inſurrection, and executed it with ſucceſs. Four of the French mariners being below dec, three aloft among the rigging, one at the helm, another walking the dec, Brian, who headed the enterprize, tripped up the heels of the French ſteerſman, ſeiſed his piſtol, and diſcharged it at him who walked the dec, but miſſing the mark, he knocked him down with the butt-end of the piece. At the ſame time hollowing to his confederates below, they aſſailed the enemy with their own broad ſwords, and ſoon compelling them to ſubmit, came upon dec, and ſhut the hatches. Brian being now in poſſeſſion of the quarter dec, thoſe who were aloft called for quarter, and ſurrendered without oppoſition. The Iriſh having thus obtained a complete victory, almoſt without bloodſhed, and ſecured the priſoners, another difficulty occurred: neither Brian nor any of his aſſociates could read or write, or knew the leaſt principle of navigation; but ſuppoſing his courſe to be north, he ſteered at venture, and the firſt land he made was the neighbourhood of Youghall, where he happily arrived with his priſoners.

The only conſiderable damage ſuſtained by the navy of Great-Britain, ſince the commencement of this year, was the loſs of the Ramillies, a magnificent ſhip of the ſecond rate, belonging to the ſquadron which admiral Boſcawen commanded on the coaſt of France, in order to watch the motions and diſtreſs the commerce of that reſtleſs, enterprizing enemy. In the beginning of February a ſeries of ſtormy weather obliged the admiral to return from the bay of Quiberon to Plymouth, where he arrived with much difficulty; but the Ramillies overſhot the entrance to the Sound, and being embayed near a point called the Bolthead, about four leagues higher up the channel, was daſhed in pieces among the rocs, after all her anchors and cables had given way. All her officers and men, amounting to 700, periſhed on this occaſion, except one midſhipman and 25 mariners, who had the good fortune to ſave themſelves by leaping on the rocs as the hull was thrown forwards, and raiſed up by the ſucceeding billows. Such were the moſt material tranſactions of the year relating to the Britiſh empire in the ſeas of Europe.

We ſhall know tranſport the reader to the continent of North-America, which, as the theatre of war, ſtill maintained its former importance. The French emiſſaries from the province of Louiſiana had exerciſed their arts of inſinuation with ſuch ſucceſs among the Cherokees, a numerous and powerful nation of Indians, ſettled on the confines of Virginia and Carolina, that they had infringed the peace with the Engliſh towards the latter end of the laſt year, and begun hoſtilities, by plundering, maſſacring, and ſcalping ſeveral Britiſh ſubjects of the more ſouthern provinces. Mr Lyttelton, governor of South-Carolina, having received information of theſe outrages, obtained the neceſſary aids from the aſſembly of his province, for maintaining a conſiderable body of forces, which was raiſed with great expedition. He marched in the beginning of October, at the head of 800 provincials, re-enforced with 300 regular troops, and penetrated into the heart of the country poſſeſſed by the Cherokees, who were ſo much intimidated by his vigour and diſpatch, that they ſent a deputation of their chiefs to ſue for peace, which was reeſtabliſhed by a new treaty, dictated by the Engliſh governor. They obliged themſelves to renounce the French intereſt; to deliver up all the ſpies and emiſſaries of that nation then reſident among them; to ſurrender to juſtice thoſe of their own people who had been concerned in murdering and ſcalping the Britiſh ſubjects; and for the performance of theſe articles 22 of their head men were put as hoſtages into the hands of the governor. So little regard, however, was paid by theſe ſavages to this ſolemn accommodation, that mr. Lyttelton had been returned but a few days from their country, when they attempted to ſurpriſe the Engliſh fort Prince-George, near the the frontiers of Carolina, by going thither in a body, on pretence of delivering up ſome murderers; but the commanding officer perceiving ſome ſuſpicious circumſtances in their behaviour, acted with ſuch vigilance and circumſpection as entirely fruſtrated their deſign[i]. Thus diſappointed, they wreaked their vengeance upon the Engliſh ſubjects trading in their country, all of whom they butchered without mercy. Not contented with this barbarous ſacrifice, they made incurſions to the Britiſh ſettlements at the Long Lanes, and the forks of the Broad-River, and maſſacred about 40 defenceleſs coloniſts, who repoſed themſelves in full ſecurity on the peace ſo lately ratified. As views of intereſt could not have induced them to act in this manner, and their revenge had not been inflamed by any freſh provocation, theſe violences muſt be imputed to the inſtigation of French incendiaries; and too plainly evinced the neceſſity of crowning our American conqueſts with the reduction of Louiſiana, from whence theſe emiſſaries were undoubtedly diſpatched.

The cruelty and miſchief with which the Cherokees proſecuted their renewed hoſtilities, alarmed all the ſouthern colonies of the Engliſh; and application was made for aſſiſtance to mr. Amherſt, the commander in chief of the king's forces in America. He forthwith detached 1200 choſen men to South-Carolina, under the command of colonel Montgomery, brother to the earl of Eglinton, an officer of approved conduct, and diſtinguiſhed gallantry. Immediately after his arrival at Charles-Town, he advanced to Ninety-ſix, and proceeded to Twelve-mile-River, which he paſſed in the beginning of June, without oppoſition. He continued his rout by forced marches, until he arrived in the neighbourhood of the Indian town called Little Keowee, where he encamped in an advantageous ſituation. Having reaſon to believe the enemy were not yet appriſed of his coming, he reſolved to ruſh upon them in the night by ſurpriſe. With this view, leaving his tents

[h] Five ſons of this nobleman were remarkably diſtinguiſhed in this war. The fourth and fifth were dangerouſly wounded at the battle of Minden: the ſecond was hurt in the reduction of Guadaloupe: lord Wallingworth, the eldeſt, received a ſhot at Carrickfergus; and the third was ſlain in this engagement.

[i] This attempt was conducted in the following manner, having doubtleſs been concerted with the 22 hoſtages who reſided in the fort. On the 16th day of February, two Indian women appearing at Keowee, on the other ſide of the river, mr. Dogharty, one of the officers of the fort, went out to aſk them what news. While he was engaged in converſation with theſe females, the great Indian warrior Ocunnaſtota joining them, deſired he would call the commanding officer, to whom, he ſaid, he had ſomething to propoſe. Accordingly, lieutenant Cotymore appearing, accompanied by enſign Bell, Dogharty, and Foſter the interpreter, Ocunnaſtota told him he had ſomething of conſequence to impart to the governor, whom he purpoſed to viſit, and deſired he might be attended by a white man, as a ſafe-guard. The lieutenant aſſuring him he ſhould have a ſafeguard, the Indian declared he would then go and catch a horſe for him; ſo ſaying, he ſwung a bridle thrice over his head, as a ſignal, and immediately 25 or 30 muſquets, from different ambuſcades, were diſcharged at the Engliſh officers. Mr Cotymore received a ſhot in his left breaſt, and in a few days expired; mr. Bell was wounded in the calf of the leg, and the interpreter in the buttoc. Enſign Milne, who remained in the fort, was no ſooner informed of this treachery, than he ordered the ſoldiers to ſhackle the hoſtages; in the execution of which order one man was killed upon the ſpot, and another wounded in the forehead with a Tomohawk: circumſtances which, added to the murder of the lieutenant, incenſed the garriſon to ſuch a degree, that it was judged abſolutely neceſſary to put the hoſtages to death without further heſitation. In the evening a party of Indians approaching the fort, and firing two ſignal pieces, cried aloud in the Cherokee language, 'Fight manfully, and you ſhall be aſſiſted.' Then they began an attac, and continued firing all night upon the fort, without doing the leaſt execution. That a deſign was concerted between them and the hoſtages appeared plainly from the nature of this aſſault; and this ſuppoſition was converted into a certainty next day, when ſome of the garriſon ſearching the apartment in which the hoſtages lay, found a bottle of poiſon, probably deſigned to be emptied into the well, and ſeveral tomohawks buried in the earth; which weapons had been privately conveyed to them by their friends, who were permitted to viſit them without interruption. On the 3d day of March, the fort at Ninety-ſix was attacked by 200 Cherokee Indians with muſquetry, which had little or no effect, ſo that they were forced to retire with ſome loſs, and revenged themſelves on the open country, burning and ravaging all the houſes and plantations belonging to Engliſh ſettlers in this part of the country, and all along the frontiers of Virginia. Not contented with pillaging and deſtroying the habitations, they wantoned in the moſt horrible barbarities; and their motions were ſo ſecret and ſudden, that it was impoſſible for the inhabitants to know where the ſtorm would burſt, or take proper precautions for their own defence, ſo that a great number of the bac ſettlements were totally abandoned.

ſtanding, with a ſufficient guard for the camp and waggons, he marched through the woods towards the Cherokee town of Eſtatoe, at the diſtance of 25 miles; and in his rout detached a company of light infantry to deſtroy the village of Little Keowee, where they were received with a ſmart fire, but they ruſhed in with their bayonets, and all the men were put to the ſword. The main body proceeded ſtraight to Eſtatoe, which they reached in the morning, but it had been abandoned about half an hour before their arrival. Some few of the Indians, who had not time to eſcape, were ſlain; and the town, conſiſting of 200 houſes, well ſtored with proviſion, ammunition, and all the neceſſaries of life, was firſt plundered, and then reduced to aſhes; ſome of the wretched inhabitants who concealed themſelves periſhing in the flames. It was neceſſary to ſtrike terror into thoſe ſavages by ſome examples of ſeverity; and the ſoldiers became deaf to all the ſuggeſtions of mercy, when they found in one of the Indian towns the body of an Engliſhman, whom they had put to the torture that very morning. Colonel Montgomery followed his blow with ſurpriſing rapidity. In the ſpace of a few hours he deſtroyed Sugar-town, which was as large as Eſtatoe, and every village and houſe in the Lower Nation. The Indian villages in this part of the world were agreeably ſituated, generally conſiſting of about 100 houſes, neatly and commodiouſly built, and well ſupplied with proviſion. They had in particular large magazines of corn, which were conſumed in the flames. All the men that were taken ſuffered immediate death; but the greater part of the nation had eſcaped with the utmoſt precipitation. In many houſes the beds were yet warm, and the tables ſpread with victuals. Many loaded guns went off while the houſes were burning. The ſavages had not time to ſave their moſt valuable effects. The ſoldiers found ſome money, three or four watches, a good quantity of wampum, clothes, and peltry. Colonel Montgomery having thus taken vengeance on the perfidious Cherokees, at the expence of five or ſix men killed or wounded, returned to Fort Prince George, with about forty Indian women and children whom he had made priſoners. Two of their warriors were ſet at liberty, and deſired to inform their nation, that, though they were now in the power of the Engliſh, they might ſtill, on their ſubmiſſion, enjoy the bleſſings of peace. As the chief, called Attakullakulla, alias the Little Carpenter, who had ſigned the laſt treaty, diſapproved of the proceedings of his countrymen, and had done many good offices to the Engliſh ſince the renovation of the war, he was now given to underſtand that he might come down with ſome other chiefs to treat of an accommodation, which would be granted to the Cherokees on his account; but that the negotiation muſt be begun in a few days, otherwiſe all the towns in the Upper Nation would be ravaged, and reduced to aſhes.

Theſe intimations having produced little or no effect, colonel Montgomery reſolved to make a ſecond irruption into the middle ſettlements of the Cherokees, and began his march on the 24th day of June. On the 27th captain Morriſon, of the advanced party, was killed by a ſhot from a thicket, and the firing became ſo troubleſome that his men gave way. The grenadiers and light infantry being detached to ſuſtain them, continued to advance, notwithſtanding the fire from the woods, until, from a riſing ground, they diſcovered a body of the enemy. Theſe they immediately attacked, and obliged to retire into a ſwamp, which, when the reſt of the troops came up, they were, after a ſhort reſiſtance, compelled to abandon: but as the country was difficult, and the path extremely narrow, the forces ſuffered on their march from the fire of ſcattered parties, who concealed themſelves behind trees and buſhes. At length they arrived at the town of Etchowee, which the inhabitants had forſaken after having removed every thing of value. Here, while the army encamped on a ſmall plain, ſurrounded by hills, it was incommoded by vollies from the enemy, which wounded ſome men and killed ſeveral horſes. They were even ſo daring as to attac the piquet-guard, which repulſed them with difficulty; but, generally ſpeaking, their parties declined an open engagement. Colonel Montgomery, ſenſible that as many horſes were killed or diſabled, he could not proceed farther without leaving his proviſions behind, or abandoning the wounded men to the brutal revenge of a ſavage enemy, reſolved to return, and began his retreat in the night, that he might be the leſs diſturbed by the Indians. Accordingly, he purſued his rout for two days without interruption; but afterwards ſuſtained ſome ſtraggling fires from the woods, though the parties of the enemy were put to flight as often as they appeared. In the beginning of July he arrived at Fort Prince George; this expedition having coſt about 70 men killed and wounded, including five officers.

In revenge for theſe calamities, the Cherokees aſſembled to a conſiderable number, and formed the blocade of Fort Loudon, a ſmall fortification near the confines of Virginia, defended by an inconſiderable garriſon, ill ſupplied with proviſion and neceſſaries. After having ſuſtained a long ſiege, and being reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs, captain Demere, the commander, held a council of war with the other officers, to deliberate upon their preſent ſituation; when it appeared that their proviſions were entirely exhauſted; that they had ſubſiſted a conſiderable time, without bread, upon horſe-fleſh, and ſuch ſupplies of pork and beans as the Indian women could introduce by ſtealth; that the men were ſo weakened with famine and fatigue, that in a little time they would not be able to do duty; that, for two nights paſt, conſiderable parties had deſerted, and ſome thrown themſelves upon the mercy of the enemy; that the garriſon in general threatened to abandon their officers, and betake themſelves to the woods; and that there was no proſpect of relief, their communication having been long cut off from all the Britiſh ſettlements; for theſe reaſons they were unanimouſly of opinion, that it was impracticable to prolong their defence; that they ſhould accept of an honourable capitulation; and captain Stuart ſhould be ſent to treat with the warriors, and head men of the Cherokees, about the condition of their ſurrender. This officer, being accordingly diſpatched with full powers, obtained a capitulation of the Indians, by which the garriſon was permitted to retire. The Indians deſired, that when they arrived at Keowee the Cherokee priſoners confined at that place ſhould be releaſed, all hoſtilities ceaſe, a laſting accommodation be re-eſtabliſhed, and a regulated trade revived. In conſequence of this treaty the garriſon evacuated the fort, and had marched about 15 miles on their return to Carolina, when they were ſurrounded and ſurpriſed by a large body of Indians, who maſſacred all the officers, except captain Stuart, and ſlew 25 of the ſoldiers: the reſt were made priſoners, and diſtributed among the different towns and villages of the nation. Captain Stuart owed his life to the generous interceſſion of the Little Carpenter, who ranſomed him at the price of all he could command, and conducted him ſafe to Holſton River, where he found major Lewis advanced ſo far with a body of Virginians. The ſavages, encouraged by their ſucceſs at Fort Loudon, undertook the ſiege of Ninety-ſix, and other ſmall fortifications; but retired precipitately on the approach of a body of provincials.

In the mean time, the Britiſh intereſt and empire were firmly eſtabliſhed on the banks of the Ohio, by the prudence and conduct of major-general Stanwix, who had paſſed the winter at Pittſburgh, formerly Du Queſne, and employed that time in the moſt effectual manner for the ſervice of his country. He repaired the old works, eſtabliſhed poſts of communication from the Ohio to the Monongahela, mounted the baſtions that cover the iſthmus with artillery, erected caſemates, ſtore-houſes, and barracs for a numerous garriſon, and cultivated with equal diligence and ſucceſs the friendſhip and alliance of the Indians. The happy conſequences of theſe meaſures were ſoon apparent in the production of a conſiderable trade between the natives and the merchants of Pittſburgh, and in the perfect ſecurity of about 4000 ſettlers, who now returned to the quiet poſſeſſion of the lands from whence they had been driven by the enemy on the frontiers of Pennſylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.

The incidents of the war were much more important and deciſive in the more northern parts of this great continent. The reader will remember that brigadier-general Murray was left to command the garriſon of Quebeck, amounting to about 6000 men; that a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips was ſtationed at Halifax, in Nova-Scotia, under the direction of lord Colvil, an able and experienced officer, who had inſtructions to reviſit Quebeck in the beginning of ſummer, as ſoon as the river St. Laurence ſhould be navigable; and that general Amherſt, the commander in chief of the forces in America, wintered in New-York, that he might be at hand to aſſemble his troops in the ſpring, and recompence his operations for the entire reduction of Canada. General Murray neglected no ſtep that could be taken by the moſt vigilant officer for maintaining the important conqueſt of Quebeck, and ſubduing all the Lower Canada, the inhabitants of which actually ſubmitted, and took the oath of al-

legiance to the king of Great-Britain[k]. The garriſon, however, within the walls of Quebeck, ſuffered greatly from the exceſſive cold in the winter, and the want of vegetables and freſh proviſion, inſomuch that, before the end of April, 1000 ſoldiers were dead of the ſcurvy, and twice that number rendered unfit for ſervice. Such was the ſituation of the garriſon, when mr. Murray received undoubted intelligence that the French commander, the chevalier de Levis, was employed in aſſembling his army, which had been cantoned in the neighbourhood of Montreal; that from the inhabitants of the country he had completed his eight battalions, regimented 40 companies of the troops de Colonie, and determined to undertake the ſiege of Quebeck, whenever the river St. Laurence ſhould be clear of ice, that he could uſe his four frigates, and other veſſels, by means of which he was entirely maſter of the river.

The brigadier, conſidering the city of Quebeck as no other than a ſtrong cantonment, had projected a plan of defence, by extending lines, and entrenching his troops on the heights of Abraham, which, at the diſtance of 800 paces, entirely command the ramparts of the city, and might have been defended by a ſmall force againſt a formidable army. Faſcines, and every other neceſſary for this work, had been provided, and in the month of April the men were ſet at work upon the projected lines; but the earth was ſo hardened by the froſt, that it was found impracticable to proceed. Being informed, that the night of the 26th, the enemy had landed at Point au Tremble, to the number of 10,000 men, with 500 ſavages, he ordered all the bridges over the river Cagrouge to be broke down, ſecured the landing-place at Sylleri and the Foulon, and next day, marching in perſon with a ſtrong detachment and two field-pieces, took poſſeſſion of an advantageoue ſituation, and thus defeated the ſcheme which the French commander had laid for cutting off the poſts which the Engliſh had eſtabliſhed. Theſe being all withdrawn, the brigadier that ſame afternoon marched bac to Quebeck, with little or no loſs, although his rear was haraſſed by the enemy. Here he formed a reſolution which hath been cenſured by ſome criticks in war, as a meaſure that favoured more of youthful impatience, and overboiling courage, than of that military diſcretion which ought to diſtinguiſh a commander in ſuch a delicate ſituation; but it is more eaſy to cenſure with an appearance of reaſon, than to act in ſuch circumſtances with any certainty of ſucceſs. Mr Murray, in his letter to the ſecretary of ſtate, declared, that although the enemy were greatly ſuperior to him in number, yet, when he conſidered that the Engliſh forces were habituated to victory, that they were provided with a fine train of field artillery, that, in ſhutting them at once within the walls, he ſhould have riſked his whole ſtake on the ſingle chance of defending a wretched fortification; a chance which could be much leſſened by an action in the field, though ſuch an action would double the chance of ſucceſs; for theſe reaſons he determined to hazard a battle; ſhould the event prove unproſperous, he reſolved to hold out the place to the laſt extremity; then to retreat to the iſle of Orleans, or Coudres, with the remainder of the garriſon, and there wait for a re-enforcement. In purſuance of theſe reſolutions he gave the neceſſary orders over night, and on the 28th day of April, at half an hour after ſix in the morning, marched out with his little army of 3000 men, which he formed on the heighths in order of battle. The right brigade, commanded by colonel Burton, conſiſted of the regiments of Amherſt, Anſtruther, Webb, and the ſecond battalion of royal Americans: the left, under colonel Fraſer was formed of the regiments of Kennedy, Laſcelles, Townſhend, and the Highlanders. Otway's regiment, and the third battalion of royal Americans, conſtituted the corps de reſerve. Major Dalling's corps of light infantry covered the right flank; the left was ſecured by captain Huzzen's company of rangers, and 100 volunteers, under the command of captain Donald Macdonald; and each battalion was ſupplied with two field-pieces. Brigadier Murray having reconnoitred the enemy, perceived their van had taken poſſeſſion of the riſing grounds about three quarters of a mile in his front; but that their army was on the march in one column. Thinking this was the critical moment to attac them before they were formed, he advanced towards them with equal order and expedition. They were ſoon driven from the heighths, though not without a warm diſpute, during which the body of their army advanced at a round pace, and formed in columns. Their van conſiſted of 10 companies of grenadiers, two of volunteers, and 400 ſavages: 8 battalions, formed in 4 columns, with ſome bodies of Canadians in the intervals, conſtituted their main body: their rear was compoſed of two battalions, and ſome Canadians in the flanks; and 2000 Canadians formed the reſerve. Their whole army amounted to upwards of 12,000 men. Major Dalling, with great gallantry, diſpoſſeſſed their grenadiers of a houſe and windmill which they occupied, in order to cover their left flanks; and in this attac the major and ſome of his officers were wounded: nevertheleſs, the light infantry purſued the fugitives to a corps which was formed to ſuſtain them; then the purſuers halted, and diſperſed along the front of the right; a circumſtance which prevented that wing from taking advantage of the firſt impreſſion they had made on the left of the enemy. The light infantry being ordered to regain the flank, were, in attempting this motion furiouſly charged, and thrown into diſorder: then they retired to the rear in ſuch a ſhattered condition, that they could never again be brought up during the whole action. Otway's regiment was inſtantly ordered to advance from the body of reſerve, and ſuſtain the right wing, which the enemy twice in vain attempted to penetrate. Mean while the left brigade of the Britiſh forces did not remain inactive: they had diſpoſſeſſed the French of two redoubts, and ſuſtained with undaunted reſolution the whole efforts of the enemy's right, until they were fairly fought down, overpowered by numbers, and reduced to a handful, notwithſtanding the aſſiſtance they received from the third battalion of royal Americans, which had been ſtationed with the body of reſerve, as well as from Kennedy's regiment, poſted in the centre. The French attacked with great impetuoſity; and, at length, a freſh column of the regiment de Rouſſillon penetrating the left wing of the Britiſh army, it gave way; the diſorder was ſoon communicated to the right, ſo that after a very obſtinate diſpute, which laſted an hour and three quarters, brigadier Murray was obliged to quit the field, with the loſs of 100 men killed or wounded, and the greater part of his artillery. The enemy left twice the number of men, and reaped no eſſential advantage from their victory.

Mr Murray, far from being diſperited by his defeat, no ſooner retired within the walls of Quebeck, than he reſolved to proſecute the fortifications of the place, which had been interrupted by the ſeverity of the winter; and the ſoldiers exerted themſelves with incredible alacrity, not only in labouring at the works, but alſo in the defence of the town, before which the enemy had opened trenches on the very evening of the battle. Three ſhips anchored at the

[k] The garriſon of Quebeck, during the winter, repaired above 500 houſes, which had been damaged by the Engliſh cannon, built eight redoubts of wood, raiſed foot-banks along the ramparts, opened embraſures, mounted artillery, blocked up all the avenues of the ſuburbs with a ſtockade, removed 11 months proviſions into the higheſt part of the city, and formed a magazine of 4000 faſcines. Two hundred men were poſted at St. Foix, and twice the number at Lorette. Several hundred men marched to St. Auguſtin, brought off the enemy's advanced guard, with a great number of cattle, and diſarmed the inhabitants. By theſe precautions the motions of the French were obſerved, the avenues of Quebeck were covered, and their dominion ſecured over 11 pariſhes, which furniſhed them with ſome freſh proviſion and other neceſſaries for ſubſiſtence. Sixteen thouſand cords of wood being wanted for the hoſpitals, guards, and quarters, and the method of tranſporting it from the iſle of Orleans being found ſlow and difficult, on account of the floating ice in the river, a ſufficient number of hand-ſledges were made, and 200 wood-fellers ſet at work in the foreſt of St. Foix, where plenty of fuel was obtained, and brought into the ſeveral regiments by the men that were not upon duty. A detachment of 200 men, being ſent to the other ſide of the river, diſarmed the inhabitants, and compelled them to take the oath of allegiance: by this ſtep the Engliſh became maſters of the ſouthern ſide of the St. Laurence, and were ſupplied with good quantities of freſh proviſion. The advanced poſts of the enemy were eſtabliſhed at Point au Tremble, St. Auguſtin, and Le Calvaire; the main body of their army quartered between Trois Rivieres, and Jaques Quartier. Their general having formed the deſign of attacking Quebeck in the winter, began to provide ſnow ſhoes or rackets, ſcaling-ladders and facines, and make all the neceſſary preparations for that enterprize. He took poſſeſſion of Point Levi, where he formed a magazine of proviſions, great part of which, however, fell into the hands of the Engliſh; for, as ſoon as the river was froze over, brigadier Murray diſpatched thither 200 men, at whoſe approach the enemy abandoned their magazine, and retreated with great precipitation. Here the detachment took poſt in a church, until they could build two wooden redoubts, and mount them with artillery. In the mean time, the enemy returned with a greater force to recover the poſt, ſome battalions, with the light infantry, marched over the ice, in order to cut off their communication; but they fled with great confuſion, and afterwards took poſt at St. Michael, at a conſiderable diſtance farther down the aiver. They now reſolved to poſtpone the ſiege of Quebeck, that they might carry it on in a more regular manner. They began to rig their ſhips, repair their ſmall craft, build galleys, caſt bombs and bullets, and prepare facines and gabions; while brigadier Murray employed his men in making preparations for a vigorous defence. He ſent out a detachment, who ſurpriſed the enemy's poſts at St. Auguſtin, Maiſon Brulée, and Le Calvaire, where they took 90 priſoners. He afterwards ordered the light infantry to poſſeſs and fortify Cape Rouge, to prevent the enemy's landing at that place, as well as to be nearer at hand to obſerve their motions; but when the froſt broke up, ſo that their ſhips could fall down the river, they landed at St. Auguſtin, and the Engliſh poſts were abandoned one after another, the detachments retiring without loſs into the city.

Foulon below the camp; and for ſeveral days they were employed in landing their cannon, mortars, and ammunition. Mean while they worked inceſſantly at their trenches before the town; and on the 11th day of May opened one bomb battery, and three batteries of cannon. Brigadier Murray made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to defend the place to the laſt extremity: he raiſed two cavaliers, contrived ſome outworks, and planted the ramparts with 132 pieces of artillery, dragged thither moſtly by the ſoldiery. Though the enemy cannonaded the place with great vivacity the 1ſt day, their fire ſoon ſlackened, and their batteries were, in a manner, ſilenced by the ſuperior fire of the garriſon; nevertheleſs, Quebeck would in all probability, have reverted to its former owners, had a French fleet from Europe got the ſtart of an Engliſh ſquadron in ſailing up the river.

Lord Colville had ſailed from Halifax, with the fleet under his command, on the 22d day of April; but was retarded in his paſſage by thic fogs, contrary winds, and great ſhoals of ice floating down the river. Commodore Swanton, who had ſailed from England with a ſmall reenforcement, arrived about the beginning of May at the iſle of Bec, in the river St. Laurence, where, with two ſhips, he purpoſed to wait for the reſt of the ſquadron, which had ſeparated from him in the paſſage: but one of theſe, the Loweſtoffe, commanded by captain Deane, had entered the harbour of Quebeck, on the 9th day of May, and communicated to the governor the joyful news that the ſquadron was arrived in the river. Commodore Swanton no ſooner received intimation that Quebeck was beſieged, then he ſailed up the river with all poſſible expedition, and on the 15th in the evening anchored above Point Levi. The brigadier expreſſing an earneſt deſire that the French ſquadron above the town might be removed, the commodore ordered captain Schomberg of the Diana, and captain Deane of the Loweſtoffe, to ſlip their cabels early next morning, and attac the enemy's fleet, conſiſting of two frigates, two armed ſhips, and a great number of ſmaller veſſels. They were no ſooner in motion than the French ſhips fled in the utmoſt diſorder. One of their frigates was driven on the rocs above Cape Diamond; the other ran aſhore, and was burned at Point au Tremble, about ten leagues above the town; and all the other veſſels were taken or deſtroyed.

The enemy were ſo confounded and diſpirited by this diſaſter, and the certain information that a ſtrong Engliſh fleet was already in the river St. Laurence, that in the following night they raiſed the ſiege of Quebeck, and retreated with great precipitation, leaving their proviſions, implements, and artillery to governor Murray, who had intended to make a vigorous ſally in the morning, and attempt to penetrate into the camp of the beſiegers, which, from the information of priſoners and deſerters, he conceived to be a very practicable ſcheme. For this purpoſe he had ſelected a body of troops, who were already under arms, when a lieutenant, whom he had ſent out with a detachment to amuſe the enemy, came and aſſured him that their trenches were abandoned. He inſtantly marched out of Quebeck at the head of his forces, in hopes of overtaking and making an impreſſion on their rear, that he might have ample revenge for his late diſcomfiture; but they had paſſed the river Caprouge before he could come up with their army; however, he took ſome priſoners, and a great quantity of baggage, including their tents, ſtores, magazines of proviſion and ammunition, with 34 pieces of battering cannon, 10 field-pieces, 6 mortars, 4 petards, a great number of ſcaling ladders, entrenching tools, and every other implement for a ſiege. They retired to Jacques-Quartier, where their ammunition began to fail, and they were abandoned by great part of the Canadians; ſo that they reſigned all hope of ſucceeding againſt Quebeck, and began to take meaſures for the preſervation of Montreal, againſt which the force under general Amherſt was directed. There M. Vaudreuil had fixed his head-quarters, and there he propoſed to make his laſt ſtand againſt the efforts of the Britiſh general. He not only levied forces, collected magazines, and erected new fortifications in the iſland of Montreal, but he had even recourſe to feigned intelligence, and other arts of deluſion, to ſupport the ſpirits of the Canadians and their Indian allies, which had begun to flag, in conſequence of their being obliged to abandon the ſiege of Quebeck. It muſt be owned he acted with all the ſpirit and foreſight of an experienced general, determined to exert himſelf for the preſervation of the colony, even though very little proſpect of ſucceſs remained. His hopes, ſlender as they were, depended upon the natural ſtrength of the country, rendered almoſt inacceſſible by woods, mountains, and moraſſes, which might have retarded the progreſs of the Engliſh, and protracted the war, until a general pacification could be effected. In the mean time, major-general Amherſt was diligently employed in taking meaſures for the execution of the plan he had projected, in order to complete the conqueſt of Canada. He conveyed inſtructions to general Murray, directing him to advance by water towards Montreal, with all the troops that could be ſpared from the garriſon of Quebeck. He detached colonel Haviland, with a body of troops, from Crown-point, to take poſſeſſion of the Iſle aux Noix, in the lake Champlain, and from thence penetrate the ſhorteſt way to the bank of the river St. Laurence; while he himſelf, with the main body of the army, amounting to about 10,000 men, including Indians, ſhould proceed from the frontiers of New-York, by the rivers of the Mohawks and Oneidas, to the lake Ontario, and ſail down the river St. Laurance to the iſland of Montreal. Thus, on the ſuppoſition that all theſe particulars could be executed, the enemy muſt have been hemmed in, and entirely ſurrounded. In purſuance of this plan, general Amherſt had provided two armed ſloops to cruiſe in the lake Ontario, under the command of captain Loring; as well as a great number of batteaux, or ſmaller veſſels, for the tranſportation of the troops, artillery, ammunition, implements, and baggage. Several regiments were ordered to proceed from Albany to Oſwego; and the general taking his departure from Schenectady, with the reſt of the forces in the latter end of June, arrived at the ſame place on the 9th day of July.

Being informed that two French veſſels had appeared off Oſwego, he diſpatched ſome batteaux to Niagara, with intelligence to captain Loring, who immediately ſet ſail in queſt of them; but they eſcaped his purſuit, though they had twice appeared in the neighbourhood of Oſwego ſince the arrival of the general, who endeavoured to amuſe them, by detaching batteaux to different parts of the lake. The army being aſſembled, and joined by a conſiderable body of Indians, under the command of ſir William Johnſon, the general detached colonel Haldimand, with the light infantry, the grenadiers, and one battalion of highlanders, to take poſt at the bottom of the lake, and aſſiſt the armed veſſels in finding a paſſage to La Galette. On the 10th day of Auguſt the army embarked on board the batteaux and whale-boats, and proceeded on the lake towards the mouth of the river St. Laurence. Underſtanding that one of the enemy's veſſels had run a-ground and was diſabled, and that the other lay off La Galette, he reſolved to make the beſt of his way down the river to Swegatchie, and attac the French fort of Iſle Royale, one of the moſt important poſts on the river St. Laurence, the ſource of which it in a great meaſure commands. On the 17th the row-gallies fell in with the French ſloop commanded by M. de la Broquerie, who ſurrendered after a wam engagement. Mr Amherſt having detached ſome engineers to reconnoitre the coaſts and iſlands in the neighbourhood of Iſle Royale, he made a diſpoſition for the attac of that fortreſs, which was accordingly inveſted, after he had taken poſſeſſion of the iſlands. Some of theſe the enemy had abandoned with ſuch precipitation, as to leave behind a few ſcalps they had taken on the Mohawk river, a number of tools and utenſils, two ſwivels, ſome barrels of pitch, and a large quantity of iron. The Indians were ſo incenſed at ſight of the ſcalps, that they burned a chapel, and all the houſes of the enemy. Batteries being raiſed on the neareſt iſlands, the fort was cannonaded not only by them, but likewiſe by the armed ſloops; and a diſpoſition was made for giving the aſſault, when M. Pouchaut, the governor, thought proper to beat a parley, and ſurrender on capitulation. The general having taken poſſeſſion of the fort, found it ſo well ſituated for commanding the lake Ontario, and the Mohawk river, that he reſolved to maintain it with a garriſon, and employed ſome days in repairing the fortifications.

From this place his navigation down the river St. Laurence was rendered extremely difficult and dangerous, by a great number of violent riffs, or rapides, and falls; among which he loſt above 80 men, 46 batteaux, 17 whale-boats, one row-galley, with ſome artillery, ſtores, and ammunition. On the 6th day of September the troops were landed on the iſland of Montreal, without any oppoſition, except from ſome flying parties, which exchanged a few ſhot, and then fled with precipitation. That ſame day he repaired a bridge which they had broke down in their retreat, and after a march of two leagues, formed his army on a plain before

Montreal, where they lay all night on their arms. Montreal is in point of importance, the ſecond place in Canada, ſituated in an iſland of the river St. Laurence, at an equal diſtance from Quebeck and the lake Ontario. Its central ſituation rendered it the ſtaple of the Indian trade; yet the fortifications of it were inconſiderable, not at all adequate to the value of the place. General Amherſt ordered ſome pieces of artillery to be brought up immediately from the landing-place at La Chine, where he had left ſome regiments for the ſecurity of the boats, and determined to commence the ſiege in form; but in the morning of the 7th he received a letter from the marquis de Vaudreil by two officers, demanding a capitulation; which, after ſome letters had paſſed between the two generals, was granted upon as favourable terms as the French had reaſon to expect, conſidering that general Murray, with the troops from Quebeck, had by this time landed on the iſland; and colonel Haviland, with the body under his command, had juſt arrived on the ſouth-ſide of the river, oppoſite to Montreal: circumſtance equally favourable and ſurpriſing, if we reflect upon the different routs they purſued, through an enemy's country, where they had no intelligence of the motions of each other. Had any accident retarded the progreſs of general Amherſt, the reduction of Montreal would have been attempted by general Murray, who embarked with his troops at Quebeck on board of a great number of ſmall veſſels, under the command of captain Deane, in the Diana. This gentleman, with uncommon abilities, ſurmounted the difficulties of an unknown, dangerous, and intricate navigation; and conducted the voyage with ſuch ſucceſs, that not a ſingle veſſel was loſt in the expedition. M. de Levis, at the head of his forces, watched the motions of general Murray, who, in advancing up the river, publiſhed manifeſtoes among the Canadians, which produced all the effect he could deſire. Almoſt all the pariſhes on the ſouth ſhore, as far as the river Sorrel, ſubmitted, and took the oath of neutrality: and lord Rollo diſarmed all the inhabitants of the north ſhore, as far as Trois Rivieres, which, though the capital of a diſtrict, being no more than an open village, was taken without reſiſtance. In a word, general Amherſt took poſſeſſion of Montreal, and this completed the conqueſt of all Canada; a conqueſt the moſt important of any that ever the Britiſh arms achieved, whether we conſider the ſafety of the Engliſh colonies in North-America, now ſecured from invaſion and encroachment: the extent and fertility of the country ſubdued; or the whole Indian commerce thus transferred to the traders of Great-Britain. The terms of capitulation may perhaps be thought rather too favourable, as the enemy were actually encloſed, and deſtitute of all hope of relief: but little points like theſe ought always to be ſacrificed to the conſideration of great objects; and the finiſhing the conqueſt of a great country without bloodſhed redounds as much to the honour, as it argues the humanity of general Amherſt, whoſe conduct had been irreproachable during the whole courſe of the American operations. At the ſame time, it muſt be allowed he was extremely fortunate in having ſubordinate commanders who perfectly correſponded with his ideas, and a body of troops whom no labours could diſcourage, whom no dangers could diſmay. Sir William Johnſon, with a power of authority and inſinuation peculiar to himſelf, not only maintained a ſurpriſing aſcendancy over the moſt ferocious of all the Indian tribes, but kept them within the bounds of ſuch ſalutary reſtraint, that not one ſingle act of inhumanity was perpetrated by them during the whole courſe of this expedition. The zeal and conduct of brigadier-general Gage: the undaunted ſpirit and enterprizing genius of general Murray; the diligence and activity of colonel Haviland; happily co-operated in promoting this great event.

The French miniſtry had attempted to ſuccour Montreal, by equipping a conſiderable number of ſtore-ſhips, and ſending them out in the ſpring under convoy of a frigate; but as their officers underſtood that the Britiſh ſquadron had ſailed up the river St. Laurence before their arrival, they took ſhelter in the bay of Chaleurs, on the coaſt of Acadia, where they did not long remain unmoleſted. Captain Byron, who commanded the ſhips of war that were left at Louiſbourg, having received intelligence of them from brigadier-general Whitmore, ſailed thither with his ſquadron, and found them at anchor. The whole fleet conſiſted of one frigate, two large ſtore-ſhips, and nineteen ſail of ſmaller veſſels, the greater part of which had been taken from the merchants of Great-Britain: all theſe were deſtroyed, together with two batteries which had been raiſed for their protection. The French town, conſiſting of 200 houſes, was demoliſhed, and the ſettlement totally ruined. All the French ſubjects inhabiting the territories from the bay of Funday to the banks of the river St. Laurence, and all the Indians through that tract of country, were now ſubdued, and ſubjected to the Engliſh government. In the month of December of the preceding year, the French coloniſts of Miramichi, Rickebuctou, and other places lying along the gulf of St. Laurence, made their ſubmiſſion by deputies to colonel Frye, who commanded in Fort Cumberland at Chignecto. They afterwards renewed this ſubmiſſion in the moſt formal manner, by ſubſcribing articles, by which they obliged themſelves and the people they repreſented, to repair in the ſpring to Bay Verte, with all their effects and ſhipping, to be diſpoſed of according to the direction of colonel Laurence, governor of Halifax, in Nova-Scotia. They were accompanied by two Indian chiefs of the nation of the Mickmacks, a powerful and numerous people, now become entirely dependent upon his Britannic majeſty. In a word, by the conqueſt of Canada, the Indian fur-trade, in its full extent, fell into the hands of the Engliſh. The French intereſt among the ſavage tribes, inhabiting an immenſe tract of country, was totally extinguiſhed; and their American poſſeſſions ſhrunk within the limits of Louiſiana, an infant colony on the ſouth of the Miſſiſſippi, which the Britiſh arms may at any time eaſily ſubdue.

The conqueſt of Canada being achieved, nothing now remained to be done in North-America, except the demoliſhing of the fortifications of Louiſbourg on the iſland of Cape-Breton; for which purpoſe, ſome able engineers had been ſent from England with the ſhips commanded by captain Byron. By means of mines artfully diſpoſed and well conſtructed, the fortifications were reduced to a heap of rubbiſh, the glacis was levelled, and the ditches were filled. All the artillery, ammunition, and implements of war, were conveyed to Halifax; but the barracs were repaired, ſo as to accommodate 300 men occaſionally; and the hoſpital, with the private houſes, were left ſtanding. The French ſtill poſſeſſed, upon the continent of America, the fertile country lying on each ſide of the great river Miſſiſſipi, which diſembogues itſelf into the gulf of Florida; but the colony was ſo thinly peopled, and ſo ill provided, that far from being formidable, it ſcarce could have ſubſiſted, unleſs the Britiſh traders had been baſe and treacherous enough to ſupply it from time to time with proviſions and neceſſaries. The ſame infamous commerce was carried on with divers French plantations in the Weſt-Indies; inſomuch that the governors of provinces, and commanders of the ſquadrons ſtationed in thoſe ſeas, made formal complaints of it to the miniſtry. The temptation of extraordinary profit excited the merchants, not only to aſſiſt the enemies of their country, but alſo to run all riſks in eluding the vigilance of the legiſlature. The inhabitants of Martinique found a plentiful market of proviſion furniſhed by the Britiſh ſubjects at the Dutch iſlands of Euſtatia and Curacoa; and thoſe that were ſettled on the iſland of Hiſpaniola were ſupplied in the ſame manner at the Spaniſh ſettlements of Monte-Chriſto.

While the Britiſh commanders exerted themſelves by ſea and land with the moſt laudable ſpirit of vigilance and courage againſt the foreign adverſaries of their country, the coloniſts of Jamaica ran the moſt imminent hazard of being extirpated by a domeſtic enemy. The negro-ſlaves of that iſland, grown inſolent in the contemplation of their own formidable numbers, or by obſerving the ſupine indolence of their maſters, or ſtimulated by that appetite for liberty ſo natural to the mind of man, began, in the courſe of this year, to entertain thoughts of ſhaking off the yoke by means of a general inſurrection. Aſſemblies were held, and plans revolved for this purpoſe. At length they concerted a ſcheme for riſing in arms all at once in different parts of the iſland, in order to maſſacre all the white men, and take poſſeſſion of the government. They agreed that this deſign ſhould be put in execution immediately after the departure of the fleet for Europe; but their plan was defeated by their ignorance and impatience. Thoſe of the conſpirators that belonged to captain Foreſt's eſtate, being impelled by the fumes of intoxication, fell ſuddenly upon the overſeer, while he ſat at ſupper with ſome friends, and butchered the whole company. Being immediately joined by ſome of their confederates, they attacked the neighbouring plantations, where they repeated the ſame barbarities, and ſeizing all the arms and ammunition that fell in their way, began to grow formidable to the colony. The governor no ſooner received intimation of this diſturbance, than he, by proclamation, ſubjected the coloniſts to martial

law. All other buſineſs was interrupted, and every man took to his arms. The regular troops, joined by the troop of militia, and a conſiderable number of volunteers, marched from Spaniſh-Town to St. Mary's, where the inſurrection began, and ſkirmiſhed with the inſurgents: but as they declined ſtanding any regular engagement, and truſted chiefly to buſh-fighting, the governor employed againſt them the free blacs, commonly known by the name of the Wild Negroes, now peaceably ſettled under the protection of the government. Theſe auxiliaries, in conſideration of a price ſet upon the heads of the rebels, attacked them in their own way, ſlew them by ſurpriſe, until their ſtrength was broken, and numbers made away with themſelves in deſpair, ſo that the inſurrection was ſuppoſed to be quelled about the beginning of May; but in June it broke out again with redoubled fury, and the rebels were re-enforced to a very conſiderable number. The regular troops and the militia, joined by a body of ſailors, formed a camp, under the command of colonel Spragge, who ſent out detachments againſt the negroes, a great number of whom were killed, and ſome taken; but the reſt, inſtead of ſubmitting, took ſhelter in the woods and mountains. The priſoners being tried, and found guilty of rebellion, were put to death by a variety of tortures. Some were hanged, ſome beheaded, ſome burned, and ſome fixed alive upon gibbets. One of theſe laſt lived eight days and eighteen hours, ſuſpended under a vertical ſun, without being refreſhed by one drop of water, or receiving any manner of ſuſtenance. In order to prevent ſuch inſurrections for the future, the juſtices aſſembled at the ſeſſions of the peace eſtabliſhed regulations, importing, that no negro-ſlave ſhould be allowed to quit his plantation without a white conductor, or a ticket of leave; that every negro playing at any ſort of game ſhould be ſcourged through the public ſtreets; that every publican ſuffering ſuch gaming in his houſe ſhould forfeit forty ſhillings; that every proprietor ſuffering his negroes to beat a drum, blow a horn, or make any noiſe in his plantation, ſhould be fined 10l. and every overſeer allowing theſe irregularities ſhould pay half that ſum, to be demanded, or diſtrained for, by any civil or military officer; that every free negro, or mulatto, ſhould wear a blue croſs on his right ſhoulder, on pain of impriſonment; that no mulatto, Indian, or negro, ſhould hawk or ſell any thing, except freſh fiſh and milk, on pain of being ſcourged; that rum and punch houſes ſhould be ſhut up during divine ſervice on Sundays, under the penalty of 20s. and that thoſe who had petit licences ſhould ſhut up their houſes on other nights at 9 o'clock.

Notwithſtanding theſe examples and regulations, a body of rebellious negroes ſtill ſubſiſted in places that were deemed inacceſſible to regular forces, and from theſe they made nocturnal irruptions into the neareſt plantations, where they acted with all the wantonneſs of barbarity; ſo that the people of Jamaica were obliged to conduct themſelves with the utmoſt vigilance and circumſpection; while rear-admiral Holmes, who commanded at ſea, took every precaution to ſecure the iſland from inſult or invaſion. He not only took meaſures for the defence of Jamaica, but alſo contrived and executed ſchemes for annoying the enemy. Having, in the month of October, received intelligence that five French frigates were equipped at Cape-François, on the iſland of Hiſpaniola, in order to convoy a fleet of merchant ſhips to Europe, he ſtationed the ſhips under his command in ſuch a manner as was moſt likely to intercept this fleet; and his diſpoſition was attended with ſucceſs. The enemy ſailed from the Cape to the number of eight ſail on the 16th, and next day they were chaſed by the king's ſhips the Hampſhire, Lively, and Boreas, which, however, made ſmall progreſs, as there was little wind, and that variable. In the evening, the breeſe freſhened, and about midnight the Boreas came up with the Sirenne, commanded by commodore M'Cartie. They engaged with great vivacity for about 25 minutes, when the Sirenne ſhot a-head, and made the beſt of her way. The Boreas was ſo damaged in her rigging, that ſhe could not cloſe with the enemy again till next day, at two in the afternoon, when the action was renewed off the eaſt end of Cuba, and maintained till forty minutes paſt four, when mr. M'Cartie ſtruc. In the mean time, the Hampſhire and Lively gave chace to the other four French frigates, which ſteered to the ſouthward with all the ſail they could carry, in order to reach the weſt end of Tortuga, and ſhelter themſelves in Port au Prince. On the 18th the Lively, by the help of her oars, came up with the Valeur, at half an hour paſt ſeven in the morning; and after a hot action, which continued an hour and a half, compelled the enemy to ſubmit,. The Hampſhire ſtood after the other three, and about four in the afternoon, ran up between the Duke de Choiſeul and the Prince Edward. Theſe ſhe engaged at the ſame time; but the firſt, having the advantage of the wind, made her retreat into Port au Paix; the other ran a-ſhore about two leagues to leeward, and ſtruc her colours, but at the approach of the Hampſhire the enemy ſet her on fire, and ſhe blew up. This was alſo the fate of the Fleur de Lys, which had run into Freſh-Water-Bay, a little farther to leeward of Port au Prince. Thus, by the prudent diſpoſition of admiral Holmes, and the gallantry of his three captains Norbury, Uvedale, and Maitland, two large frigates of the enemy were taken, and three deſtroyed. The ſpirit of the officers was happily ſupported by an uncommon exertion of courage in the men, who chearfully engaged in the moſt dangerous enterprizes. Immediately after the capture of the French frigates, eight of the enemy's privateers were deſtroyed or brought into Jamaica. Two of theſe, namely the Vainqueur of ten guns, ſixteen ſwivels, and ninety men, and the Mackau of ſix ſwivels and fifteen men, had run into ſhoal water in Cumberland harbour, on the iſland of Cuba. The boats of the Trent and Boreas, manned, under the direction of the lieutenants Millar and Stuart, being rowed up to the Vainqueur, boarded and took poſſeſſion under a cloſe fire, after having ſurmounted many other difficulties. The Mackau was taken without any reſiſtance; then the boats proceeded againſt the Gueſpe, of eight guns, and 85 men, which lay at anchor further up in the Lagoon; but before they came up the enemy had ſet her on fire, and ſhe was deſtroyed.

The ſame activity and reſolution diſtinguiſhed the captains and officers belonging to the ſquadron commanded by ſir James Douglas off the Leeward-Iſlands. In the month of September, the captains Obrien and Taylor, of the ſhips Temple and Griffin, being on a joint cruiſe off the iſlands Granadas, received intelligence that the Virgin, formerly a Britiſh ſloop of war, which had been taken by the enemy, then lay at anchor, together with three privateers, under protection of three forts on the iſland, ſailed thither in order to attac them, and their enterprize was crowned with ſucceſs. After a warm engagement, which laſted ſeveral hours, the enemy's batteries were ſilenced, and indeed demoliſhed, and the Engliſh captains took poſſeſſion of the four prizes. They afterwards entered another harbour of that iſland, having firſt demoliſhed another fort; and there they lay four days unmoleſted, at the expiration of which they carried off three other prizes. In their return to Antigua, they fell in with thirteen ſhips bound to Martinique with proviſions, and took them all without reſiſtance. About the ſame time, eight or nine privateers were taken by the ſhips which commodore ſir James Douglas employed in cruiſing round the iſland of Guadaloupe, ſo that the Britiſh commerce in thoſe ſeas flouriſhed under his care and protection.

In the Eaſt-Indies the Britiſh arms ſtill continued to proſper. After the reduction of Arcot, the garriſon of Permacoil and Allumparva ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war in the beginning of May. The Falmouth obliged the Haarlem, a French ſhip from Merguy, to run aſhore to the northward of Pondicherry. The important ſettlement of Carical was reduced by the ſea and land-forces commanded by rear-admiral Corniſh and major Monſon, and the French garriſon made priſoners of war; and colonel Coote formed the blockade of Pondicherry by land, while the harbour was beſet by the Engliſh ſquadron.

No action of importance was in the courſe of this year achieved by the naval force of Great-Britain in the ſeas of Europe. A powerful ſquadron ſtill remained in the bay of Quiberon, in order to amuſe and employ a body of French forces on that part of the coaſt, and interrupt the navigation of the enemy; though the principal aim of this armament ſeems to have been to watch and detain the few French ſhips which had run into the river Villaine, after the defeat of Conflans, an object, the importance of which will doubtleſs aſtoniſh poſterity. The fleet employed on this ſervice was alternately commanded by admiral Boſcawen and ſir Edward Hawke, officers of diſtinguiſhed abilities, whoſe talents might have been ſurely rendered ſubſervient to much greater national advantages. All that mr. Boſcawen could do in this circumſcribed ſcene of action was to take poſſeſſion of a ſmall iſland near the river Vannes, which he cauſed to be cultivated, and planted with vegetables, for the uſe of the men infected with ſcorbutic diſorders ariſing from ſalt proviſion, ſea air, and want of proper exerciſe. In the month of September, ſir Edward Hawke, who had by this time relieved mr. Boſcawen, detached the gal-

lant lord Howe, in the Magnanime, with the ſhips Prince Frederick and Bedford, to reduce the little iſland of Dumet, about three miles in length, and two in breadth, abounding with freſh water. It was defended by a ſmall fort, mounted with nine cannon, and manned with one company of the regiment of Bourbon, who ſurrendered in a very ſhort time after the ſhips had begun the attac. By this ſmall conqueſt a conſiderable expence was ſaved to the nation in the article of tranſports employed to carry water for the uſe of the ſquadron.

Admiral Rodney ſtill maintained his former ſtation off the coaſt of Havre de Grace, to obſerve what ſhould paſs at the mouth of the Seine. In the month of July, while he hovered in this neighbourhood, five large flat-bottomed boats, laden with cannon and ſhot, ſet ſail from Harfleur in the middle of the day, with their colours flying, as if they had ſet the Engliſh ſquadron at defiance, for the walls of Havre de Grace, and even the adjacent hills, were covered with ſpectators, aſſembled to behold the iſſue of this adventure. Having reached the river of Caen, they ſtood backwards and forwards upon the ſhoals, intending to amuſe admiral Rodney till night, and then proceed under cover of the darkneſs. He perceived their drift, and gave directions to his ſmall veſſels to be ready, that as ſoon as daylight failed they ſhould make all the ſail they could for the mouth of the river Orne, in order to cut off the enemy's retreat, while he himſelf ſtood with the larger ſhips to the ſteep coaſt of Port-Baſſin. The ſcheme ſucceeded to his wiſh. The enemy, ſeeing their retreat cut off, ran aſhore at Port-Baſſin, where the admiral deſtroyed them, together with the ſmall fort which had been erected for the defence of this harbour. Each of thoſe veſſels was 100 feet in length, and capable of containing 400 men for a ſhort paſſage. What their deſtination was we cannot pretend to determine; but the French had provided a great number of theſe tranſports; for ten eſcaped into the river Orne leading to Caen; and in conſequence of this diſaſter 100 were unloaded, and ſent up again to Rouen. This was not all the damage that the enemy ſuſtained on this part of the coaſt. In the month of November, captain Ourry, of the Acteon, chaſed a large privateer, and drove her aſhore between Cape-Barfleur and La Hogue, where ſhe periſhed. The cutters belonging to admiral Rodney's ſquadron ſcoured the coaſt towards Dieppe, where a conſiderable fiſhery was carried on, and where they took or deſtroyed near forty veſſels of conſiderable burthen. Though the Engliſh navy ſuffered nothing from the French during this period, it ſuſtained ſome damage from the weather. The Conqueror, a new ſhip of the line, was loſt in the channel, on the iſland of St. Nicholas, but the crew and cannon were ſaved. The Lyme, of 20 guns, foundered in the Cattegat, in Norway, and 50 of the men periſhed; and, in the Weſt-Indies, a tender belonging to the Dublin, commanded by commodore ſir James Douglas, was loſt in a gale of wind, with 100 choſen mariners.

Of the domeſtic tranſactions relating to the war, the moſt conſiderable was the equipment of a powerful armament deſtined for ſome ſecret expedition. A numerous body of forces was aſſembled, and a great number of tranſports collected at Portſmouth. Generals were nominated to the command of this enterprize. The troops were actually embarked with a great train of artillery; and the eyes of the whole nation were attentively fixed upon this armament, which could not have been prepared without incurring a prodigious expence. Notwithſtanding theſe preparations, the whole ſummer was ſpent in idleneſs and inaction; and in the latter end of the ſeaſon the undertaking was laid aſide. The people did not fail to clamour againſt the inactivity of the ſummer, and complain, that, notwithſtanding the immenſe ſubſidies granted for the proſecution of the war, no ſtroke of importance was ſtruc in Europe for the advantage of Great-Britain; but that her treaſure was laviſhed upon fruitleſs parade, or a German alliance, ſtill more pernicious. It muſt be owned, indeed, that no new attempt was made to annoy the enemy on Britiſh principles, for the ſurrender of Montreal was the natural conſequence of the ſteps which had been taken, and of the meaſures concerted in the courſe of the preceding year. It will be allowed, we apprehend, that the expence incurred by the armament at Portſmouth, and the body of troops there detained, would have been ſufficient, if properly applied, to reduce the iſland of Mauritius in the Indian ocean, Martinique in the Weſt-Indies, or Minorca in the Mediterranean, and all theſe three were objects of importance. In all probability, the deſign of the armament was either to intimidate the French into propoſals of peace, to make a diverſion from the Rhine, by alarming the coaſt of Bretagne, or to throw over a body of troops into Flanders, to effect a junction with the hereditary prince of Brunſwick, who, at the head of 20,000 men, had made an irruption as far as the Lower Rhine, and even croſſed that river; but he miſcarried in the execution of his deſign.

In the midſt of theſe alarms ſome regard was paid to the improvements of natural knowledge. The Royal Society having made application to the king, repreſenting that there would be a tranſit of Venus over the diſk of the ſun, on the 6th day of June, and that there was reaſon to hope the parallax of that planet might be more accurately determined, by making proper obſervations of this phænomenon at the the iſland of St. Helena, near the coaſt of Africa, and at Bencoolen, in the Eaſt-Indies, his majeſty granted a ſum of money to defray the expence of ſending able aſtronomers to thoſe two places, and ordered a ſhip of war to be equipped for their conveyance. Accordingly, mr. Nevil Maſkeylyne and mr. Robert Waddington were appointed to make obſervations at St. Helena; and mr. Charles Maſon and mr. Jeremiah Dixon undertook the voyage to Bencoolen, on the iſland of Sumatra[1].

Except the countries that were actually the ſcenes of war, no political revolution or diſturbance diſquieted the general tranquillity. Syria, indeed, felt all the horrors and wrec of a dreadful earthquake, protracted in repeated ſhocs, which began on the 30th day of October. in the neighbourhood of Tripoli. A great number of houſes were overthrown at Seyde, and many people buried under the ruins. It was felt through a ſpace of 10,000 ſquare leagues, comprehending the mountains of Libanus and Antilibanus, with an infinite number of villages, that were reduced to heaps of rubbiſh. At Acra, or Ptolemais, the ſea overflowed its banks, and poured into the ſtreets, though eight feet above the level of the water. The city of Saphet was entirely deſtroyed, and the greateſt part of its inhabitants periſhed. At Damaſcus all the minorets were overthrown, and 6000 people loſt their lives. The ſhocs diminiſhed gradually till the 25th of November, when they were renewed with redoubled havoc; the earth trembled with the moſt dreadful convulſions, and the greater part of Trivoli was deſtroyed. Balbeck was entirely ruined, and this was the fate of many other towns and caſtles; ſo that the people who eſcaped the ruins were obliged to ſojourn in the open fields, and all Syria was threatened with the vengeance of heaven. Such a dangerous ferment aroſe at Conſtantinople, that a revolution was apprehended. Muſtapha, the preſent emperor, had no ſons; but his brother Bajazet, whoſe life he had ſpared, contrary to the maxims of Turkiſh policy, produced a ſon by one of the women with whom he was indulged in his confinement; a circumſtance which arouſed the jealouſy of the emperor to ſuch a degree, that he reſolved to diſpatch his brother. The great officers of the Porte oppoſed this deſign, which was ſo diſagreeable to the people, that an inſurrection enſued. Several Turks and Armenians, taking it for granted that a revolution was at hand, bought up great quantities of grain; and a dreadful dearth was the conſequence of this monopoly. The ſultan aſſembled the troops, quieted the inſurgents, ordered the engroſſers of corn to be executed, and in a little time the repoſe of the city was re-eſtabliſhed.

Notwithſtanding the proſpect of a rupture in Italy, no new incident interrupted the tranquillity which the ſoutharn parts of Europe enjoyed. The king of Spain, howſoever ſollicited by the other branch of the houſe of Bourbon to engage in the war, as its ally, refuſed to interpoſe in any other way, than as a mediator between the courts of London and Verſailles. He ſent the conde de Fuentes, a nobleman of high rank and character, in quality of embaſſador extraordinary to the king of Great-Britain, in order to offer his good offices for effecting a peace: and the conde, after having conferred with the Engliſh miniſtry, made an excurſion to Paris; but his propoſal with reſpect to a ceſſation of hoſtilities, if in reality ſuch a propoſal was ever made, did not meet with a cordial reception. Other differences ſubſiſting between the crowns of Great-Britain and Spain he found no difficuly in compromiſing. His catholic majeſty perſiſted in the execution of a plan truly worthy of a patriot king. In the firſt place he ſpared no

[1] In the beginning of April, the king granted to his grandſon, prince Edward Auguſtus, and to the heirs male of his royal highneſs, the dignities of duke of the kingdom of Great-Britain, and of earl of the kingdom of Ireland, by the names, ſtiles, and titles of duke of York and Albany, and earl of Ulſter.

pains and application to make himſelf thoroughly acquainted with the ſtate of his kingdom. He remitted to his people all they owed the crown, amounting to threeſcore millions of reals; he demanded an exact account of his father's debts, that they might be diſcharged with the utmoſt punctuality: an order was ſent to the treaſury, that ten millions of reals ſhould be annually appropriated for this purpoſe, until the whole ſhould be liquidated; and, to the firſt year's payment, he added fifty millions, to be divided equally among the legal claimants. He took meaſures for the vigorous execution of the laws againſt offenders: encouraged induſtry; protected commerce; and felt the exquiſite pleaſure of being beloved as the father of his people. To give importance to his crown, and extend his influence among the powers of Europe, he equipped a powerful ſquadron of ſhips at Carthagena, and is ſaid to have declared his intention to employ them againſt Algiers, ſhould the dey refuſe to releaſe the ſlaves of the Spaniſh nation.

Portugal ſtill ſeemed agitated from the ſhoc of the late conſpiracy which was quelled in that kingdom. The pope's nuncio was not only forbid the court, but even ſent under a ſtrong guard to the frontiers: an indignity which induced the pontiff to order the Portugueſe miniſter at Rome to evacuate the eccleſiaſtical dominions. In the mean time, another embarkation of jeſuits was ſent from Liſbon to Civita Vecchia; yet the expulſion of theſe fathers did not reſtore the internal peace of Portugal, or put an end to the practice of plotting: for, even ſince their departure, ſome perſons of rank have been either committed to cloſe priſon, or exiled from the kingdom. The jeſuits were not more fortunate in America; for in the month of October, in the foregoing year, an obſtinate battle was fought between the united forces of Spain and Portugal, and the Indians of Paraguay, who were under the dominion of the jeſuits: victory at length declared in favour of the two crowns: ſo that the vanquiſhed were obliged to capitulate, and lay down their arms. As the court of Portugal had made remonſtrances to the Britiſh miniſtry againſt the proceedings of the Engliſh ſquadron under admiral Boſcawen, which had attacked and deſtroyed ſome French ſhips under the Portugueſe fort in the bay of Lagos, his Britannic majeſty thought proper to ſend the earl of Kinnoul, as embaſſador extraordinary to Liſbon, where that nobleman made ſuch excuſes for the inſult of the Engliſh admiral, as entirely removed all miſunderſtanding between the two crowns; and could not fail of being agreeable to the Portugueſe monarch, thus reſpected, ſoothed, and deprecated by a mighty nation, in the very zenith of power and proſperity. On the 6th of June, being the birth-day of the king of Portugal, the marriage of his brother, don Pedro, with the princeſs of Brazil, was celebrated in the chapel of the palace where the king reſides, to the univerſal joy of the people. The nuptials were announced to the public by diſcharge of the cannon, and celebrated with illuminations, and all kinds of rejoicing.

An accident which happened in the Mediterranean had like to have drawn the indignation of the Ottoman Porte on the knights of the order of Malta. A large Turkiſh ſhip of the line, mounted with 68 braſs cannon, having on board a complement of 700 men, beſides 70 chriſtian ſlaves, under the immediate command of the Turkiſh admiral, had, in company with two frigates, five gallies, and other ſmaller veſſels, ſailed in June from the Dardanelles, cruiſed along the coaſts of Smyrna, Scio, and Trio, and at length anchored in the channel of Stangie, where the admiral with 400 perſons went on ſhore, on the 19th day of September: the chiſtian ſlaves, ſeizing this opportunity, armed themſelves with knives, and fell upon the 300 that remained with ſuch fury and effect, that a great number of the Turks were inſtantly ſlain; many leaped overboard into the ſea, where they periſhed; and the the reſt ſued for mercy. The chriſtians, having thus ſecured poſſeſſion of the ſhip, hoiſted ſail, and bore away for Malta: which, though chaſed by the two frigates, and a Raguſan ſhip, they reached, by crowding all their canvas, and brought their prize ſafe into the harbour of Valette, amidſt the acclamations of the people. The order of Malta, as a recompence for this ſignal act of bravery and reſolution, aſſigned to the captors the whole property of the ſhip and ſlaves, together with all the effects on board, including a ſum of money, which the Turkiſh commander had collected by contribution, amounting to a million and a half of florins. The grand-ſignor was ſo enraged at this event, that he diſgraced his admiral, and threatened to take vengeance on the order of Malta, for having detained the ſhip, and countenanced the capture.

With reſpect to the diſputes which had ſo long embroiled the northern parts of Europe, the neutral powers ſeemed as averſe as ever to a participation. The king of Denmark continued to perfect thoſe plans which he had wiſely formed for increaſing the wealth, and promoting the happineſs of his ſubjects; nor did he neglect any opportunity of improving natural knowledge, for the benefit of mankind in general. He employed men of ability, at his own expence, to travel into foreign countries, and to collect the moſt curious productions, for the advancement of natural hiſtory: he encouraged the liberal and machanic arts at home, by munificent rewards, and peculiar protection: he invited above 1000 foreigners from Germany to become his ſubjects, and ſettle in certain diſtricts of Jutland, which had lain waſte above three centuries; and they forthwith began to build villages, and cultivate the lands in the dioceſes of Wibourg, Arhous, and Ripen. Their travelling expences from Altena to the new ſettlement were defrayed by the king, who, moreover maintained them until the produce of the lands could afford a comfortable ſubſiſtence. He likewiſe beſtowed upon each coloniſt a houſe, a barn, and a ſtable, with a certain number of horſes and cattle. Finally, this generous patriot having viſited theſe new ſubjects, who received him with unſpeakable emotions of joy and affection, he ordered a conſiderable ſum of money to be diſtributed among them, as an additional mark of his favour. Such conduct in a prince cannot fail to ſecure the warmeſt returns of loyalty and attachment in his people: and the execution of ſuch laudable ſchemes will endear his name to the contemplation of poſterity.

The Dutch, as uſual, perſevered in proſecuting every branch of commerce, without being diverted with leſs profitable ſchemes of ſtate policy by the inſinuations of France or the remonſtrances of Great-Britain. The violation of the peace by their ſubjects in Bengal was no ſooner known at the court of London, than orders were ſent to general Yorke, the Engliſh embaſſador at the Hague, to demand an explanation. He, accordingly, preſented a memorial to the ſtates-general, ſignifying that their high-mightineſſes muſt, doubtleſs, be greatly aſtoniſhed to hear, by public papers, of the irregularities committed by their ſubjects in the Eaſt-Indies; but that they would be much more amazed on peruſing the piece annexed to this memorial, containing a minute account, ſpecified with the ſtricteſt regard to truth, of the irregular conduct obſerved by the Dutch towards the Britiſh ſubjects in the river of Bengal, at a time when the factors and traders of Holland enjoyed all the ſweets of peace, and all the advantages of unmoleſted commerce; at a time when his Britannic majeſty, from his great regard to their high-mightineſſes, carefully avoided giving the leaſt umbrage to the ſubjects of the United Provinces. He obſerved, that the king his ſovereign was deeply affected by theſe outrageous doings and miſchievous deſigns of the Dutch in the Eaſt-Indies, whoſe aim was to deſtroy the Britiſh ſettlements in that country; an aim that would have been accompliſhed, had not the king's victorious arms brought them to reaſon, and obliged them to ſue for an accommodation. He told them his majeſty would willingly believe their high-mightineſſes had given no order for proceeding to ſuch extremities, and that the directors of their India company had no ſhare in the tranſaction: nevertheleſs, he (the embaſſador) was ordered to demand ſignal ſatisfaction, in the name of the king his maſter; that all who ſhould be found to have ſhared in the offence ſo manifeſtly tending to the deſtruction of the Engliſh ſettlements in that country ſhould be exemplary puniſhed; and that their high-mightineſſes ſhould confirm the ſtipulations agreed upon immediately after the action by the directors of the reſpective companies, in conſideration of which agreement the Dutch ſhips were reſtored, after their commanders acknowledged their fault, in owning themſelves the aggreſſors. To this remonſtrance the ſtates-general replied, that nothing of what was laid to the charge of their ſubjects had yet reached their knowledge; but they requeſted his Britannic majeſty to ſuſpend his judgement, until he ſhould be made perfectly acquainted with the grounds of thoſe diſputes; and they promiſed he ſhould have reaſon to be ſatisfied with the exemplary puniſhment that would be inflicted upon all who ſhould be found concerned in violating the peace between the two nations [m].

[m] In the month of March the ſtates of Holland and Weſt Frieſland having, after warm debates, agreed to the propoſed match between the princeſs Caroline, ſiſter to the prince of Orange, and the prince of Naſſau Weilbourg, the nuptials were ſolemnized at the Hague with great magnificence.

The war in Germany ſtill raged with unrelenting fury, and the mutual rancour of the contending parties ſeemed to derive freſh force from their mutual diſappointments; at leaſt, the houſe of Auſtria ſeemed ſtill implacable, and obſtinately bent upon terminating the war with the deſtruction of the Pruſſian monarch. Her allies, however, ſeemed leſs actuated by the ſpirit of revenge. The French king had ſuſtained ſo much damage and diſgrace in the courſe of the war, that his reſources failed, and his finances fell into diſorder; he could no longer afford the ſubſides he had promiſed to different powers; while his ſubjects clamoured aloud at the burthen of impoſitions, the ruin of trade and the repeated diſhonour entailed upon the arms of France. The czarina's zeal for the alliance was evidently cooled by the irregular and defective payments of the ſubſides ſhe had ſtipulated. Perhaps ſhe was diſappointed in her hope of conqueſt, and chagrined to ſee her armies retire from Germany at the approach of every winter; and the Britiſh miniſtry did not fail to exert all their influence to detach her from the confederacy in which ſhe had embarked. Sweden ſtill languiſhed in an ineffectual parade of hoſtilities againſt the houſe of Brandenbourgh; but the French intereſt began to loſe ground in the diet of that kingdom. The king of Pruſſia, howſoever exhauſted in the article of men, betrayed no ſymptom of apprehenſion, and made no advance towards a pacification with his adverſaries. He had employed the winter in recruiting his armies by every expedient his fertile genius could deviſe; in levying contributions to re-enforce the vaſt ſubſidy he received from England, in filling magazines, and making every preparation for a vigorous campaign. in Weſtphalia, the ſame foreſight and activity were exerted by prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, who in the beginning of ſummer found himſelf at the head of a very numerous army, paid by Great-Britain, and ſtrengthened by 22,000 national troops.

No alteration in the terms of this alliance was produced by the death of William Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, who breathed his laſt, in an advanced age, on the 28th day of January, at Rintelen upon the Weſer. He was ſucceeded in the landgraviate by his ſon Frederick, whoſe conſort, the princeſs Mary, daughter to the king of Great-Britain, now, in quality of governeſs of her children, aſſumed the regency and adminiſtration of the county of Hanau-Mutzenberg, by virtue of the ſettlement made in the life-time of her father-in-law, and confirmed by her huſband. She had for ſome years been ſeparated from him, and reſided with his father, at whoſe deceaſe ſhe retired, with her children, to the city of Zell. The preſent landgrave, who lived at Magdebourg, as vice-governor under the king of Pruſſia, no ſooner learned the news of his father's death, than he ſent an intimation of it to that prince and the king of Great-Britain, declaring at the ſame time, that he would ſcrupulouſly adhere to the engagements of his predeceſſor.

The advances towards a peace, which had been made in the preceding year by the kings of England and Pruſſia, in their declaration publiſhed at the Hague by prince Louis of Brunſwick, ſeemed to infuſe in neutral powers a good opinion of their moderation. We have already ſeen that the king of Spain offered his beſt offices in quality of mediator. When a congreſs was propoſed, the ſtates-general made an offer of Breda, as a place proper for the negotiation. The king of Great-Britain, by the mouth of his embaſſador, thanked their high-mightineſſes for the ſincere deſire they expreſſed to put an end to the ravages of war, which had extended deſolation over the face of Europe: he readily cloſed with their gracious offer, and in conſequence of his high regard and invariable friendſhip for their high-mightineſſes, wiſhed earneſtly that it might be acceptable to the other powers at war. The French king expreſſed his ſentiments nearly to the ſame purpoſe. His embaſſador declared, That his moſt chriſtian majeſty was highly ſenſible of the offer they had made of Breda for holding the congreſs; that, in order to give a freſh proof of his ſincere deſire to increaſe the good harmony that ſubſiſted between him and the ſtates-general, he accepted their offer with pleaſure; but as he could take no ſtep without the concurrence of his high allies, he was obliged to wait for their anſwer, which could not fail to be favourable, if nothing remained to be ſettled but the place for holding the congreſs. King Staniſlaus having written a letter to his Britannic majeſty, offered the city of Nancy for the ſame purpoſe, he received a civil anſwer, expreſſing the king of England's ſenſe of his obliging offer, which, however, he declined, as a place not conveniently ſituated for all the powers intereſted in the great work of pacification. Civilities of the ſame nature likewiſe paſſed between the ſovereign of Nancy and the king of Pruſſia. As the propoſals for an accommodation made by the king of England and his allies might have left an unfavourable impreſſion of their adverſaries had they been altogether declined, the court of Vienna was prevailed upon to concur with her allies in a declaration profeſſing their deſire of peace, which declaration was delivered on the 3d day of April, by the Auſtrian miniſter reſiding at the Hague, to his ſerene highneſs prince Louis of Brunſwick; and a paper of the ſame nature was alſo delivered to him ſeperately by the French and Ruſſian miniſters[n]. Theſe profeſſions, however, did not interrupt the operations of the campaign.

Though the French army under the mareſchal duke de Broglio remained in cantonement in the neighbourhood of Friedberg, and prince Ferdinand had retired from Corſdorff to Marpurg, where, in the beginning of January he eſtabliſhed his head-quarters, nevertheleſs, the winter was by no means inactive. As far bac as the 25th of December the duke de Broglio, having called in his detachments, attempted to ſurpriſe the allied army by a forced march to Klein-linnes; but finding them prepared to give him a warm reception, nothing but a cannonade enſued, and he retreated to his former quarters. On the 29th colonel Luckner, at the head of the Hanoverian hunters, fell in with a detachment of the enemy, conſiſting of 400 men, under the command of count Muret. Theſe he attacked with ſuch vigour, that the count was made priſoner, and all his party either killed or taken, except 22, who eſcaped. On the 3d day of January the marquis de Vogue attacked the town of Herborn, which he carried, and took a ſmall detachment of the allies, who were poſted there. At the ſame time the marquis Dauvet made himſelf maſter of Dillembourg, the garriſon of the allied troops being obliged to retire into the caſtle, where they were cloſely beſieged. Prince Ferdinand no ſooner underſtood their ſituation than he began his march with a ſtrong detachment for their relief, on the ſeventh day of the ſame month, when he attacked and totally defeated the beſiegers, took 700 priſoners, including 40 officers, with ſeven pair of colours, and two pieces of cannon. On that very day, the highlanders, under major Keith, ſupported by the huſſars of Luckner, who commander the whole detachment, attacked the village of Eybach, where Beaufremont's regiment of dragoons was poſted on the ſide of Dillembourg, and routed them with great ſlaughter. The greater part of the regiment was killed, and many priſoners were taken, together with 200 horſes, and all their baggage. The highlanders diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion by their intrepidity, which was the more remarkable, as they were no other than raw recruits, juſt arrived from their own country, and altogether unacquainted with diſcipline. On the

[n] A tranſlation of the declaration delivered by the Auſtrian miniſter reſiding at the Hague to his Serene Highneſs Prince Louis of Brunſwick, in anſwer to that which his Highneſs had delivered on the part of his Britannic majeſty and the King of Pruſſia, on the 25th of November 1759, to the miniſters of the belligerent powers:

THEIR Britannic and Pruſſian majeſties having thought proper to make known, by the declaration delivered, on their part, at the Hague, the 25th of November laſt paſt, to the embaſſadors and miniſters of the courts of Vienna, Peterſburgh, and Verſailles, reſiding there,

'That being ſincerely deſirous of contributing to the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity they were ready to ſend plenipotentiaries to the place that ſhall be judged the moſt convenient, in order to treat there of this important object with thoſe which the belligerent parties ſhall think proper to authoriſe on their ſide for attaining ſo ſalutary an end;'

Her majeſty the empreſs queen of Hungary and Bohemia, her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, and his majeſty the moſt chriſtian king; equally animated by the deſire of contributing to the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity, on a ſolid and equitable footing, declare in return,

'That his majeſty the catholic king, having been pleaſed to offer his mediation in the war which has ſubſiſted for ſome years between France and England; and this war having, beſides, nothing in common with that which the two empreſſes with their allies having likewiſe carried on for ſome years againſt the king of Pruſſia,

'His moſt chriſtian majeſty is ready to treat of his particular peace with England, through the good offices of his catholic majeſty, whoſe mediation he has a pleaſure in accepting.

'As the war which regards directly his Pruſſian majeſty, their majeſties, the empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, and the moſt chriſtian king, are diſpoſed to agree to the appointing the congreſs propoſed. But as, by virtue of their treaties, they cannot enter into any engagement relating to peace, but in conjunction with their allies, it will be neceſſary, in order that they may be enabled to explain themſelves definitively upon that ſubject, that their Britannic and Pruſſian majeſties ſhould previouſly be pleaſed to cauſe their invitation to a congreſs to be made to all the powers that are directly engaged in war againſt the king of Pruſſia; and namely, to his majeſty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, as likewiſe to his majeſty the king of Sweden, who ought ſpecifically to be invited to the future congreſs.'

the 8th day of January M. de St. Germain advanced on the left of the allies, with the grenadiers of the French army, ſupported by eight battalions, and a body of dragoons; but he was encountered by the duke of Holſtein, at the head of a ſtrong detachment, in the neighbourhood of Erſdorff, who, by dint of a furious cannonade obliged him to retreat with precipitation. After this attempt the French parties diſappeared, and their army retired into winter-quarters, in and about Frankfort on the Maine; while prince Ferdinand quartered the allies at Caſſel, Paderborn, Munſter, and Oſnabruck, this laſt place being allotted to the Britiſh troops, as being the neareſt to Embden, where the reenforcements from Britain were to be landed. In the beginning of Frebruary, the prince of Brunſwick, with the detachment of the allied army under his command, began his march from Chemnitz, in Saxony, for Weſtphalia, where he ſafely arrived, after having aſſiſted at a long conference in Hamelen, with his father the reigning duke, his uncle prince Ferdinand, and ſome principal members of the regency of Hanover.

The French general continued to ſend detachments to beat up the quarters of the allies, and lay their towns under contribution. In the beginning of March, the marquis de Blaiſel marched at the head of 2400 men from Gieſſen, where he commanded, to Marpurg, forced the gates of the town, and compelled the garriſon of the allies to take ſhelter in the caſtle. As he could not pretend to undertake the ſiege of the fortreſs, by the fire of which he was exceedingly galled, he demanded of the town a contribution of 100,000 florins, and carried ſome of the magiſtrates along with him, as hoſtages for the payment of this impoſition. He afterwards appeared at Hombourg, Alsfeldt, and Hartzbeg, the frontier poſts of the allies, but did not think proper to attac either, becauſe he perceived that meaſures were taken for his reception. The French, with all their boaſted politeneſs and humanity, are ſometimes found as brutal and rapacious as the moſt barbarous enemy. On pretence of taking umbrage at the town of Hanau-Muntzenberg, for having without their permiſſion, acknowledged the regency of the landgraviate of Heſſe-Caſſel, they, in the month of February, ordered the magiſtrates of that place to pay, within the term of 24 hours the ſum of 750,000 livres, on pain of being ſubjected to plunder. This order was ſignified by the prince de Robecq; to whom the magiſtrates repreſented the impoſſibility of raiſing ſuch a ſum, as the country was totally exhauſted, and their credit abſolutely deſtroyed, in conſequence of their inability to pay the intereſt of the capitals negotiated in the courſe of the preceding year. He ſtill inſiſting upon their finding the money before night, they offered to pay 80,000 florins, which they raiſed with the utmoſt difficulty, and begged the payment of the reſt might be poſtponed for a few weeks; but the requeſt was rejected with diſdain. The garriſon was re-enforced by two battalions, and four ſquadrons diſperſed in the principal ſquares and markets of the city, and the gates were ſhut. They even planted cannon in the ſtreets, and tarred matches were fixed to many houſes, in order to intimidate the inhabitants. Theſe expedients proving ineffectual, detachments of the grenadiers entered the houſes of the principal magiſtrates and merchants, from whence they removed all their beſt effects to the town-hall, where they were kept in depoſit, until they were redeemed with all the money that could poſſibly be raiſed. This exaction, ſo little to the honour of a civilized nation, the French miniſter declared to the diet at Ratiſbon was agreeable to the inſtructions of his moſt chriſtian majeſty.

By way of retaliation for the cruelty practiſed at Hanau, a detachment of the allied army under general Luckner was ſent to raiſe contributions in Fulda, and actually carried off hoſtages from that city; but retired before a ſtrong body of the enemy, who took poſſeſſion of the place. From hence the French marched, in their turn, to plunder the towns of Hirchfeldt and Vacha. Accordingly, they appeared at Vacha, ſituated on the frontiers of Heſſe, and formed the head of the chain of cantonments which the allies had on the Werra. This place was attacked with ſuch vigour, that colonel Freytag, who commanded the poſt, was obliged to abandon the town; but he maintained himſelf on a riſing ground in the neighbourhood, where he amuſed the enemy until two battalions of grenadiers came to his aſſiſtance. Thus re-enforced, he purſued the French for three leagues, and drove them with conſiderable loſs from Gieſſa, where they had reſolved to fix their quarters. Theſe ſkirmiſhes happened in the beginning of May, when the grand armies were juſt in motion to begin the campaign.

By this time the forces under the mareſchal duke de Broglio were augmented to 100,000; while the count de St. Germain commanded a ſeparate army on the Rhine, conſiſting of 30,000 men, aſſembled from the quarters of Duſſeldorp, Cologn, Cleves, and Weſel. The ſecond corps was intended to divide the allied army, which, by ſuch a diviſion, would be conſiderably weakened; and the French court threatened to form a third army, under the prince de Soubiſe; but this did not appear. The duke de Broglio was in ſuch high favour with the French miniſtry at this juncture, that he was promoted over the heads of many old generals, who now demanded and obtained their diſmiſſion; and every ſtep was taken to render the campaign glorious to this admired commander: but, notwithſtanding all their care, and his own exertion, he found it impoſſible to take the field early in the ſeaſon, from want of forage for his cavalry. While his quarters were eſtabliſhed at Franckfort, his troops were plentifully ſupplied with all ſorts of proviſion from the Upper Rhine, but this convenience depended upon his being maſter of the courſe of the river: but he could not move from this poſition without forfeiting the advantage, and providing magazines for the uſe of his forces, ſo that he was obliged to lie inactive until he could have the benefit of green forage in his march. The ſame inconveniencies operated more powerfully on the ſide of prince Ferdinand, who, being in an exhauſted country, was obliged to fall bac as far as Paderborn, and draw his ſupplies from Hamburgh and Bremen on the Elbe and the Weſer. By this time, however, he had received a re-enforcement of Britiſh troops from Embden, under the direction of major-general Griffin; and before the end of the campaign the forces of that nation in Germany were augmented to 25,000; a greater number than had ſerved at one time upon the continent for two centuries. The allied army marched from their cantonments on the 5th day of May, and proceeded by the way of Paderborn to Fritzlar, where, on the 20th, they encamped: but part of the troops left in the biſhopric of Munſter, under general Sporcken, were ordered to form a camp at Dulmen, to make head againſt the French corps commanded by the count de St. Germain.

General Imhoff was ſent with a detachment to Kirchavn on the Orme; and general Gilſoe, with another corps, advanced to the neighbourhood of Hirchfeldt, on the Fulda. The former of theſe having ordered colonel Luckner to ſcour the country with a body of Huſſars, that officer, on the 24th of May, fell in with a French patrole, which gave the alarm at Butzbach, when the garriſon of that place, amounting to 500 piquets, under general Waldenar, fled with great precipitation. Being, however, purſued, and overtaken near a wood, they were routed and diſperſed. Colonel Luckner, entering Butzbach, found a conſiderable quantity of forage, flour, wine, and equipage, belonging to the fugitives. What he could not carry off he diſtributed among the poor inhabitants, and returned to general Imhoff's camp at Ameneburg, with about 100 priſoners. This excurſion alarmed the enemy to ſuch a degree, that their whole army was put in motion; and the duke de Broglio, in perſon, advanced with a large body of troops as far as Friedberg: but underſtanding the allies had not quitted their camp at Fritzlar, he returned to Franckfort, after having cantoned that part of his army in the Wetteraw. This alarm was not ſo mortifying as the ſeceſſion of the Wirtemberg troops, amounting to 10,000 men, commanded by their duke in perſon, who left the French army in diſguſt, and returned to his own country. The imperial army, under the prince de Deuxponts, quartered at Bamberg, began their march to Naumberg on the 20th of May; but one of their detachments of cavalry having received a chec from a body of Pruſſians near Lutzen, they fell bac; and on the 4th day of June encamped at Lichtenfels, upon the Maine. The ſmall detachments of the grand armies, as well as thoſe belonging to the bodies, commanded by general Sporcken and the count de St. Germain, in the neighbourhood of Duſſeldorp, ſkirmiſhed with various ſucceſs. The hereditary prince of Brunſwick being detached from the allied army, with ſome battalions of grenadiers, and two regiments of Engliſh dragoons, advanced to the country of Fulda, where he was joined by the troops under general Gilſoe, and achieved ſome inconſiderable exploits, particularly at Hoſenfeldt and Zielbach, where he ſurpriſed and took divers parties of the enemy.

By the 24th of June, prince Ferdinand, quitting his ſitua-

tion at Fritzlar, marched to Frillendorf, and encamped on the hills between Ziengenheim and Freyſa, general Imhoff commanding at a ſmall diſtance on the right, and the hereditary prince, now returned from Fulda, being poſted on the left of the army. In the mean time, the duke de Broglio, aſſembling his forces between Merlau and Laubach, advanced to Neuſtadt, where he encamped on the 28th day of the month, and at the ſame time occupied a ſtrong poſt at Waſſemburg. His intention was to penetrate through the country of Heſſe into Hanover, and make himſelf entirely maſter of that electorate. With this view he reſolved to effect a junction with the count de St. Germain, whom he directed to advance towards Brilau and Corbach; while he himſelf, decamping from Neuſtadt on the 8th day of July, advanced by the way of Frankenberg. Prince Ferdinand, having received intelligence that the count de St. Germain was in motion, began his march from Ziegenheim, and on the 9th day of July reached the heights of Brunau, in the neighbourhood of Wildungen.

The hereditary prince, at the head of the advanced corps, re-enforced with ſome battalions and ſquadrons under major-general Griffin, was ſent forwards to Saxenhauſen, whither the army followed the next morning. The hereditary prince, continuing to advance, found the enemy already formed at Corbach; but judging their whole force did not exceed 10,000 infantry and 17 ſquadrons, and being impelled by the impetuoſity of his own courage, he reſolved to give them battle. He accordingly attacked them about two in the afternoon, and the action became very warm and obſtinate; but the enemy being continually re-enforced with freſh battalions, and having the advantage of a numerous artillery, all the prince's efforts were ineffectual. Prince Ferdinand, being at too great a diſtance to ſuſtain him, ſent him an order to rejoin the army, which was by this time formed at Saxenhauſen. He forthwith made diſpoſitions for a retreat, which however was attended with great confuſion. The enemy, obſerving the diſorder of the allied troops, plied their artillery with redoubled diligence, while a powerful body of their cavalry charged with great vivacity. In all likelihood the whole infantry of the allies would have been cut off, had not the hereditary prince made a diverſion in their favour, by charging in perſon at the head of the Britiſh dragoons, who acted with their uſual gallantry and effect. This reſpite enabled the infantry to accompliſh their retreat to Saxenhauſen; but they loſt above 500 men, and 15 pieces of cannon. General count Kielmanſegge, major-general Griffin, and major Hill, of Bland's dragoons, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their conduct and intrepidity on this occaſion. The hereditary prince expoſed his life in the hotteſt part of the action, and received a ſlight wound in the ſhoulder, which gave him far leſs diſturbance than he felt from the chagrin and mortification produced by his defeat.

Many days, however, did not paſs, before he found an opportunity of retaliating this diſgrace. Prince Ferdinand, receiving advice that a body of the enemy, commanded by major-general Glaubitz, had advanced on the left of the allies to Ziegenheim, detached the hereditary prince to oppoſe them, at the head of ſix battalions of Hanoverians and Heſſians, with Elliot's regiment of Engliſh light-horſe, Luckner's huſſars, and two brigades of chaſſeurs; on the 16th day of the month, he engaged the enemy near the village of Exdorff, and a very warm action enſued, in which Elliot's regiment ſignalized themſelves remarkably by repeated charges[o]. At length victory declared for the allies. Five battalions of the enemy, including the commander in chief, and the prince of Anhalt Cothen, were taken, with ſix pieces of cannon, all their arms, baggage, and artillery. During theſe tranſactions, the mareſchal duke de Broglio remained encamped on the heights of Corbach. He had, in advancing from Franckfort, left detachments to reduce the caſtles of Marpourg and Dillembourg, which were occupied by the allies, and they fell into his hands, the garriſons of both being obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. Theſe were but inconſiderable conqueſts; nor did the progreſs of the French general equal the idea which had been formed of his talents and activity. The count de St. Germain, who was his ſenior officer, and believed by many to be at leaſt his equal in capacity, having now joined his corps to the grand army, and conceiving diſguſt at his being obliged to ſerve under the duke de Broglio, relinquiſhed his command, in which he was ſucceeded by the chevalier de Muy. At the ſame time, the marquis de Voyer, and the count de Luc, two generals of experience and reputation, quitted the army, and returned to France, actuated by the ſame motives.

The allied army having moved their camp, from Saxenhauſen to the village of Kalle, near Caſſel, remained in that ſituation till the 30th day of July, when the troops were again put in motion. The chevalier de Muy, having paſſed the Dymel at Stradtbergen, with the reſerve of the French army, amounting to 35,000 men, and extending this body down the banks of the river, in order to cut off the communication of the allies with Weſtphalia; while the duke de Broglio marched up with his main wing to their camp at Kalle, and prince Xavier of Saxony, who commanded their reſerve on the left, advanced towards Caſſel; prince Ferdinand, leaving general Kielmanſegge with a body of troops for the defence of this city, decamped in the night of the 30th, and paſſed the Dymel without loſs, between Gibenau and Dringleberg. The hereditary prince, who had the preceding day paſſed the ſame river, in order to re-enforce general Sporcken, who was poſted near Corbeke, now reconnoitred the poſition of the enemy, and found them poſſeſſed of a very advantageous camp between Warbourg and Ochſendorff. Prince Ferdinand having reſolved to attac them, ordered the hereditary prince and general Sporcken to turn their left, while he himſelf advanced againſt their front, with the main body of the army. The enemy was accordingly attacked, almoſt at the ſame inſtant, both in flank and in rear, with equal impetuoſity and ſucceſs. As the infantry of the allied army could not march faſt enough to charge at the ſame time, the marquis of Granby was ordered to advance with the cavalry of the right; and the brigade of Engliſh artillery, commanded by captain Phillips, made ſuch expedition, that they were up in time to ſecond the attac in a moſt ſurpriſing manner. The French cavalry, though very numerous, retreated at the approach of the marquis, except three ſquadrons, who ſtood the charge, and were immediately broken. Then the Engliſh horſe fell upon the enemy's infantry, which ſuffered greatly, while the town of Warbourg was aſſaulted by the Britannic legion. The French, finding themſelves hard preſſed on both flanks, as well as in front and rear, retired precipitately, with conſiderable damage, occaſioned chiefly by the Britiſh cannon and dragoons, and many were drowned in attempting to ford the Dymel. The battalion of Maxwell, and a brigade under colonel Beckwith, compoſed of grenadiers and highlanders, diſtinguiſhed themſelves remarkably on this occaſion. The enemy left about 1500 men, killed or wounded, on the field of battle; with ſome colours, and ten pieces of cannon; and about the ſame number were made priſoners. Monſieur de Muy lay all night under arms, on the heights of Volk-Miſſen, from whence he next day retired towards Wolfshagen. On the evening of the battle the marquis of Granby received orders to paſs the river in purſuit of them, with twelve Britiſh battalions, and ten ſquadrons, and encamped at Wilda, about four miles from Warbourg, the heights of which were poſſeſſed by the enemy's grand army[p]. By this ſucceſs, prince

[o] Though this was the firſt time that Elliot's regiment appeared in the field, it performed wonders. They charged five different times, and broke through the enemy at every charge: but theſe exploits they did not achieve without ſuſtaining a heavy loſs in officers, men, and horſes.

[p] Copy of a letter from the Marquis of Granby, to the earl of Hoderneſſe.

My Lord,

IT is with the greateſt ſatisfaction that I have the honour of acquainting your lordſhip of the ſucceſs of the hereditary prince yeſterday morning.

General Sporcken's corps marched from the camp at Kalle to Liebenau, about four in the afternoon of the 29th; the hereditary prince followed the ſame evening, with a body of troops, among which were the two Engliſh battalions of grenadiers, the two of highlanders, and four ſquadrons of dragoons, Cope's and Conway's.

The army was under arms all day on the 30th, and, about 11 at night, marched off in ſix columns to Libenau. About five the next morning, the whole army aſſembled, and formed on the heights near Corbeke. The hereditary prince was, at this time, marching in two columns, in order to turn the enemy's left flank; which he did by marching to Donhelbourg, leaving Klein-Eder on his left, and forming in two lines, with his left towards Doſſel, and his right near Grimbeck, oppoſite to the left flank of the enemy, whoſe poſition was with the left to the high hill near Offendorff, and their right to Warbourg, into which place they had flung Fiſcher's corps. The hereditary prince immediately attacked the enemy's flank, and after a very ſharp diſpute, obliged them to give way, and, by a continual fire, kept forcing them to fall bac upon Warbourg. The army was, at this time, marching with the greateſt diligence to attac the enemy in front; but the infantry could not get up in time; general Waldegrave, at the head of the Britiſh, preſſed their march as much as poſſible: no troops could ſhow more eagerneſs to get up than they ſhowed. Many of the men, from the heat of the weather, and over-ſtraining themſelves to get on through moraſſy and very difficult ground, ſuddenly dropped down on their march.

General Moſtyn, who was at the head of the Britiſh cavalry that was formed on the right of our infantry on the other ſide of a large wood, upon receiving the duke's orders to come up with the cavalry as faſt as poſſible, made ſo much expedition, bringing them up at a full trot, though the diſtance was near five miles, that the Britiſh cavalry had the happineſs to arrive in time to ſhare the glory of the day, having ſucceſsfully charged ſeveral times both the enemy's cavalry and infantry.

Ferdinand was enabled to maintain his communication with Weſtphalia, and keep the enemy at a diſtance from the heart of Hanover; but to theſe objects he ſacrificed the country of Caſſel: for prince Xavier of Saxony, at the head of a detached body, much more numerous than that which was left under general Kielmanſegge, advanced towards Caſſel, and made himſelf maſter of that city; then he reduced Munden, Gottingen, and Eimbeck, in the electorate of Hanover. All that prince Ferdinand could do, conſidering how much he was out-numbered by the French, was to ſecure poſts and paſſes, with a view to retard their progreſs, and employ detachments to harraſs and ſurpriſe their advanced parties. In a few days after the action at Warbourg, general Luckner repulſed a French detachment, which had advanced as far as Eimbeck, and ſurpriſed another at Nordheim. At the ſame period, colonel Donap, with a body of the allied army, attacked a French, corps of 2000 men, poſted in the wood of Sababourg, to preſerve the communication between their grand army and their troops on the other ſide of the Weſer; and, notwithſtanding the ſtrength of their ſituation, drove them from their poſt, with the loſs of 500 men, either killed or made priſoners; but this advantage was overbalanced by the reduction of Ziegenheim, garriſoned by 700 men of the allied army, who, after a vigorous reſiſtance, were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war.

On the 5th day of Auguſt, prince Ferdinad being encamped at Buhne, received intelligence that a conſiderable body of the enemy, amounting to upwards of 20,000 men, were in motion to make a general forage in the neighbourhood of Geiſmar. He paſſed the Dymel early in the morning, with a body of troops, and ſome artillery, and poſted them in ſuch a manner, as to render the enemy's attempt totally ineffectual, although the foragers were covered with great part of their army. On the ſame morning the hereditary prince ſet out on an expedition to beat up the quarters of a French detachment. Being informed that the volunteers of Clermont and Dauphiné, to the number of 1000 horſe and foot, were cantoned at Zierenberg, at a ſmall diſtance from the French camp at Dieremberg, and paſſed their time in the moſt careleſs ſecurity, he advanced towards them from his camp at Warbourg, within a league of their cantonment, without ſeeing any of their poſts, or meeting with any of their patroles; a circumſtance that encouraged him to beat up their quarters by ſurpriſe: for this ſervice he pitched upon five battalions, with a detachment of highlanders, and eight regiments of dragoons. Leaving their tents ſtanding, they began their march at eight in the evening, and paſſed the Dymel near Warbourg. About a league on the other ſide of the Dymel, at the village of Witzen, they were joined by the light troops under major Bulow; and now the diſpoſition was made, both for entering the town, and ſecuring a retreat, in caſe of being repulſed. When they were within two miles of Zierenberg, and in ſight of the fires of the enemy's grand guard, the grenadiers of Maxwell, the regiment of Kingſley, and the highlanders, advanced by three ſeparate roads, and marched in profound ſilence: at length the noiſe of their feet alarmed the French, who began to fire; then the grenadiers proceeded at a round pace with unloaded firelocks, puſhed the piquets, ſlew the guard at the gate, and ruſhing into the town, drove every thing before them with incredible impetuoſity. The attac was ſo ſudden, and the ſurpriſe ſo great, that the French had not time to aſſemble in any conſiderable number; but they began to fire from the windows, and in ſo doing, exaſperated the allied troops, who, burſting into the houſes, ſlaughtered them without mercy. Having remained in the place from two till three in the morning, they retreated with about 400 priſoners, including 40 officers; and brought off two pieces of artillery. This nocturnal adventure, in which the Britiſh troops diſplayed equal courage and activity, was achieved with very little loſs; but, after all, it deſerves no other appellation than that of a partizan exploit, for it was attended with no ſort of advantage to the allied army.

Conſidering the ſuperiority of the French army, we cannot account for the little progreſs made by the duke de Broglio, who, according to our conception, might either have given battle to the allies with the utmoſt probability of ſucceſs; or penetrated into the heart of Hanover, the conqueſt of which ſeemed to be the principal object of the French miniſtry. Inſtead of ſtriking an important ſtroke, he retired from Immenhauſen towards Caſſel, where he fortified his camp as if he had thought himſelf in danger of being attacked; and the war was carried on by ſmall detachments. Major Bulow, being ſent with a ſtrong party from the camp of the allied army at Buline, ſurpriſed the town of Marpug, deſtroyed the French ovens, and brought off a conſiderable quantity of ſtores and baggage, with ſome priſoners. He met with the ſame ſucceſs at Butzbach, where he ſurpriſed and took two companies belonging to the regiment of Raugrave, and retired with his body to Franckenberg, where he joined colonel Forſen. On the 12th day of September they made a movement towards Franckenau; and M. de Stainville, who was poſted with a body of French troops at Mardenhagen, advanced to chec their progreſs. He came up with their rear in the neighbourhood of Munden, and attacked them in paſſing the river Orck with ſuch vigour, that Forſen, with ſome of his cavalry, was taken, and Bulow obliged to abandon ſome pieces of cannon. The action was juſt determined, when this laſt was re-enforced by the hereditary prince of Brunſwick, who had made a forced march of five German miles, which had fatigued the troops to ſuch a degree, that he deferred his attac till next morning; but in the mean time, mr. de Stainville retired towards Franckenberg. The Hanoverian general Wangenheim, at the head of four battalions and ſix ſquadrons, had driven the enemy from the defile of Soheite, and encamped at Lawenthagen; but being attacked by a ſuperior number, he was obliged, in his turn, to give way, and his retreat was not effected without the loſs of 200 men, and ſome pieces of artillery. When the enemy retired, general Wangenheim repaſſed the Weſer, and occupied his former ſituation at Uffar. Mean while, general Luckner gained an advantage over a detachment of French cavalry near Norten. Prince Ferdinand, when mareſchal Broglio quitted his camp at Immenhauſen, made a motion of his troops, and eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at Geiſmar-wells, the reſidence of the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel; from thence, however, he tranſferred them, about the latter end of September, to Ovilgune, on the Weſtphalia ſide of the Dymel.

Such was the poſition of the two oppoſite grand armies, when the world was ſurpriſed by an expedition to the Lower Rhine, made by the Hereditary Prince of Brunſwick. Whether this excurſion was intended to hinder the French from re-enforcing their army in Weſtphalia, or to co-operate in the Low Countries with the armament now ready equipped in the ports of England; or to gratify the ambition of a young prince, overboiling with courage, and glowing with the deſire of conqueſt, we cannot explain to the ſatisfaction of the reader: certain it is, the Auſtrian Netherlands were, at this juncture, entirely deſtitute of troops, except the French garriſons of Oſtend and Nieuport, which were weak and inconſiderable. Had 10,000 Engliſh troops been landed on the coaſt of Blankenburg, they might have taken poſſeſſion of Bruges, Ghent, Bruſſels, and Antwerp, without reſiſtance, and joned the hereditary prince in the heart of the country: in that caſe he would have found himſelf at the head of 30,000 men, and might have made ſuch a diverſion in favour of Hanover, as to transfer the ſeat of war from Weſtphalia into Flanders. The empreſs-queen might, indeed, have complained of this invaſion, as the formality of declaring war againſt her had not been obſerved by Great-Britain; but, conſidering that ſhe was the declared enemy of Hanover, and had violated the barrier treaty, in eſtabliſhing which the kingdom of Great-Britain had laviſhed away ſo much blood and treaſure, a ſtep of this kind, we apprehend, might have been taken, without any imputation of perfidy or injuſtice. Whatever the motives of the prince's expedition might have been, he certainly quitted the grand army of the

I ſhould do injuſtice to the general officers, to every officer and private man of the cavaly, if I did not beg your lordſhip would aſſure his majeſty, that nothing could exceed their gallant behaviour on that occaſion.

Captain Phillips made ſo much expedition with his cannon, as to have an opportunity, by a ſevere cannonade, to oblige thoſe who had paſſed the Dymel, and were formed on the other ſide, to retire with the utmoſt precipitation.

I received his ſerene highneſs's orders yeſterday, in the evening, to paſs the river after them, with the 12 Britiſh battalions, and 10 ſquadrons, and am now encamped upon the heights of Wilda, about four miles from Warbourg, on the heights of which their grand army is encamped.

M. de Muy is now retiring from the heights of Volk-Miſſen, where he lay under arms laſt night, towards Wolfenhagen. I cannot give your lordſhip an account of the loſs on either ſide. Captain Faucitt, whom I ſend off with this, ſhall get all the intelligence he can upon this head, before he ſets off.

I am, &c,

GRANBY.

Saturday morning, ſix o'clock.

P. S.——As I had not an opportunity of ſending off captain Faucitt ſo ſoon as I intended, I opened my letter, to acquaint your lordſhip that I have juſt joined the grand army with my detachment.

allies in the month of September, and traverſing Weſtphalia, with 20 battalions, and as many ſquadrons, appeared on the Lower Rhine, marching by Schermbeck and Duſſeldorp. On the 29th day of the month, he ſent a large detachment over the river at Rocroot, which ſurpriſed part of the French partiſan Fiſcher's corps at Rhynberg, and ſcoured the country. Next day, other parties, croſſing at Rees and Emmerick, took poſſeſſion of ſome redoubts which the French had raiſed along the bank of the river; and here they found a number of boats, ſufficicient to tranſport the reſt of the forces. Then the prince advanced to Cleves, and at his approach the French garriſon, conſiſting of 500 men under the command of M. de Barral, retired into the caſtle, which, however, they did not long defend; for on the 3d day of October they capitulated, and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, after having in vain endeavoured to obtain more favourable conditions.

A more important object was Weſel, which the prince inveſted, and began to beſiege in form. The approaches were made on the right of the Rhine, while the prince in perſon remained on the left, to cover the ſiege; and kept his communication open with the other ſide, by a bridge above, and another below the place. He had hoped to carry it by a vigorous exertion, without the formality of a regular ſiege, but he met with a warmer reception than he expected; and his operations were retarded by heavy rains, which, by ſwelling the river, endangered his bridges and laid his trenches under water. The difficulties and delays occaſioned by this circumſtance entirely fruſtrated his deſign. The French, being made acquainted with his motions, were not ſlow in taking meaſures to anticipiate his ſucceſs. M. de Caſtries was detached after him with 30 battalions, and 38 ſquadrons; and, by forced marches, arrived on the 14th day of October, at Rhynberg, where the prince's light troops were poſted. Theſe he attacked immediately, and compelled to abandon the poſt, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the prince, who commanded in perſon, and appeared in the warmeſt parts of this ſhort, but ſanguinary affair. The enemy having five battalions, with ſome ſquadrons, at Rhynberg, marched by the left, and encamped behind the convent of Campen. The prince having received intimation that M. de Caſtries was not yet joined by ſome re-enforcements that were on the march, determined to be beforehand with them, and attempt that very night to ſurpriſe him in his camp. For this purpoſe he began his march at ten in the evening, after having left four battalions, and five ſquadrons, under general Bock, with inſtructions to obſerve Rhynberg, and attac that poſt, in caſe the attem t on Campen ſhould ſucceed. Before the allied forces ſhould reach the enemy's camp, they were under the .neceſſity of overpowering Fiſcher's corps of irregulars, which occupied the convent of Campen, at the diſtance of half a league in their front. This ſervice occaſioned ſome firing, the noiſe of which alarmed the French army. The commander formed them with great expedition, and poſted them in a wood, where they were immediately attacked, and at firſt obliged to give ground; but they ſoon retrieved all they had loſt, and ſuſtained without flinching an unceaſing fire of muſquetry, from five in the morning till nine at night, when they reaped the fruits of their perſeverance. The hereditary prince, whoſe horſe was killed under him, ſeeing no proſpect of ſucceſs in prolonging an action which had already coſt him a conſiderable number of men, thought proper to give orders for a retreat, which was not effected without confuſion, and left the field of battle to the enemy. His loſs, on this occaſion, did not fall ſhort of 16,000 choice men, killed, wounded, and taken; and this loſs fell chiefly on the troops of Great-Britain, who were almoſt found in the foremoſt ranks of danger. All the officers, both of infantry and dragoons, diſtinguiſhed themſelves remarkably, and many were dangerouſly wounded. Among theſe, the nation regretted the loſs of lord Downe, whoſe wounds proved mortal: he was a young nobleman of ſpirit, who had lately embraced a military life, though he was not regularly trained in the ſervice.

Next day, which was the 16th of October, the enemy attacked an advanced body of the allies, which was poſted in a wood before Elverick, and extended along the Rhine. The firing of cannon and muſquetry was maintained till night. Mean while, a column of the French infantry, commanded by M. de Cabot, marched through Walach, and took poſt among the thickets, at the diſtance of a quarter of a league, in the front of the prince's army. By this time the Rhine was ſo much ſwelled by the rains, and the banks of it were overflowed in ſuch a manner, that it was neceſſary to repair and move lower down the bridge which had been thrown over that river. This work was accordingly performed in the preſence of the enemy, and the prince, paſſing without moleſtation, proceeded to Bruynen, where he fixed his head-quarters. His paſſing the Rhine ſo eaſily, under the eye of a victorious army, ſo much ſuperior to him in number, may be accounted among the fortunate incidents of his life. Such was the iſſue of an expedition, which expoſed the projector of it to the imputation of temerity. Whatever his aim might have been, beſides the reduction of Weſel, with the ſtrength of which he did not ſeem to have been very well acquainted, he certainly miſcarried in his deſign, and his miſcarriage was attended with a very conſiderable loſs of troops, occaſioned not only by the action, but alſo by the diſeaſes engendered from the wet weather, the fatigue of long marches, and the want of proper conveniences, not to mention the enormous expence in contingencies, incurred by this fruitleſs undertaking.

In the month of November, while he lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Schermback, a body of the enemy attempted to beat up his quarters: having received intimation of their deſign, he immediately called in his advanced poſts, and made a diſpoſition for giving them a proper reception. He abandoned the tents that were in the front of his camp, and poſted his infantry in ambuſcade behind thoſe that were in the rear: at the ſame time he ordered ſome regiments of horſe and huſſars to fetch a compaſs, and fall upon the bac of the enemy. This ſtratagem ſucceeded to his wiſh. The French detachment, believing the allies had actually abandoned their camp, began to pillage the tents in the utmoſt diſorder: then the infantry ſallied from the place where they were concealed, and fell upon them with great impetuoſity: the artillery opened, and the cavalry charged them in flank. In a word, of 1200 who marched from Weſel on this expedition, ſcarce 200 eſcaped.

The duke de Broglio endeavoured, by ſundry means, to take advantage of the allied army on the other ſide of the Weſer, thus weakened by the abſence of the troops under the hereditary prince; but he found prince Ferdinand too vigilant to be ſurpriſed, and too ſtrongly ſituated to be attacked with any proſpect of ſucceſs. He, therefore, contented himſelf with ravaging the country by detachments: he ſent M. de Stainville, with a conſiderable body of forces, to penetrate into the heart of Hanover; and on the 15th day of September, that officer falling in with a detachment of the allies, commanded by major Bulow, attaced them near the abbey of Schaken. After a warm and obſtinate engagement, they were defeated, and driven to Bulemont, with the loſs of their cannon, baggage, and a good number of men, who fell into the hands of the victors. After this exploit, M. de Stainville advanced to Halberſtadt, and demanded of that capital a contribution of 1,500,000 livres: but the citizens had been ſo drained by former exactions, that they could not raiſe above 30,000: for the remainder, the French partizen took hoſtages, with whom he returned to the grand army encamped at Caſſel, from whence they, in a little time, fell bac as far as Gottengen.

As the enemy retreated prince Ferdinand advanced as far as Hurſte, where he eſtabliſhed his head-quarters about the latter end of November. While he remained in this poſition, divers ſkermiſhes happened in ths neighbourhood of Gottingen. Major-general Breidenbach, at the head of two regiments of Hanoverian and Brunſwick guards, with a detachment of cavaly, attacked on the 29th day of November, the French poſt at Heydemunden, upon the river Worrau. This he carried, took poſſeſſion of the town, which the enemy haſtily abandoned. Part of their detachment croſſed the river in boats; the reſt threw themſelves into an entrenchment that coverered the paſſage, which the allies endeavoured to force in ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, galled as they were by the fire of the enemy's redoubts on the other ſide of the river. At length M. Breidenbach was obliged to deſiſt, and fall bac into the town, from whence he retired at midnight, after having ſuſtained conſiderable damage. Prince Ferdinand had it very much at heart to drive the French from Gottengen, and accordingly inveſted the city: but the French garriſon, which was numerous, and well provided, made ſuch a vigorous defence, as baffled all the endeavours of the allies, who were moreover impeded by the rainy weather, which, added to their con-

ſideration, prevented them from undertaking the ſiege in form. Nevertheleſs, they kept the place blocked up from the 22d day of November to the 12th of the following month, when the garriſon, in a deſperate ſally, took one of their principal poſts, and compelled them to raiſe the blockade. About the middle of December, prince Ferdinand retired into winter quarters, he himſelf reſiding at Uſlar, and the Engliſh troops being cantoned in the biſhopric of Paderborn. Thus, the enemy were left in poſſeſſion of Heſſe, and the whole country eaſtward of the Weſer, to the frontiers of the electorate of Hanover. If the allied army had not been weakened, for the ſake of a raſh, ill-concerted, and unſucceſsful expedition to the Lower-Rhine, in all probability the French would have been obliged to abandon the footing they had gained in the courſe of this campaign, and in particular to retreat from Gottingen, which they now maintained and fortified with great diligence and circumſpection.

The king of Pruſſia, after all his labours, notwithſtanding the great talents he had diſplayed, and the incredible efforts he had made, ſtill found himſelf ſurrounded by his enemies, and in danger of being cruſhed by their cloſing, and contracting their circle. Even the Swedes, who had languiſhed ſo long, ſeemed to be rouſed to exertion in Pomerania, during the ſeverity of the winter ſeaſon. The Pruſſian general, Manteuffel, had, on the 20th day of January, paſſed the river Peene, overthrown the advanced poſts of the enemy at Ziethen, and penetrated as far as the neighbourhood of Greiffewalde; but finding the Swedes on their guard, he returned to Anclam, where his head-quarters were eſtabliſhed. This inſult was ſoon retaliated with intereſt. On the 28th day of the month, at five in the morning, a body of Swedes attacked the Pruſſian troops poſted in the ſuburbs of Anclam, on the other ſide of the Peene, and drove them into the city, which they entered pell-mell. General Manteuffel, being alarmed, endeavoured to rally the troops, but was wounded and taken, with about 200 men, and three pieces of cannon. The victors, having achieved this exploit, returned to their own quarters. As for the Ruſſian army, which had wintered on the other ſide of the Viſtula, the ſeaſon was pretty far advanced before it could take the field; though general Tottleben was detached from it, about the beginning of June, at the head of 10,000 Coſſacs, and other light troops, with which he made an irruption into Pomerania, and eſtabliſhed his head quartets at Belgard.

At the beginning of the campaign the king of Pruſſia's chief aim was to take meaſures for the preſervation of Sileſia, the conqueſt of which ſeemed to be the principal object with the court of Vienna. While the Auſtrian army, under mareſchal count Daun, lay ſtrongly entrenched in the neighbourhood of Dreſden, the king of Pruſſia had endeavoured, in the month of December, to make him quit that advantageous ſituation, by cutting off his proviſions, and making an irruption into Bohemia. For theſe purpoſes he had taken poſſeſſion of Dippeſwalde, Maxen, and Pretchendorff, as if he intended to enter Bohemia by the way of Paſsberg: but this ſcheme being found impracticable, he returned to his camp at Freyberg; and in January the Pruſſian and Auſtrian armies were cantoned ſo near each other, that daily ſkirmiſhes were fought with various ſucceſs. The head of the Pruſſian camp was formed by a body of 4000 men under general Zettwitz, who, on the 29th day of January, was attacked with ſuch impetuoſity by the Auſtrian general, Bec, that he retreated in great confuſion to Torgau, with the loſs of 500 men, eight pieces of artillery, and a conſiderable quantity of new clothing, and other baggage. Another advantage of the ſame nature was gained at Neuſtadt over a ſmall body of Pruſſians who occupied that city. In the month of March general Laudohn advanced with a ſtrong detachment of horſe and foot, in order to ſurpriſe the Pruſſians, who, in attempting to effect a retreat to Steinau, were ſurrounded accordingly, and very roughly handled. General Laudohn ſummoned them twice by ſound of trumpet to lay down their arms; but their commanders, the captains Blumenthal and Zettwitz, rejecting the propoſal with diſdain, the enemy attacked them on all hands with a great ſuperiority of number. In this emergency the Pruſſian captains formed their troops into a ſquare, and by a cloſe continued fire kept the enemy at bay; until, perceiving that the Croats had taken poſſeſſion of a wood between Siebenhauſen and Steinau, they, in apprehenſion of being intercepted, abandoned their baggage, and forced their way to Steinau, which they reached with great difficulty, having been continually harraſſed by the Auſtrians, who paid dear for this advantage. Several other petty exploits of this kind were achieved by detachments on both ſides, before the campaign was begun by the grand armies.

Towards the end of April the king of Pruſſia altered his poſition, and withdrew that part of his chain of cantonments extending from the foreſt of Thurundt to the right of the Elbe. He now took poſſeſſion of a very ſtrong camp between the Elbe and the Mulda, which he entrenched in every part that was acceſſible, and fortified with 250 pieces of cannon. By theſe precautions he was enabled to keep his ground againſt the army of count Daun, and at the ſame time detach a body of troops, as a re-enforcement to his brother prince Henry, who aſſembled a ſeparate army near Franckfort upon the Oder, that he might be at hand either to oppoſe the Ruſſians, or march to the relief of Sileſia, which the enemy was bent upon invading. It was for this purpoſe that the Auſtrian general, Laudohn, advanced with a conſiderable army into Luſatia about the beginning of May, and general Beck, with another body of troops, took poſſeſſion of Cotbus: mean while count Daun continued in his old ſituation on the Elbe; general Lacy formed a ſmall detached army upon the frontiers of Saxony, to the ſouthward of Dreſden; and the prince de Deuxponts marched into the ſame neighbourhood with the army of the empire. Prince Henry of Pruſſia, having encamped with his army for ſome time at Sagan, in Sileſia, moved from thence to Gorlitz in Luſatia, to obſerve the motions of general Laudohn, encamped at Koningſgratz; from whence, in the beginning of June, he marched into the country of Glatz, and advanced to the neighbourhood of Schweidnitz, which he ſeemed determined to beſiege, having a train of eight pieces of cannon. With a view to thwart his deſigns, prince Henry re enforced the body of troops under general Fouquet; and at the ſame time he ſent a detachment into Pomerania, under colonel Leſſow, who defeated the rear-guard of general Tottleben, and compelled that officer to evacuate Pomerania. By this time, however, mareſchal Soltikoff had arrived from Peterſbugh, and taken the command of the grand Ruſſian army, which paſſed the Viſtula in June, and began its march towards the frontiers of Sileſia.

In the month of June general Laudohn made an unſucceſsful attempt to carry Glatz by aſſault: but he ſucceeded better in his next enterprize. Underſtanding that general Fouquet, who occupied the poſt at Landſhut, had weakened himſelf by ſending off detachments under the major-generals Ziethen and Grant, he reſolved to attac him with ſuch a ſuperiority of number, that he ſhould not be able to reſiſt. Accordingly, on the 23d day of June, at two in the morning, he began the aſſault with his whole army upon ſome redoubts which Foquet occupied, and theſe were carried one after another, though not without a very deſperate oppoſition. General Foquet being ſummoned to ſurrender, refuſed to ſubmit; and having received two wounds, was at length taken priſoner: about 3000 of his men eſcaped to Breſlau; the reſt were killed or taken; but the loſs of the victors is ſaid to have exceeded that of the vanquiſhed. In July general Laudohn undertook the ſiege of Glatz, which was taken after a very faint reſiſtance: for, on the very day the batteries were opened againſt the place, the garriſon abandoned part of the fortifications, which the beſiegers immediately occupied. The Pruſſians made repeated efforts to regain the ground they had loſt; but they were repulſed in all their attempts. At length the garriſon laid down their arms, and ſurrendered at diſcretion. From this tame behaviour of the Pruſſians, one would imagine the garriſon muſt have been very weak, a circumſtance which we cannot reconcile with the known ſagacity of the Pruſſian monarch, as the place was of great importance, on account of the immence magazine it contained, including above 100 braſs cannon, a great number of mortars, and a vaſt quantity of ammunition.

Laudohn encouraged by this ſucceſs at Glatz, advanced immediately to Breſlau, which he began to bombard with great fury [q]; but, before he could make a regular attac, he found himſelf obliged to retire. Prince Henry of Pruſſia,

[q] The Germans are in general but indifferent engineers, and little acquainted with the art of beſieging. On this occaſion the Auſtrian general had no other proſpect than that of carrying the place by a ſudden attac, or intimidating count Tavenzein, the governor, to an immediate ſurrender; for he knew the Ruſſian army was at a conſiderable diſtance, and judged from the character of prince Henry of Pruſſia, that he would advance to the relief of the place long before it could be taken according to the uſual forms. Influenced by theſe conſiderations, when he had inveſted the town, he ſent a letter to the governor, ſpecifying, that his army conſiſted of 50 battalions, and 80 ſquadrons; that the Ruſſian army, amounting to 70,000 men, was within three days march of Breſlau; that no ſuccour could be expected from the king of Pruſſia, encamped as he was on the other ſide of the Elbe, and

one of the moſt accompliſhed generals which this age produced, having received repeated intelligence that the Ruſſian army intended to join Laudohn at Breſlau, reſolved to advance and give them battle before the purpoſed junction. In the latter end of July he began his march from Gleiſſen, and on the laſt day of that month had reached Linden, near Slauve, where he underſtood that Tottleben's detachment only had paſſed through the plains of Polnich-Liſſa, and that the grand Ruſſian army had marched through Koſten and Guſtin. The prince, finding it impoſſible to purſue them by that rout, directed his march to Glogau, where he learned that Breſlau was beſieged by general Laudohn, and immediately advanced by forced marches to its relief. Such was his expedition, that in five days he marched above 120 Engliſh miles, and at his approach the Auſtrian general abandoned his enterprize. Thus, by his prudence and activity, he not only prevented the junction of the Ruſſian and Auſtrian armies, but alſo ſaved the capital of Sileſia, and hampered Laudohn in ſuch a manner as ſubjected him to a defeat by the Pruſſian monarch, to whoſe motions we ſhall now turn our attention.

Whether his deſign was originally upon Dreſden, or he purpoſed to co-operate with his brother prince Henry in Sileſia, which his adverſaries ſeemed to have pitched upon as the ſcene of their operations, we cannot preſume to determine; but certain it is, he, in the beginning of July, began his march in two columns through Luſatia, and count Daun being informed of his march, ordered his army to be put in motion. Leaving the army of the empire, and the body of troops under Lacy, to guard Saxony in his abſence, he marched with great expedition towards Sileſia, in full perſuaſion that the Pruſſian monarch had thither directed his rout. On the 7th day of July, the king, knowing that Daun was now removed at a diſtance, repaſſed the Pulſnitz, which he had paſſed but two days before, and advanced with the van of his army towards Lichtenberg, in order to attac the forces of general Lacy, who was poſted there; but the Auſtrian retired at his approach. Then the army marched to Marienſtern, where the king having received intelligence that count Daun was in full march for Lauban, having already gained two marches upon the Pruſſians. Perhaps it was this intimation that determined the king to change his plan and return to the Elbe. On the 8th day of the month he repaſſed the Sprehe, in the neighbourhood of Beautzen, and marched towards Dreſden with extraordinary diligence. On the 13th, his army having paſſed the Elbe at Kadetz, on a bridge of boats, encamped between Pirna and Dreſden, which laſt he reſolved to beſiege, in hopes of reducing it before count Daun could return to its relief. How far this expectation was well grounded, we muſt leave the reader to judge, after having obſerved, that the place was now much more defenſible than it had been when the laſt attempt of the Auſtrians upon it miſcarried; that it was ſecured with a numerous garriſon, commanded by general Macguire, an officer of courage and experience. This governor being ſummoned to ſurrender, anſwered, that having the honour to be entruſted with the defence of the capital, he would maintain it to the laſt extremity. Batteries were immediately raiſed againſt the town on both ſides of the Elbe; and the poor inhabitants ſubjected to a dreadful viſitation, that their calamities might either drive them to deſpair, or move the heart of the governor to embrace articles of capitulation: but theſe expedients proved ineffectual. Though the ſuburbs towards the Pirna gate were attacked and carried, this advantage made no impreſſion on general Macguire, who made ſeveral vigorous ſallies, and took every neceſſary precaution for the defence of the city, encouraged moreover by the vicinity of Lacy's body and the army of the empire, encamped in an advantageous poſition near Gros Seydlitz; and confident that count Daun would haſten to his relief. In this hope he was not diſappointed; the Auſtrian general, finding himſelf duped by the ſtratagem of the Pruſſian monarch, and being made acquainted with this enterprize againſt Dreſden, inſtantly wheeled about, and marched bac with ſuch rapidity, that on the 19th day of the month he reached the neighbourhood of the capital of Saxony. In conſequence of his approach the king of Pruſſia, whoſe heavy artillery was now arrived, redoubled his efforts againſt the city, ſo as to reduce to aſhes the cathedral church, the new ſquare, ſeveral noble ſtreets, ſome palaces, together with the curious manufactory of porcelaine. His vengeance muſt have been levelled againſt the citizens; for it affected neither the fortifications, nor the Auſtrian garriſon, which count Daun found means to re-enforce with 16 battalions. This ſupply, and the neighbourhood of three hoſtile armies, rendered it altogether impoſſible to proſecute the ſiege with any proſpect of ſucceſs: the king, therefore, abandoned the undertaking, withdrew his troops and artillery, and endeavoured to bring Daun to a battle, which that general cautiouſly avoided.

The fate of this prince ſeemed now at its criſis. Notwithſtanding all the efforts of his brother prince Henry, the Ruſſians were faſt advancing to join Laudohn, who had already blocked up Schweidnitz and Neiſs, and their junction ſeemed to threaten the loſs of all Sileſia. The king had nothing to oppoſe to ſuperior numbers, but ſuperior activity, of which he determined to avail himſelf without delay. Inſtead of making a feint towards Sileſia, he reſolved to march thither in earneſt; and for that purpoſe, croſſing the Elbe, encamped at Dallwitz, on the farther bank of the river, leaving general Hulſen, with 15,000 men, in the entrenched camp of Schlettow, to maintain his footing in Saxony. On the 3d day of Auguſt he began his march for Sileſia, followed by count Daun with the grand Auſtrian army, while the detached body under Lacy, took poſt at Rechenberg, and the imperial army encamped at Keffeldorf. Both the Pruſſians and Auſtrians marched at the rate of 100 miles in five days: on the 10th the king took poſſeſſion of the camp of Lignitz; and here he ſeemed in danger of being quite ſurrounded by the enemy, who occupied the whole ground between Parchwitz and Coſſendau, an extent of 30 miles. Count Daun's army formed the centre of this chain, poſſeſſing the heighths of Wahlſtadt and Hochkirk: general Laudohn covered the ground between Jeſchkendorf and Coſchitz: the riſing grounds of Parchwitz were ſecured by general Nauendorff; and M. de Beck, who formed the left, extended his troops beyond Coſſendau. The king marched in the night of the 11th, with a view to turn the enemy, and reach Jauer; but at break of day he diſcovered a new camp at Prauſnitz, which conſiſted of Lacy's detachment, juſt arrived from Lauban. The Pruſſians immediately paſſed the Katzbach, to attac this general, but he made ſuch a ſkilful diſpoſition for a retreat towards the army of count Daun, that he not only baffled the endeavours of the king to bring him to action, but, by poſting himſelf on the heighths of Henneſdorff, anticipated his march to Jauer. In vain the Pruſſian monarch attempted next day to turn the enemy on the ſide of the mountains, by Pomſen and Jagerſdorff; the roads were found impaſſable to the ammunition waggons, and the king returned to the camp at Lignitz.

While he remained in this ſituation he received advice that 24,000 Ruſſians, under count Czernichew, had thrown bridges over the Oder at Auras, where they intended to croſs that river, and he concluded the enemy had formed a deſign to cloſe him in, and attac him with their joint forces. Daun had, indeed, projected a plan for ſurpriſing him in

over-awed by the army of count Daun; that prince Henry, far from being in a condition to bring relief, would not be able to ſtand his ground againſt the Ruſſians: that Breſlau being an open mercantile town, not a fortreſs, could not be defended without contravening the eſtabliſhed rules of war; and therefore the governor, in caſe of obſtinacy, had no reaſon to expect an honourable capitulation, the benefit of which was now offered. He, at the ſame time, ſent a memorial to the civil magiſtrates, threatening their town with deſtruction, which could by no other means be prevented than by joining with the inhabitants in perſuading the governor to embrace immediately the terms that were propoſed. Count Tavenzein, inſtead of being intimidated, was encouraged by theſe menaces, which implied an apprehenſion in Laudohn that the place would be relieved. He, therefore, replied to the ſummons he had received, that Breſlau was not ſimply a mercantile town, but ought to be conſidered as a place of ſtrength, as being ſurrounded with works and wet ditches; that the Auſtrians themſelves had defended it as ſuch after the battle of Liſſa, in the year 1757; that the king his maſter having commanded him to defend the place to the laſt extremity, he could neither comply with general Laudohn's propoſals, nor pay the leaſt regard to his threats of deſtroying the town, as he had not been entruſted with the care of the houſes, but with the defence of the fortifications. The Auſtrian convinced him that ſame evening, that he threatened nothing but what he meant to perform. He opened his batteries, and poured in upon the town a moſt terrible ſhower of bombs and red-hot bullets, which continued till midnight. During this dreadful diſcharge, which filled the place with horror and deſolation, he attempted the outworks by aſſault. The Croats attacked the covered way in different places with their uſual impetuoſity; but were repulſed with conſiderable loſs, by the conduct and reſolution of the governor and garriſon. Theſe proceedings having made no impreſſions on Tavenzein, the beſieging general had recourſe again to negotiation, and offered the moſt flattering articles of capitulation, which were rejected with diſdain. The governor gave him to underſtand, that the deſtruction of the town had made no change in his reſolution, though it was a practice contrary to the law of arms, as well as to the dictates of common humanity, to begin the ſiege of a fortreſs by ruining the inhabitants: finally, he aſſured him he would wait for him upon the ramparts, and defend the place to the utmoſt of his power. His obſervation was certainly juſt: nothing could be more infamouſly inhuman than this practice of making war upon the helpleſs unarmed inhabitanrs of a town which has the misfortune to be beleaguered: yet the beſieger pleaded the example of the Pruſſian monarch, who had before acted the ſame tragedy at Dreſden. Loudohn being thus ſet at defiance, continued to batter and bombard, and ſeveral ſubſequent aſſaults were given to the fortifications.

the night, and had actually put his army in motion for that purpoſe; but he was anticipated by the vigilance and good fortune of the Pruſſian monarch. That prince, reflecting that if he ſhould wait for his adverſaries in his camp he ran the riſk of being attacked at the ſame time by Lacy on his right, by Daun in his front, and by Laudohn on his left, he altered his poſition, in order to diſconcert their operations; and, on the 14th day of the month, marched to the heighths of Pfaffendorff, where he formed his army in order of battle. Receiving intimation, about two in the morning, that Laudohn was in full march, advancing in two columns by Bennowitz, he divided his army into two ſeparate bodies. One of theſe remained on the ground, in order to maintain the poſt againſt any attempts that might be made by count Daun to ſuccour Laudohn; and that this ſervice might be the more effectually performed, the heighths were fortified with batteries, ſo judiciouſly diſpoſed as to impede and overawe the whole Auſtrian army. The king, having taken this precaution, wheeled about with 16 battalions and 30 ſquadrons, to fall upon Laudohn as he ſhould advance; but that general knew nothing of his deſign, until he himſelf arrived at the village of Pfaffendorff, about three in the morning, when the day dawning, and a thic fog gradually diſperſing, the whole detachment of the Pruſſian army appeared in order of battle, in a well choſen ſituation, ſtrengthened with a numerous train of artillery, placed to the beſt advantage. Laudohn was not a little a mortified to find himſelf caught in his own ſnare; but he had advanced too far to recede, and, therefore, making a virtue of neceſſity, reſolved to ſtand an engagement. With this view he formed his troops as well as the time, place, and circumſtances would permit; and the Pruſſians advancing to the attac, a ſevere action enſued. The king rode along the line to animate the troops and ſuperintended every part of the charge, hazarding his life in the moſt dangerous ſcenes of the battle to ſuch a degree, that his horſe was killed under him, and his clothes were ſhot through in ſeveral places. The Auſtrians maintained the conflict with great obſtinacy until ſix in the morning, when they gave ground, and were purſued to the Katzbach, beyond which the king would not allow his troops to proſecute the advantage they had gained, that they might be able to ſuccour the right, in caſe mareſchal count Daun ſhould ſucceed in his attempt to advance againſt them from Lignitz. That general had actually begun his march to fall upon the Pruſſians on one ſide, while Laudohn ſhould attac them on the other; but he was not a little ſurpriſed to find they were decamped, and when he perceived a thic cloud of ſmoke at a diſtance, he immediately comprehended the nature of the king's management. He then attempted to advance by Lignitz; but the troops and artillery, which had been left on the height of Pfaffendorff, to diſpute his march, were ſo advantageouſly diſpoſed, as to render all his efforts abortive.

Laudohn is ſaid to have loſt in the action above 8000 men, killed, wounded, and taken, including 80 officers, with 23 pair of colours, and 82 pieces of cannon: over and above this loſs, the Auſtrian general ſuffered greatly by deſertion. The Pruſſians obtained the victory at the expence of one general, with 500 men killed, and 1200 wounded. Immediately after the action the victor marched to Parchwith; while Daun detached prince Lowenſtein and general Beck, with the reſerve of his army, to join prince Czernichew, who had croſſed the Oder at Auras; but he was ſo intimidated by the defeat at Lignitz, that he forthwith repaſſed that river, and prince Lowenſtein retited on the ſide of Jauer. By this bold and well-conducted adventure, the Pruſſian monarch not only eſcaped the moſt imminent hazard of a total defeat from the joint efforts of two ſtrong armies, but alſo prevented the dreaded junction of the Ruſſian and Auſtrian forces. His buſineſs was now to open the communication with Breſlau and his brother prince Henry, whom he joined at Neumarcke. The prince, after Laudohn was obliged to relinquiſh the ſiege of Breſlau, had kept a watchful eye over the motions of the Ruſſian army, which had advanced into the neighbourhood of that city, and, without all doubt, would have bombarded it from ſome commanding heighths, had they not been prevented by prince Henry, who took poſſeſſion of theſe poſts, and fortified them with redoubts. The king, having freed Breſlau from the neighbourhood of his enemies, and being ſtrengthened by the junction with his brother, left a conſiderable detachment under the command of general Boltze, to protect the country againſt the Ruſſian irregulars; and advanced with his whole force to the relief of Schweidnitz, which was blocked up by the Auſtrian forces under the command of the mareſchal count Daun. In his march he fell upon a ſeparate body under general Beck, made two battalions of Croats priſoners, and diſperſed ſeveral ſquadrons. This achievement had ſuch an effect upon the enemy, that they raiſed the blockade, and retreated with ſome precipitation to the mountains of Landſhut.

While the king thus exerted himſelf, with a ſpirit altogether unexampled, in defending Sileſia, general Hulſen, who commanded his troops in Saxony, was expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. Underſtanding that the army of the Empire had formed a deſign to cut off his communication with Torgau, he quitted his camp at Meiſſen, and marched to Strehla. The enemy having divided their forces into two bodies, one of them, on the 20th day of Auguſt, attacked an advanced poſt of the Pruſſians; while the other was diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, as to over-awe Hulſen's camp, and prevent him from taking any ſtep for the relief of his battalions, who maintained their ground with difficulty againſt a ſuperior number of the aſſailants. In this emergency the Pruſſian general ordered his cavalry to make a circuit round a riſing ground, and, if poſſible, charge the enemy in flank. This order was executed with equal vigour and ſucceſs. They fell upon the Imperial army with ſuch impetuoſity, as drove their battalions and horſe upon each other in the utmoſt confuſion. A conſiderable number of the enemy were ſlain, and 41 officers, with 1200 men, made priſoners. By this advantage, which was obtained at a very ſmall expence, general Hulſen opened for himſelf a way to Torgau, whither he inſtantly retreated, perceiving that the whole army of the Imperialiſts was advancing to cut off his communication with the Elbe. This retreat furniſhed the enemy with a pretext for claiming the victory.

After all theſe heroic endeavours of the Pruſſian monarch and his officers, his affairs remained in ſuch a deſperate ſituation as ſeemed to preſage approaching ruin: for, though in perſon, he commanded a numerous and well appointed army, he found it abſolutely impoſſible to guard againſt the different detachments from the three ſeparate armies of his adverſaries. Bodies of Auſtrian troops ſcoured the country of Luſatia; the Ruſſians traverſed part of Sileſia, and made irruptions even into Brandenburgh: the Imperial army domineered in Saxony: the Swediſh army, meeting with no oppoſition, advanced into the heart of Pomerania; ſo that the king was not only threatened on every ſide, but all correſpondence between him and his hereditary dominions was at this juncture intercepted.

His adverſaries, having been hitherto baffled by his activity and reſolution in their deſigns upon Sileſia, now meditated a ſcheme, the execution of which he could not but feel in the moſt ſenſible manner. The Ruſſian army being on its retreat from Sileſia, count Czernichew was ſent with a ſtrong detachment into the Marché of Brandenburgh; while a numerous body of Auſtrians, under Lacy and Bretano, penetrated into the ſame country from Saxony, with inſtructions to join the Ruſſians at the gates of Berlin. The Pruſſian general, Hulſen, finding himſelf too weak to cope with the army of the Empire in Miſnia, had fallen bac to this capital, where he was joined by the troops under general Werner, lately returned from Pomerania; but as their forces, after this junction, did not exceed ſixteen thouſand men, and the allies advancing againſt them amounted to forty thouſand, they would not pretend to oppoſe the enemy in the open field, nor to defend a city of ſuch extent, and ſo imperfectly fortified. Such an attempt would have only expoſed their troops to ruin, without being able to ſave the capital, which, on the contrary, would have been the more ſeverely handled, in conſequence of their oppoſition. They, therefore, reſolved to retire, after having repulſed the advanced guard of the Ruſſians under Tottleben, which attacked the gates, and even bombarded the town, before the great armies appeared. At their approach the Pruſſian generals retreated, leaving three weak battalions in the place, in hopes they might be the means of obtaining ſome ſort of terms for the city. They made no reſiſtance, however, but on the firſt ſummons propoſed articles of capitulation, which, being refuſed, they ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. In favour of the city the foreign miniſters there reſiding, interpoſed their mediation with ſuch zeal and ſucceſs, that tolerable conditions were obtained. The inhabitants were indulged with the free exerciſe of their religion, and an immunity from violence to their perſons and effects. The enemy promiſed that the Ruſſian irregulars ſhould not enter the town; and that the king's palace ſhould not be violated. Theſe articles being

ratified, the Auſtrian and Ruſſian troops entered the place, where they totally deſtroyed the magazines, arſenals, and founderies, with an immenſe quantity of military ſtores, and a great number of cannon and ſmall arms: then they demanded the immediate payment of eight hundred thouſand guilders; and afterwards exacted a contribution of one million nine hundred thouſand German crowns. Many outrages were committed by the licentious ſoldiery, in ſpite of all the precautions which the officers could take to preſerve the moſt exact diſcipline. The houſes of the private inhabitants were tolerably protected, but the king's palaces were ſubjected to the moſt rigorous treatment. In the royal palace of Charlottenburg they pillaged and ſpoiled the rich furniture; they defaced and mutilated the valuable pictures and antique ſtatues collected by cardinal de Polignac, and purchaſed by the houſe of Brandenburgh. The caſtle of Schonhauſen, belonging to the queen, and that of Fredericksfeldt, the property of the Margrave Charles, were pillaged of effects to a very conſiderable value. The palace of Potſdam was effectually protected by prince Eſterhaſi, who would not ſuffer one article of furniture or ornament to be touched, but deſired leave to take one picture of the king, and two of his german-flutes, that he might preſerve them as memorials of an illuſtrious prince, whoſe heroic character he admired. The Auſtrian and Ruſſian troops entered Berlin on the 9th day of October, and quitted it on the 13th, on hearing that the king was in full march to the relief of his capital. In their retreat, by different routs, from Brandenburgh, they drove away all the cattle and horſes they could find, ravaged the country, and committed brutal outrages on the inhabitants, which the pretence of retaliation could never excuſe. The body of Ruſſians which entered Berlin marched from thence into Poland, by the way of Furſtenwalde, while the Auſtrians took the rout of Saxony, from whence they had advanced into Brandenburgh. Mean while the town of Wirtemberg, in that electorate, was reduced by the duke de Deux Ponts, commander of the Imperial army, which, in conjunction with the Auſtrians, made themſelves maſters alſo of Torgau and Leipſick.

The king of Pruſſia, in his march through Luſatia, was ſtill attended by count Daun, at the head of the grand army, and both paſſed the Elbe about the latter end of October. The Pruſſian croſſed the river at Coſwick, where he was joined by the troops under prince Eugene of Wirtemberg and general Hulſen, ſo that his army now amounted to 80,000 fighting men, with whom he reſolved to ſtrike ſome ſtroke of importance. Indeed, at this time his ſituation was truly critical. General Laudohn, with a conſiderable body of Auſtrians, remained in Sileſia; the Ruſſian army ſtill threatened Breſlau, the capital of that country. The Imperialiſts and Auſtrians had taken poſſeſſion of all the great towns in Saxony, and were maſters on both ſides of the Elbe. In the eaſtern part of Pomerania the Ruſſians had inveſted Colberg by ſea and land, ſeemingly determined to reduce the place, that they might have a ſea-port, by which they could be ſupplied with proviſion, ammunition, neceſſaries, and re-enforcements, without the trouble and inconvenience of a long and laborious march from the banks of the Viſtula. On the weſtern ſide of Pomerania, the war, which had hitherto languiſhed, was renewed by the Swedes with uncommon vivacity. They paſſed the river Pene without oppoſition; and obliging general Stutterheim to retreat, advanced as far as Stranſberg. That officer, however, being re-enforced, attacked a Swediſh poſt at Paſſelvalik, ſlew about 500 of the enemy, and took an equal number, with ſix pieces of cannon; but he was not numerous enough to keep the field againſt their whole army. Thus the Pruſſian monarch ſaw himſelf obliged to abandon Sileſia, deprived of all the places he held in Saxony, which had been his beſt reſource, and in danger of being driven into his hereditary country of Brandenburgh, which was unable either to maintain, or even to recruit his army. On this emergency he reſolved to make one deſperate effort againſt the grand Auſtrian army, under count Daun, who had paſſed the Elbe at Torgau, and advanced to Eulenbourg, from whence, however, he retreated to his former camp at Torgau, and the king choſe his ſituation between this laſt place and Schilda, at Lang-Reichenbach, where his huſſars attacked a body of horſe under general Brentano, and made 400 priſoners. The right wing of the Auſtrians being at Groſwich, and the left at Torgau, the Pruſſian king determined to attac them next day, which was the 3d of November. His deſign was to march through the wood of Torgau by three different routes, with 30 battalions and 50 ſquadrons of his left wing: the firſt line ordered to advance by the way of Mackrene to Neiden; the ſecond, by Peckhutte to Elſnick; and the third, conſiſting of cavalry, to penetrate by the wood of Wildenhayn to Vogellang. On the other hand, general Ziethen was directed to take the great Leipſick road, with 30 battalions and 70 ſquadrons of the right; and quitting it at the ponds of Torgau, to attac the villages of Suptitz and Groſwich. The king's line, in its march, fell in with a corps of Auſtrians under general Reid, who retired into the wood of Torgau; and another more conſiderable body, poſted in the wood of Wildenhayn, likewiſe retreated to Groſchutz, after having fired ſome pieces of artillery: but the dragoons of Sr. Ignon, being encloſed between two columns of Pruſſian infantry, were either killed or taken. By two in the afternoon the king had penetrated through the wood to the plain of Neiden, from whence another body of the enemy retired to Torgau, where a continued noiſe of cannon and ſmall arms declared that general Ziethen was already engaged. The Pruſſians immediately advanced at a quicker pace, and paſſing the moraſſes near Nieden, inclined to the right in three lines, and ſoon came to action. Daun had choſen a very advantageous poſition: his right extended to Groſwich, and his left to Zinne; while his infantry occupied ſome eminences along the road of Leipſick, and his front was ſtrengthened with no leſs than two hundred pieces of cannon. His ſecond line was diſpoſed on an extent of ground, which terminated in hillocks towards the Elbe; and againſt this the king directed his attac. He had already given his troops to underſtand, that his affairs were in ſuch a ſituation, they muſt either conquer or periſh: and they began the battle with the moſt deſperate impetuoſity; but they met with ſuch a warm reception from the artillery, ſmall arms, and in particular from the Auſtrian carabiniers, that their grenadiers were ſhattered and repulſed. The ſecond charge, though enforced with incredible vigour, was equally unſucceſsful: then the king ordered his cavalry to advance, and they fell upon ſome regiments of infantry with ſuch fury as obliged them to give way. Theſe, however, were compelled to retire, in their turn, before about 70 battalions of the enemy, who advanced towards Torgau, ſtretching with their right to the Elbe, and their left to Zinne. While the prince of Holſtein rallied his cavalry, and returned to the charge, the third line of Pruſſian infantry attacked the vineyard of Suptitz, and general Ziethen, with the right wing took the enemy in rear. This diſpoſition threw the Auſtrians into diſorder, which was greatly augmented by the diſaſter of count Daun, who was dangerouſly wounded in the thigh, and carried off the field of battle. But the Pruſſians could not purſue their victory, becauſe the action had laſted until nine; and the night being unuſually dark, facilitated the retreat of the enemy, who croſſed the Elbe on three bridges of boats, thrown over the river at Torgau. The victor poſſeſſed the field of battle, with 7000 priſoners, including 200 officers, 29 pair of colours, one ſtandard, and about 40 pieces of cannon. The carnage was very great on both ſides: about 3000 Pruſſians were killed, and 5000 wounded; and, in the firſt attacks, two general officers, with 1500 ſoldiers, were made priſoners by the enemy. The king, as uſual, expoſed his perſon in every part of the battle, and a muſket-ball grazed upon his breaſt. In the morning the king of Pruſſia entered Torgau: then he ſecured Meiſſen, and took poſſeſſion of Freyberg; ſo that, in conſequence of this well-timed victory, his poſition was nearly the ſame as at the opening of the campaign.

The Auſtrians, however, notwithſtanding this check, maintained their ground in the neighbourhood of Dreſden; while the Pruſſians were diſtributed in quarters of cantonment in and about Leipſick and Meiſſen. As the Auſtrian general had, after the battle, recalled his detachments, general Laudohn abandoned Lanſhut, which again fell into the hands of the Pruſſians, and the imperial army was obliged to retire into Franconia. The Swedes having penetrated a great way into Pomerania, returned again to their winter-quarters at Stralſund: and the Ruſſian generals meaſured bac their way to the Viſtula: ſo that the confederates gained little eaſe in the courſe of this campaign but the contributions which they raiſed in Berlin, and the open country of Brandenburgh. Had all the allies been heartily bent upon cruſhing the Pruſſian monarch, one would imagine the Ruſſians and Swedes might have joined their forces in Pomerania, and made good their winter-quarters in Brandenburgh, where they could have been ſupplied with magazines from the Baltick, and been at hand

to commence their operations in the ſpring: but in all probability, ſuch an eſtabliſhment in the empire would have given umbrage to the Germanick body.

The diet of Poland being aſſembled in the beginning of October, the king entertained the moſt ſanguine hope they would take ſome reſolution in his favour; but the partiſans of Pruſſia fruſtrated all his endeavours: one of the deputies proteſting againſt holding a diet while there were foreign troops in the kingdom, the aſſembly broke up in a tumultuous manner, even before they had choſen a mareſchal. The diet of Sweden, which was convoked about the ſame period, ſeemed determined to proceed upon buſineſs. They elected count Axel Ferſon their grand mareſchal, in oppoſition to count Horn, by a great majority; which was an unlucky circumſtance for the Pruſſian intereſt at Stockholm, inaſmuch as the ſame majority obſtinately perſiſted in opinion, that the war ſhould be proſecuted in the ſpring with redoubled vigour, and the army in Germany re-enforced to the number of at leaſt 30,000 fighting men. This unfavourable circumſtance made but little impreſſion upon the Pruſſian monarch, who had maintained his ground with ſurpriſing reſolution and ſucceſs ſince the beginning of the campaign, and now enjoyed in proſpect the benefit of winter, which he is ſaid to have termed his beſt auxiliary.

The animoſity which inflamed the contending parties was not confined to the operations in war: but broke out, as uſual, in printed declarations, which the belligerent powers diffuſed all over Europe. In the beginning of the ſeaſon the ſtates of the circle of Weſtphalia had been required by the imperial court, to furniſh their contingent of troops againſt the king of Pruſſia, or to commute for this contingent with a ſum of money. In conſequence of this demand, ſome of the Weſtphalian eſtates had ſent deputies to confer with the aſſembly of the circle of Cologn; and to theſe the king ſignified, by a declaration, dated at Munſter, that as this demand of money, inſtead of troops, was no leſs extraordinary than contrary to the conſtitutions of the empire, ſhould they comply with it, or even continue to aſſiſt his enemies either with troops or money, he would conſider them as having actually taken part in the war againſt him and his allies, and treat them accordingly on all occaſions. This intimation produced little effect in his favour. The duke of Mecklenbourg adhered to the oppoſite cauſe; and the elector of Cologn co-operated with the French in their deſigns againſt Hanover. By way of retaliation for this partiality, the Pruſſians ravaged the country of Mecklenbourg, and the Hanoverians levied contributions in the territories of Cologn. The parties thus aggrieved had recourſe to complaints and remonſtrances. The duke's envoy at Ratiſbon communicated a reſcript to the imperial miniſters, repreſenting, that the Pruſſian troops under general Werner and colonel de Belling had diſtreſſed his country in the autumn by grievous extortions; that afterwards prince Eugene of Wertemberg, in the ſervice of Pruſſia, had demanded an exorbitant quantity of proviſions, with ſome millions of money, and a great number of recruits: or, in lieu of theſe, that the duke's forces ſhould act under the Pruſſian banner. He therefore declared, that as the country of Mecklenbourg was impoveriſhed, and almoſt depopulated by theſe oppreſſions, the duke would find himſelf obliged to take meaſures for the future ſecurity of his ſubjects, if not immediately favoured with ſuch aſſiſtance from the court of Vienna as would put a ſtop to theſe violent proceedings. This declaration was, by ſome conſidered as the prelude of his renouncing his engagements with the houſe of Auſtria. As the imperial court had threatened to put the elector of Hanover under the ban of the empire, in conſequence of the hoſtilities which his troops had committed in the electorate of Cologn, his reſident at Ratiſbon delivered to the miniſters who aſſiſted at the diet a memorial, remonſtrating that the emperor had no power, ſingly, to ſubject any prince to the ban, or declare him a rebel; and that, by arrogating ſuch a power, he expoſed his authority to the ſame contempt into which the pope's bulls of excommunication were ſo juſtly fallen. With reſpect to the elector of Cologn, he obſerved, that this prince was the firſt who commenced hoſtilities, by allowing his troops to co-operate with the French in their invaſion of Hanover, and by celebrating with rejoicings the advantages which they had gained in that electorate: he, therefore, gave the eſtates of the empire to underſtand, that the beſt way of ſcreening their ſubjects from hoſtile treatment would be a ſtrict obſervance of neutrality in the preſent diſputes of the empire.

This was a ſtrain much more effectual among princes and powers who are generally actuated by intereſted motives, than was the repetition of complaints, equally pathetic and unavailing, uttered by the unfortunate king of Poland, elector of Saxony. The damage done to his capital by the laſt attempt of the Pruſſian monarch on that city affected the old king in ſuch a manner, that he publiſhed at Vienna an appeal to all the powers of Europe, from the cruelty and unprecedented outrages which diſtinguiſhed the conduct of his adverſaries in Saxony. All Europe pitied the hard fate of this exiled prince, and ſympathiſed with the diſaſters of his country: but in the breaſt of his enemies, reaſons of ſtate and convenience over-ruled the ſuggeſtions of humanity; and his friends had hitherto exerted themſelves in vain for the deliverance of his people.

From this detail of continental affairs, our attention is recalled to Great-Britain, by an incident of a very intereſting nature; an account of which, however, we ſhall poſtpone until we have recorded the ſucceſs that in the courſe of this year, attended the Britiſh arms in the Eaſt-Indies. We have already obſerved, that colonel Coote, after having defeated the French general Lally in the field, and reduced divers of the enemy's ſettlements on the coaſt of Caromandel, at length cooped them up within the walls of Pondicherry, the principal ſeat of the French Eaſt-India company, large, populace, well fortified and ſecured with a numerous garriſon, under the immediate command of their general. In the month of October admiral Stevens ſailed from Trincomalé with all his ſquadron, in order to its being refitted, except five ſail of the line, which he left under the command of captain Haldane, to bloc up Pondicherry by ſea, while mr. Coote carried on his operations by land. By this diſpoſition, and the vigilance of the Britiſh officers, the place was ſo hampered, as to be greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, even before the ſiege could be undertaken in form; for the rainy ſeaſon rendered all regular approaches impracticable. Theſe rains being abated by the 26th day of November, colonel Coote directed the engineers to pitch upon proper places for erecting batteries that ſhould enfilade or flank the works of the garriſon, without expoſing their own men to any ſevere fire from the enemy. Accordingly, four batteries were conſtructed in different places, ſo as to anſwer theſe purpoſes, and opened altogether on the 8th day of December, at midnight. Though raiſed at a conſiderable diſtance, they were plied with good effect, and the beſieged returned the fire with great vivacity. This mutual cannonading continued until the 29th day of the month, when the engineers were employed in raiſing another battery, near enough to effect a breach in the north-weſt counter-guard and curtain. Though the approaches were retarded ſome days by a violent ſtorm, which almoſt ruined the works, the damage was ſoon repaired: a conſiderable poſt was taking from the enemy by aſſault, and afterwards regained by the French grenadiers, through the timidity of the ſepoys by whom it was occupied. By the 15th day of January, a ſecond battery being raiſed within point-blank, a breach was made in the curtain: the weſt face and flank of the north-weſt baſtion were ruined, and the guns of the enemy entirely ſilenced. The garriſon and inhabitants of Pondicherry were now reduced to an extremity of famine which would admit of no heſitation. General Lally ſent a colonel, attended by the chief of the jeſuits, and two civilians, to mr. Coote, with propoſals of ſurrendering the garriſon priſoners of war, and demanding a capitulation in behalf of the French Eaſt-India company. On this ſubject he made no reply; but next morning took poſſeſſion of the town and citadel, where he found a great quantity of artillery, ammunition, ſmall arms, and military ſtores; then he ſecured the garriſon, amounting to above 2000 Europeans. Lally made a gallant defence, and, had he been properly ſupplied with proviſion, the conqueſt of the place would not have been ſo eaſily achieved. He certainly flattered himſelf with the hope of being ſupplied; otherwiſe an officer of his experience would have demanded a capitulation before he was reduced to the neceſſity of acquieſcing in any terms the beſieger might have thought proper to impoſe. That he ſpared no pains to procure ſupplies appears from an intercepted letter[r] written by his commander to monſieur Raymond, French re-

[r] 'Monſieur Raymond—the Engliſh ſquadron is no more, ſir—of the 12 ſhips they had in our road, ſeven are loſt, crews and all; the other four diſmaſted; and no more than one frigate hath eſcaped—therefore, loſe not an inſtant in ſending chelingoes upon chelingoes, laden with rice—The Dutch have nothing to fear now. Beſides, according to the law of nations, they are only reſtricted from ſending us proviſions in their own bottoms; and we are no longer blockaded by ſea.—The ſalvation of Pondicherry hath been once in your power already: if you neglect this opportunity, it will be entirely

ſident at Pullicat.—The billet is no bad ſketch of the writer's character, which ſeems to have a ſtrong tincture of oddity and extravagance.

By the reduction of Pondicherry the French intereſt was annihilated on the coaſt ef Coromandel, and therefore of the utmoſt importance to the Britiſh nation. It may be doubted, however, whether colonel Coote, with all his ſpirit, vigilance, and militray talents, could have ſucceeded in this enterprize without the aſſiſtance of the ſquadron, which co-operated with him by ſea, and effectually excluded all ſuccour from the beſieged. It muſt be owned, for the honour of the ſervice, that no incident interrupted the good underſtanding which was maintained between the land and ſea officers, who vied with each other in contributing their utmoſt efforts towards the ſucceſs of the expedition. On the 25th day of December rear-admiral Stevens arrived with four ſhips of the line, having parted with rear-admiral Corniſh and his diviſion in ſtormy weather: but he joined them at Pondicherry before the place was ſurrendered. On the firſt day of January a violent tempeſt obliged admiral Stevens to ſlip his cables and put to ſea, where he parted with the reſt of his ſquadron; and when in 3 days he returned to the road of Pondicherry, he had the mortification to find that his diviſion had ſuffered ſeverely from the ſtorm. The ſhips of war called the Duke of Aquitaine and the Sunderland foundered in the ſtorm, and their crews periſhed. The Newcaſtle, the Queenborough, and the Protector fireſhip, were driven aſhore, and deſtroyed; but the men were ſaved, together with the cannon, ſtores, and proviſions. Many other ſhips ſuſtained conſiderable damage, which, however, was ſoon repaired. Admiral Stevens having intercepted the letter from Lally to Raymond inſerted (in p. 489) immediately diſpached letters to the Dutch and Daniſh ſettlements on this coaſt, intimating, that, notwithſtanding the inſinuations of general Lally, he had 11 ſail of the line, with two frigates, under his command, all fit for ſervice, in the road of Pondicherry, which was cloſely inveſted and blockaded both by ſea and land: he, therefore, declared, that as in that caſe it was contrary to the law of nations for any neutral power to relieve or ſuccour the beſieged, he was determined to ſeiſe any veſſel that ſhould attempt to throw proviſions into the place.

While the arms of Great-Britain ſtill proſpered in every effort tending to the real intereſt of the nation, an event happended, which, for a moment, obſcured the ſplendor of her triumphs; and could not but be very alarming to thoſe German allies, whom her liberality had enabled to maintain an expenſive and ſanguinary war of humour and ambition. On the 25th day of October, George II. king of Great-Britain, without any previous diſorder, was, in the morning, ſuddenly ſeiſed with the agony of death, at the palace at Kenſington. He had riſen at his uſual hour, drunk his chocolate, and enquired about the wind, as anxious for the arrival of the foreign mails; then he opened a window of his apartment, and perceiving the weather was ſerene, declared he would walk in the garden. In a few minutes after this declaration, while he remained alone in his chamber, he fell down upon the floor; the noiſe of his fall brought his attendants into the room, who lifted him on the bed, where he deſired, in a faint voice, that the princeſs Amelia might be called; but before ſhe could reach the apartment he had expired. An attempt was made to bleed him, but without effect; and indeed his malady was far beyond the reach of art: for when the cavity of the thorax or cheſt was opened, and inſpected by the ſerjeant-ſurgeons, they found the right ventricle of the heart actually ruptured, and a great quantity of blood diſcharged through the aperture into the ſurrounding pericardium; ſo that he muſt have died inſtantaneouſly, in conſequence of the effuſion. The caſe, however, was ſo extraordinary, that we queſtion whether there is ſuch another inſtance upon record.—A rupture of this nature appears the more remarkable, as it happened to a prince of a healthy conſtitution, unaccuſtomed to exceſs, and far advanced beyond that period of life, when the blood might be ſuppoſed to flow with a dangerous impetuoſity.

Thus died George II. at the age of 77, after a long reign of 34 years, diſtinguiſhed by a variety of important events, and chequered with a viciſſitude of character and fortune. He was in his perſon rather lower than the middle ſize, well ſhaped, erect, with eyes remarkably prominent, a high noſe, and fair complexion. In his diſpoſition he is ſaid to have been haſty, prone to anger, eſpecially in his youth, yet ſoon appeaſed; otherwiſe mild, moderate, and humane: in his way of living temperate, regular, and ſo methodical in every branch of private œconomy, that his attention deſcended to objects which a great king (perhaps) had better overlook. He was fond of military pomp and parade; and perſonally brave. He loved war as a ſoldier; he ſtudied it as a ſcience; and correſponded on this ſubject with ſome of the greateſt officers whom Germany has produced. The extent of his underſtanding, and the ſplendor of his virtue, we ſhall not preſume to aſcertain, or attempt to diſplay; we rather wiſh for opportunities to expatiate on his munificence and liberality; his generous regard to genius and learning; his royal encouragement and protection of thoſe arts by which a nation is at once beneſited and adorned. With reſpect to his government, it very ſeldom deviated from the inſtitutions of law; or encroached upon private property; or interferred with the common adminiſtration of juſtice. The circumſtances that chiefly marked his public character, were a predilection for his native country, and a cloſe attention to the political intereſts of the Germanick body: points and principles to which he adhered with the moſt invincible fortitude; and if ever the blood and treaſure of Great-Britain were ſacrificed to theſe conſiderations, we ought not ſo much to blame the prince, who acted from the dictates of natural affection, as we ſhould deteſt a ſucceſſion of venal miniſters, all of whom in their turns devoted themſelves, ſoul and body, to the gratification of his paſſion, or partiality, ſo prejudicial to the true intereſt of their country.

The reign of George II. produced many revolutions, as well in the internal ſchemes of œconomy and adminiſtration, as in the external projects of political connexions; revolutions that expoſed the frailties of human nature, and demonſtrated the inſtability of ſyſtems founded upon convenience. In the courſe of this reign a ſtanding army was, by dint of miniſterial influence, engraſted on the conſtitution of Great-Britain. A fatal ſtroke was given to the liberty of the preſs, by the act ſubjecting all dramatic writings to the inſpection of a licenſer. The great machine of corruption, contrived to ſecure a conſtant majority in parliament, was overturned, and the inventor of it obliged to quit the reins of government. Profeſſed patriots reſigned the principles they had long endeavoured to eſtabliſh, and liſted themſelves for the defence of that fortreſs againſt which their zeal and talents had been levelled. The management of a mighty kingdom was conſigned into the hands of a motley adminiſtration, miniſters without knowledge, and men without integrity, whoſe councils were timid, weak, and wavering; whoſe folly and extravagance expoſed the nation to ridicule and contempt; by whoſe ignorance and preſumption it was reduced to the verge of ruin. The kingdom was engaged in a quarrel truely national, and commenced a neceſſary war on national principles; but that war was ſtarved, and the chief ſtrength of the nation transferred to the continent of Europe, in order to maintain an unneceſſary war, in favour of a family whoſe pride and ambition can be equalled by nothing but its inſolence and ingratitude. While the ſtrength of the nation was thus exerted abroad for the ſupport of worthleſs allies, and a dangerous rebellion raged in the bowels of the kingdom, the ſovereign was inſulted by his miniſters, who deſerted his ſervice at that critical juncture, and refuſed to reſume their functions, until he had truckled to their petulant humour, and diſmiſſed a favourite ſervant, of whoſe ſuperior talents they were meanly jealous. Such an unprecedent ſeceſſion at any time would have merited the imputation of inſolence; but at that period, when their ſovereign was perplexed and embarraſſed by a variety of dangers and difficulties; when his crown, and even his life, was at ſtake, to throw up their places, abandon his councils, and, as far as in them lay, detach themſelves from his fortune, was a ſtep ſo likely to aggravate the diſorder of the nation, ſo big with cruelty, ingratitude, and ſedition, that it ſeems to deſerve an appellation which, however, we do not think proper to beſtow. An inglorious war was ſucceeded by an ignominious peace, which proved of ſhort duration; yet in this interval the Engliſh nation exhibited ſuch a proof of commercial opulence, as aſtoniſhed all Europe. At the cloſe of a war which had drained it of ſo much treaſure, and increaſed the public debt to an enormous burthen, it acquieſced under ſuch a reduction of intereſt as one would hardly think the miniſtry durſt have propoſed, even before one half of the national debt was con-

your own fault—don't forget ſome ſmall chelingoes alſo—offer great re- . . . in four days I expect 17,000 Mahrattas.—In ſhort, riſque all—attempt all,—force all, and ſend us ſome rice, ſhould it be but half a garſe at a time.

tracted. A much more unpopular ſtep was a law that paſſed for naturalizing the Jews—a law ſo odious to the people in general, that it was ſoon repealed, at the requeſt of that miniſter by whom it had been chiefly patroniſed. An ill-concerted peace was in a little time productive of freſh hoſtilities, and another war with France, which Britain began to proſecute under unfavourable auſpices. Then the whole political ſyſtem of Germany was inverted. The king of England abandoned the intereſt of that houſe which he had in the former war ſo warmly eſpouſed, and took into his boſom a prince whom he had formerly conſidered as his inveterate enemy. The unpropitious beginning of this war againſt France being imputed to the miſconduct of the adminiſtration, excited ſuch a ferment among the people, as ſeemed to threaten a dangerous inſurrection. Every part of the kingdom reſounded with the voice of diſſatisfaction, which did not even reſpect the throne. The king found himſelf obliged to accept of a miniſter preſented by the people, and this meaſure was attended with conſequences as favourable as his wiſh could form. From that inſtant all clamour was huſhed; all oppoſition ceaſed. The enterprizing ſpirit of the new miniſter ſeemed to diffuſe itſelf through all the operations of the war; and conqueſt every where attended the efforts of the Britiſh arms. Now appeared the fallacy of thoſe maxims, and the falſehood of thoſe aſſertions, by which former miniſters had eſtabliſhed and endeavoured to excuſe the practices of corruption. The ſuppoſed diſaffection, which had been inſiſted on as the ſource of parliamentary oppoſition, now entirely vaniſhed; nor was it found neceſſary to uſe ſiniſter means for ſecuring a majority, in order to anſwer the purpoſes of the adminiſtration. England, for the firſt time, ſaw a miniſter of ſtate in full poſſeſſion of popularity. Under the auſpices of this miniſter, it ſaw a national militia formed, and trained to diſcipline by the invincible ſpirit of a few patriots, who purſued this ſalutary meaſure in the face of unwearied oppoſition, diſcouraged by the jealouſy of a court, and ridiculed by all the venal retainers to a ſtanding army. Under his miniſtry it ſaw the military genius of Great-Britain revive, and ſhine with redoubled luſtre; it ſaw her intereſt and glory co-incide, and an immence extent of country added by conqueſt to her dominions. The people, confiding in the integrity and abilities of their own miniſter, and elevated by the repeated ſounds of triumph, became enamoured of the war, and granted ſuch liberal ſubſidies for its ſupport, as no other miniſter would have preſumed to aſk, as no other nation believed they could afford. Nor did they murmur at ſeeing great part of their treaſure diverted into foreign channels; nor did they ſeem to beſtow a ſerious thought on the accumulating load of the national debt, which already exceeded the immenſe ſum of one hundred millions.

In a word, they were intoxicated with victory; and as the king happened to die in the midſt of their tranſports occaſioned by the final conqueſt of Canada, their good humour garniſhed his character with a prodigality of encomiums. A thouſand pens were drawn to paint the beauties and ſublimity of his character, in poetry as well as proſe. They extolled him above Alexander in courage and heroiſm, above Auguſtus in liberality, Titus in clemency, Antoninus in piety and benevolence, Solomon in wiſdom, and St. Edward in devotion. Such hyperbolical eulogiums ſerved only to throw a ridicule upon a character, which was otherwiſe reſpectable. The two univerſities vied with each other in lamenting his death, and each publiſhed a huge collection of elegies on the ſubject: nor did they fail to exalt his praiſe, with the warmeſt expreſſions of affection and regret, in the compliments of condolance and congratulation which they preſented to his ſucceſſor. The ſame panegyric and pathos appeared in all the addreſſes with which every other community in the kingdom approached the throne of our preſent ſovereign; inſomuch, that we may venture to ſay, no prince was ever more popular at the time of his deceaſe. The Engliſh are naturally warm and impetuous; and, in generous natures, affection is as apt as any other paſſion to run riot. The ſudden death of the king was lamented as a national misfortune by many, who felt a truely filial affection for their country; not that they implicitly ſubſcribed to all the exaggerated praiſe which had been ſo liberally poured forth on his character; but becauſe the nation was deprived of him at a critical juncture, while involved in a dangerous and expenſive war, of which he had been perſonally the chief mover and ſupport. They knew the burthen of royalty devolved upon a young prince, who, though heir apparent to the crown, and already arrived at years of maturity, had never been admitted to any ſhare of the adminiſtration, nor made acquainted with any ſchemes or ſecrets of ſtate. The real character of the new king was very little known to the generality of the nation. They dreaded an abrupt change of meaſures, which might have rendered uſeleſs all the advantages obtained in the courſe of the war. As they were ignorant of his connexions, they dreaded a revolution in the miniſtry, which might fill the kingdom with clamour and confuſion. But the greateſt ſhoc occaſioned by his deceaſe was undoubtedly among our allies and fellow-ſubjects in Germany, who ſaw themſelves ſuddenly deprived of their ſole prop and patron, at a time when they could not pretend, of themſelves, to make head againſt the numerous enemies by whom they were ſurrounded. But all theſe doubts and apprehenſions vaniſhed like miſts before the riſing ſun; and the people of Great-Britain enjoyed the inexpreſſible pleaſure of ſeeing their loſs repaired in ſuch a manner as muſt have amply fulfilled the moſt ſanguine wiſh of every friend to his country.

The commerce of Great-Britain continued to increaſe during the whole courſe of this reign; but this increaſe was not the effect of extraordinary encouragement. On the contrary, the neceſſities of government, the growing expences of the nation, and the continual augmentation of the public debt, obliged the legiſlature to hamper trade with manifold and grievous impoſitions: its increaſe, therefore, muſt have been owing to the natural progreſs of induſtry and adventure extending themſelves to that farthest line or limit beyond which they will not be able to advance: when the tide of traffic has flowed to its higheſt mark, it will then begin to recede in a gradual ebb, until it is ſhrunk within the narrow limits of its original channel. War, which naturally impedes the traffic of other nations, had opened new ſources to the merchants of Great-Britain: the ſuperiority of her naval power had cruſhed the navigation of France, her great rival in commerce, ſo that ſhe now ſupplied, on her own terms, all thoſe foreign markets, at which, in time of peace, ſhe was underſold by that dangerous competitor. Thus her trade was augmented to a ſurpriſing pitch; and this great augmentation alone enabled her to maintain the war at ſuch an enormous expence. As this advantage will ceaſe when the French are at liberty to re-eſtabliſh their commerce, and proſecute it without moleſtation, it would be for the intereſt of Great-Britain to be at continual variance with that reſtleſs neighbour provided the conteſt could be limited to the operations of a ſea-war, in which England would be always invincible and victorious.

The powers of the human mind were freely and fully exerciſed in this reign. Conſiderable progreſs was made in mathematics and aſtronomy by divers individuals; among whom we number Sanderſon, Bradley, Maclaurin, Smith, and the two Simpſons. Natural philoſophy became a general ſtudy, and the new doctrine of electricity grew into faſhion. Different methods were diſcovered for rendering ſea-water potable and ſweet; and divers uſeful hints were communicated to the public by the learned doctor Stephen Hales, who directed all his reſearches and experiments to the benefit of ſociety. The ſtudy of alchemy no longer prevailed; but the art of chemiſtry was perfectly underſtood, and aſſiduouſly applied to the purpoſes of ſophiſtication. The clergy of Great-Britain were generally learned, pious, and exemplary. Sherlock, Hoadley, Secker, and Conybeare were promoted to the firſt dignities of the church. Warburton, who had long ſignalized himſelf by the ſtrength and boldneſs of his genius, his extenſive capacity, and profound erudition, at length obtained the mitre. But theſe promotions were granted to reaſons of ſtate convenience, and perſonal intereſt, rathar than as rewards of extraordinary merit. Many other eccleſiaſtics of worth and learning were totally overlooked. Nor was eccleſiaſtical merit confined to the eſtabliſhed church. Many inſtances of extraordinary genius, unaffected piety, and univerſal moderation, appeared among the diſſenting miniſters of Great-Britain and Ireland: among theſe we particularize the elegant, the primitive Foſter; the learned, ingenious, and penetrating Leland.

The progreſs of reaſon, and free cultivation of the human mind, had not, however, entirely baniſhed thoſe ridiculous ſects and ſchiſms of which the kingdom had been formerly ſo productive. Impoſture and fanaticiſm ſtill hung upon the ſkirts of religion. Weak minds were ſeduced by the deluſions of a ſuperſtition ſtiled methodiſm, raiſed upon the affectation of ſuperior ſanctity, and main-

tained by pretenſions to divine illumination. Many thouſands in the lower ranks of life were infected with this ſpecies of enthuſiaſm, by the unwearied endeavours of a few obſcure preachers, ſuch as Whitfield, and the two Weſleys, who propogated their doctrines to the moſt remote corners of the Britiſh dominions, and found means to lay the whole kingdom under contribution. Fanaticiſm alſo formed a league with falſe philoſophy. One Hutchinſon, a viſionary, intoxicated with the fumes of rabbinical learning, pretended to deduce all demonſtration from Hebrew roots, and to confine all human knowledge to the five books of Moſes. His diſciples became numerous after his death. With the methodiſts, they denied the merit of good works; and bitterly inveighed againſt Newton as an ignorant pretender, who had preſumed to ſet up his own ridiculous chimæras in oppoſition to the ſacred philoſophy of the Pentateuch. But the moſt extraordinary ſect which diſtinguiſhed this reign was that of the moravians, or hernhutters, imported from Germany by count Zinzendorf, who might have been termed the Melchizedeck of his followers, inaſmuch as he aſſumed among them the threefold character of prophet, prieſt, and king. They could not be ſo properly ſtiled a ſect, as the diſciples of an original, who had invented a new ſyſtem of religion. Their chief adoration was paid to the Second Perſon in the Trinity: the Firſt they treated with the moſt ſhocking neglect. Some of their tenets were blaſphemous, ſome indecent, and others ridiculouſly abſurd. Their diſcipline was a ſtrange mixture of devotion and impurity. Their exterior worſhip conſiſted of hymns, prayers, and ſermons; the hymns extremely ludicrous, and often indecent, alluding to the ſide-hole or wound which Chriſt received from a ſpear in his ſide while he remained upon the croſs. Their ſermons frequently contained very groſs incentives to the work of propagation. Their private exerciſes are ſaid to have abounded with ſuch rites and myſteries as we cannot explain with any regard to decorum. They profeſſed a community of goods, and were governed as one family, in temporals as well as ſpirituals, by a council, or kind of preſbytery, in which the count, as their ordinary, preſided. In caſes of doubt, or great conſequence, theſe pretended to conſult the Saviour, and to decide from immediate inſpiration; ſo that they boaſted of being under the immediate direction of a Theocracy; though, in fact, they were ſlaves to the moſt dangerous kind of deſpotiſm: for as often as any individual of the community pretended to think for himſelf, or differ in opinion from the ordinary and his band of aſſociates, the oracle decreed that he ſhould be inſtantly ſent upon the miſſion which they had fixed in Greenland, or to the colony they had eſtabliſhed in Pennſylvania. As theſe religioniſts conſiſted chiefly of manufacturers, who appeared very ſober, orderly, and induſtrious; and their chief declared his intention of proſecuting works of public emolument, they obtained a ſettlement under a parliamentary ſanction in England, where they ſoon made a conſiderable number of proſelytes, before their principles were fully diſcovered and explained.

Many ingenious treatiſes on metaphyſics and morality appeared in the courſe of this reign, and a philoſophical ſpirit of enquiry diffuſed itſelf to the fartheſt extremities of the united kingdom. Though few diſcoveries of importance were made in medicine, yet that art was well underſtood in all its different branches, and many of its profeſſors diſtinguiſhed themſelves in other provinces of literature. Beſides the medical eſſays of London and Edinburgh, the phyſician's library was enriched with many uſeful modern productions; with the works of the claſſical Friend, the elegant Mead, the accurate Huxham, and the philoſophical Pringle. The art of midwifery was elucidated by ſcience, reduced to fixed principles, and almoſt wholly conſigned into the hands of men practitioners. The reſearches of anatomy were proſecuted to ſome curious diſcoveries, by the ingenuity and dexterity of a Hunter and a Munro. The numerous hoſpitals in London contributed to the improvement of ſurgery, which was brought to perfection under the auſpices of a Cheſelden and a Sharpe. The advantages of agriculture, which had long flouriſhed in England, extended themſelves gradually to the moſt remote and barren provinces of the iſland.

The mechanic powers were well underſtood, and judiciouſly applied to many uſeful machines of neceſſity and convenience. The mechanical arts had attained to all that perfection which they were capable of acquiring; but the avarice and oppreſſion of contractors obliged the handicraftſman to exert his ingenuity, not in finiſhing his work well, but in affording it cheap; in purchaſing bad materials, and performing his taſk in a hurry; in concealing flaws, ſubſtituting ſhow for ſolidity, and ſacrificing reputation to the thirſt of lucre. Thus, many of the Engliſh manufactures, being found ſlight and unſerviceable, grew into diſcredit abroad; thus the art of producing them more perfect may in time be totally loſt at home. The cloths now made in England are inferior in texture and fabric to thoſe which were manufactured in the beginning of the century; and the ſame judgment may be pronounced upon almoſt every article of hardware. The razors, knives, ſciſſars, hatchets, ſwords, and other edge-utenſils, prepared for exportation, are generally ill-tempered, half-finiſhed, flawed or brittle; and the muſkets, which are ſold for ſeven or eight ſhillings a-piece to the exporter, ſo careleſsly and unconſcientiouſly prepared, that they cannot be uſed without imminent danger of mutilation; accordingly, one hardly meets with a negro man upon the coaſt of Guinea, in the neighbourhood of the Britiſh ſettlements, who has not been wounded or maimed in ſome manner, by the burſting of the Engliſh fire-arms. The advantages of this traffic, carried on at the expence of character and humanity, will naturally ceaſe, whenever thoſe Africans can be ſupplied more honeſtly by the traders of any other nation.

Genius in writing ſpontaneouſly aroſe, and though neglected by the great, flouriſhed under the culture of a public which had pretenſions to taſte, and piqued itſelf on encouraging literary merit. Swift and Pope we have mentioned on another occaſion. Young ſtill ſurvived, a venerable monument of poetical talents. Thomſon, the poet of the Seaſons, diſplayed a luxuriancy of genius in deſcribing the beauties of nature. Akenſide and Armſtrong excelled in didactic poetry. Even the Epopœa did not diſdain an Engliſh dreſs, but appeared to advantage in the Leonidas of Glover, and the Epigoniad of Wilkie. The public acknowledged a conſiderable ſhare of dramatic merit in the tragedies of Young, Mallet, Home, and ſome other leſs diſtinguiſhed authors. Very few regular comedies, during this period, were exhibited on the Engliſh theatre, which, however, produced many leſs laboured pieces, abounding with ſatire, wit, and humour. The Careleſs Huſband of Cibber, and Suſpicious Huſband of Hoadly, are the only comedies of this age that bid fair for reaching poſterity. The exhibition of the ſtage were improved to the moſt exquiſite entertainment by the talents and management of Garrick, who greatly ſurpaſſed all his predeceſſors of this, and perhaps every other nation, in his genius for acting; in the ſweetneſs and variety of his tones, the irreſiſtible magic of his eye; the fire and vivacity of his action, the elegance of attitude, and the whole pathos of expreſſion. Quin excelled in dignity and declamation, as well as in exhibiting ſome characters of humour, equally exquiſite and peculiar. Mrs. Cibber breathed the whole ſoul of female tenderneſs and paſſion, and Mrs. Pritchard diſplayed all the dignity of diſtreſs. That Great-Britain was not barren of poets at this period appears from the detached performances of Johnſon, Maſon, Gray, the two Whiteheads, and the two Wartons, beſides a great number of other bards, who have ſported in lyric poetry, and acquired the applauſe of their fellow-citizens. Candidates for literary fame appeared even in the higher ſphere of life, embelliſhed by the nervous ſtile, ſuperior ſenſe, and extenſive erudition of a Corke, by the delicate taſte, the poliſhed muſe, and tender feelings of a Lyttelton. King ſhone unrivalled in Roman eloquence. Even the female ſex diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their taſte and ingenuity. Miſs Carter rivalled the celebrated Dacier in learning and critical knowledge: Mrs. Lennox ſignaliſed herſelf by many ſucceſsful efforts of genius, both in poetry and proſe; and Miſs Reid excelled the celebrated Roſalba in portrait-painting, both in miniature and at large, in oil, as well as in crayons. The genius of Cervantes was transfuſed into the novels of Fielding, who painted the characters, and ridiculed the follies of life with equal ſtrength, humour, and propriety. The field of hiſtory and biography was cultivated by many writers of ability, among whom we diſtinguiſh the copious Guthrie, the circumſtantial Ralph, the laborious Carte, the learned and elegant Robertſon, and above all the ingenious, penetrating, and comprehenſive Hume, whom we rank among the firſt writers of the age, both as an hiſtorian and philoſopher. Nor let us forget the merit conſpicuous in the works of Campbell, remarkable for candour, intelligence, and preciſion. Johnſon, inferior to none in philoſophy, philology, poetry, and claſſical learning, ſtand foremoſt as an eſſayiſt, juſtly

admired for the dignity, ſtrength, and variety of his ſtile, as well as for the agreeable manner in which he inveſtigates the human heart, tracing every intereſting emotion, and opening all the ſources of morality. The laudable aim of inliſting the paſſions on the ſide of virtue was ſucceſsfully purſued by Richardſon, in his Pamela, Clariſſa, and Grandiſon; a ſpecies of writing equally new and extraordinary, where, mingled with much ſuperfluity, we find a ſublime ſyſtem of ethics, an amazing knowledge and command of human nature. Many of the Greek and Roman claſſics made their appearance in Engliſh tranſlations, which were favourably received as works of merit; among theſe we place, after Pope's Homer, Virgil by Pitt and Warton, Horace by Francis, Polybius by Hampton, and Sophocles by Franklin. The war introduced a variety of military treatiſes, chiefly tranſlated from the French language; and a free country, like Great-Britain, will always abound with political tracts and lucubrations. Every literary production of merit, calculated for amuſement or inſtruction, that appeared in any country or language of Chriſtendom was immediately imported, and naturaliſed among the Engliſh people. Never was the purſuit after knowledge ſo univerſal, or literary merit more regarded, than at this juncture by the body of the Britiſh nation; but it was honoured by no attention from the throne, and little indulgence did it reap from the liberality of particular patrons. The reign of queen Anne was propitious to the fortunes of Swift and Pope, who lived in all the happy pride of independence. Young, ſequeſtered from courts and preferment, poſſeſſed a moderated benefice in the country, and employed his time in a conſcientious diſcharge of his eccleſiaſtical functions. Thomſon, with the moſt benevolent heart that ever warmed the human breaſt, maintained a perpetual war with the difficulties of a narrow fortune. He enjoyed a place in Chancery by the bounty of lord Talbot, of which he was diveſted by the ſucceeding chancellor. He afterwards enjoyed a ſmall penſion from Frederick prince of Wales, which was withdrawn in the ſequel. About two years before his death, he obtained, by the intereſt of his friend lord Lyttelton, a comfortable place; but he did not live to taſte the bleſſing of eaſy circumſtances, and died in debt [t]. None of the reſt whom we have named enjoyed any ſhare of the royal bounty, except W. Whitehead, who ſucceeded to the place of laureat at the death of Cibber; and ſome of them, whoſe merit was the moſt univerſally acknowledged, remained expoſed to all the ſtorms of indigence, and all the ſtings of mortification. While the queen lived, ſome countenance was given to learning. She converſed with Newton, and correſponded with Leibnitz. She took pains to acquire popularity; the royal family, on certain days, dined in public, for the ſatisfaction of the people: the court was animated with a freedom of ſpirit and vivacity, which rendered it at once brilliant and agreeable. At her death that ſpirit began to languiſh, and a total ſtagnation of gaiety and good-humour enſued. It was ſucceeded by a ſullen calm, an ungracious reſerve, and a ſtill rotation of inſipid forms [u].

England was not defective in other arts that embelliſh and amuſe. Muſic became a faſhionable ſtudy, and its profeſſors were generally careſſed by the public. An Italian opera was maintained at a great expence, and well ſupplied with foreign performers. Private concerts were inſtituted in every corner of the metropolis. The compoſitions of Handel were univerſally admired, and he himſelf lived in affluence. It muſt be owned at the ſame time, that Geminiani was neglected, though his genius commanded eſteem and veneration. Among the few natives of England who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their talents in this art, Green, Howard, Arne, and Boyce, were the moſt remarkable.

The Britiſh ſoil, which had hitherto been barren in the article of painting, now produced ſome artiſts of extraordinary merit. Hogarth excelled all the world in exhibiting the ſcenes of ordinary life; in humour, character, and expreſſion. Hayman became eminent for hiſtorical deſigns and converſation pieces. Reynols and Ramſay diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their ſuperior merit in portraits; a branch that was ſucceſsfully cultivated by many other Engliſh painters. Wootton was famous for repreſenting live animals in general; Seymour for race-horſes; Lambert, and the Smiths, for land-ſcapes; and Scot for ſea-pieces. Several ſpirited attempts were made on hiſtorical ſubjects, but little progreſs was made in the ſublime parts of painting. Eſſays of this kind were diſcouraged by a falſe taſte, founded upon a reprobation of Britiſh genius. The art of engraving was brought to perfection by Strange, and laudably practiſed by Grignion, Baron, Ravenet, and ſeveral other maſters; great improvements were made in mezzotinto, miniature, and enamel. Many fair monuments of ſculpture or ſtatuary were raiſed by Ryſbrach, Roubilliac, and Wilton. Architecture which had been cheriſhed by the elegant taſte of a Burlington, ſoon became a favourite ſtudy; and many magnificent edifices were reared in different parts of the kingdom. Ornaments were carved in wood, and moulded in ſtucco, with all the delicacy of execution, but a paſſion for novelty had introduced into gardening, building, and furniture, an abſurd Chineſe taſte, equally void of beauty and convenience. Improvements in the liberal and uſeful arts will doubtleſs be the conſequence of that encouragement given to merit by the ſociety inſtituted for theſe purpoſes which we have deſcribed on another occaſion. As for the Royal Society, it ſeems to have degenerated in its reſearches, and to have had very little ſhare, for half a century at leaſt, in extending the influence of true philoſophy.

We ſhall conclude this reign with a detail of the forces and fleets of Great-Britain, from whence the reader will conceive a juſt idea of her opulence and power.

[t] However he was neglected when living, his memory has been honoured with peculiar marks of public regard, in an ample ſubſcription for a new edition of his works, the profits to be employed in erecting a monument to his fame in Weſtminſter-Abbey; a ſubſcription to which his preſent majeſty king George III. has liberally contributed. The remaining ſurplus was diſtributed among his poor relations.

[u] George II. by his queen Caroline, had two ſons and five daughters who attained the age of maturity. Frederick prince of Wales, father to his preſent majeſty George III. William duke of Cumberland; Anne, the princeſs royal, married to the late prince of Orange, and mother to the preſent ſtadtholder; Mary, landgraviate of Heſſe-Caſſel; Louiſa, late queen of Denmark; Amelia and Carolina who were never married.

BRIEF STATEMENT

Of the ARMIES *and* FLEETS *of* Great-Britain *about the Middle of the Year* 1760.

LAND FORCES.

In GREAT-BRITAIN under Lord Viſcount Ligonier, commander in chief.

2 Troops of Horſe-Guards.
2 ——— Horſe-Grenadiers.
5 Regiments of Dragoons.
3 ——— Foot-guards.
23 ——— Foot.

In IRELAND, under Lieut. Gen. Earl of Rothes, commander in chief.

2 Regiments of Horſe.
8 ——— Dragoons.
17 ——— Foot.

In JERSEY, under Col. Boſcawen.
1 Regiment of Foot.

At GIBRALTER, under Lieut. Gen. Earl of Home, governor.
6 Regiments of Foot.

In GERMANY, under Lieut. Gen. Marquis of Granby, commander in chief.

1 Regiment of Horſe-Guards.
2 ——— Horſe.
3 ——— Dragoon-Guards.
6 ——— Dragoons.
16 ——— Foot.

In garriſon at EMBDEN.
2 Regiments of Highlanders.

In NORTH-AMERICA, under Major-General Amherſt, commander in chief.
21 Regiments of Foot.

In the WEST-INDIES.
5 ½ Regiments of Foot.

In AFRICA.
2 Regiments of Foot.

In the EAST-INDIES.
4 Battalions of Foot.

Total: 31 Regiments of Horſe and Dragoons.
97 ——— Foot.

Beſides theſe, Great-Britain maintained Hanoverian, Heſſian, and other German auxiliaries, to the amount of 60,000.

NAVY.

At or near home, under Sir Edward Hawk, Admiral Boſcawen, &c.

		Guns.			Guns.
3	Ships of	100	5	Ships of	70
6	———	90	1	———	66
1	———	84	8	———	64
3	———	80	12	———	60
13	———	74	10	———	50

In the EAST-INDIES, under Vice-Admiral Pocoke.

		Guns.			Guns.
2	Ships of	74	7	Ships of	60
1	———	68	1	———	58
1	———	66	3	———	50
2	———	64			

In the WEST-INDIES, under Rear-Admiral Holmes.

		Guns.			Guns.
1	Ship of	90	1	Ship of	66
2	———	80	6	———	64
1	———	74	4	———	60
2	———	70	2	———	50
1	———	68			

In NORTH-AMERICA, under Commodore Lord Colville.

		Guns.			Guns.
1	Ship of	74	2	Ships of	64
3	———	70	3	———	60
1	———	66	2	———	50

In the MEDITERRANEAN, under Vice Admiral Saunders.

		Guns.			Guns.
2	ſhips of	90	3	ſhips of	60
1	———	74	3	———	50
1	———	64			

At or near Home	62
In the Eaſt-Indies	17
Weſt-Indies	20
North-America	12
Mediterranean	10
Total	121

Liſt of Men of War, French *and* Engliſh, *taken, ſunk, or caſually loſt,*

From the Year 1755, to the Year 1760.

13 JY 60

FRENCH Ships taken.

		Guns.			Guns.
2	Ships of	84	2	Ships of	32
2	———	74	2	———	28
2	———	66	2	———	26
7	———	64	2	———	24
1	———	50	3	———	22
1	———	48	2	———	20
1	———	44	3	———	16
2	———	40	2	———	12
1	———	38	1	———	10
4	———	36	1	———	8

1706

Ditto deſtroyed.

		Guns.			Guns.
3	Ships of	84	1	Ship of	24
9	———	74	1	———	22
3	———	64	1	———	20
1	———	56	1	———	18
2	———	50	2	———	16
8	———	36	6	———	8
3	———	32			

1730

FRENCH Ships caſually.

		Guns.			Guns.
1	Ship of	74	1	Ship of	34
1	———	70	1	———	32
3	———	64	2	———	28
1	———	56	3	———	24
2	———	50	1	———	20
1	———	44			

786

Deſtroyed	1730
Taken	1706
Total	4222

ENGLISH Ships taken.

		Guns.			Guns.
1	Ship of	60	2	Ships of	12
1	———	50	1	———	10

144

Ditto deſtroyed.

		Guns.			Guns.
1	Ship of	24	1	Ship of	8
2	———	20			

72

Ditto caſually loſt.

		Guns.			Guns.
1	Ship of	90	1	Ship of	30
1	———	80	1	———	28
2	———	74	1	———	24
2	———	64	1	———	20
1	———	60	2	———	8

644

Deſtroyed	72
Taken	144
Total	860

END OF VOL. I. OF TINDAL'S CONTINUATION.

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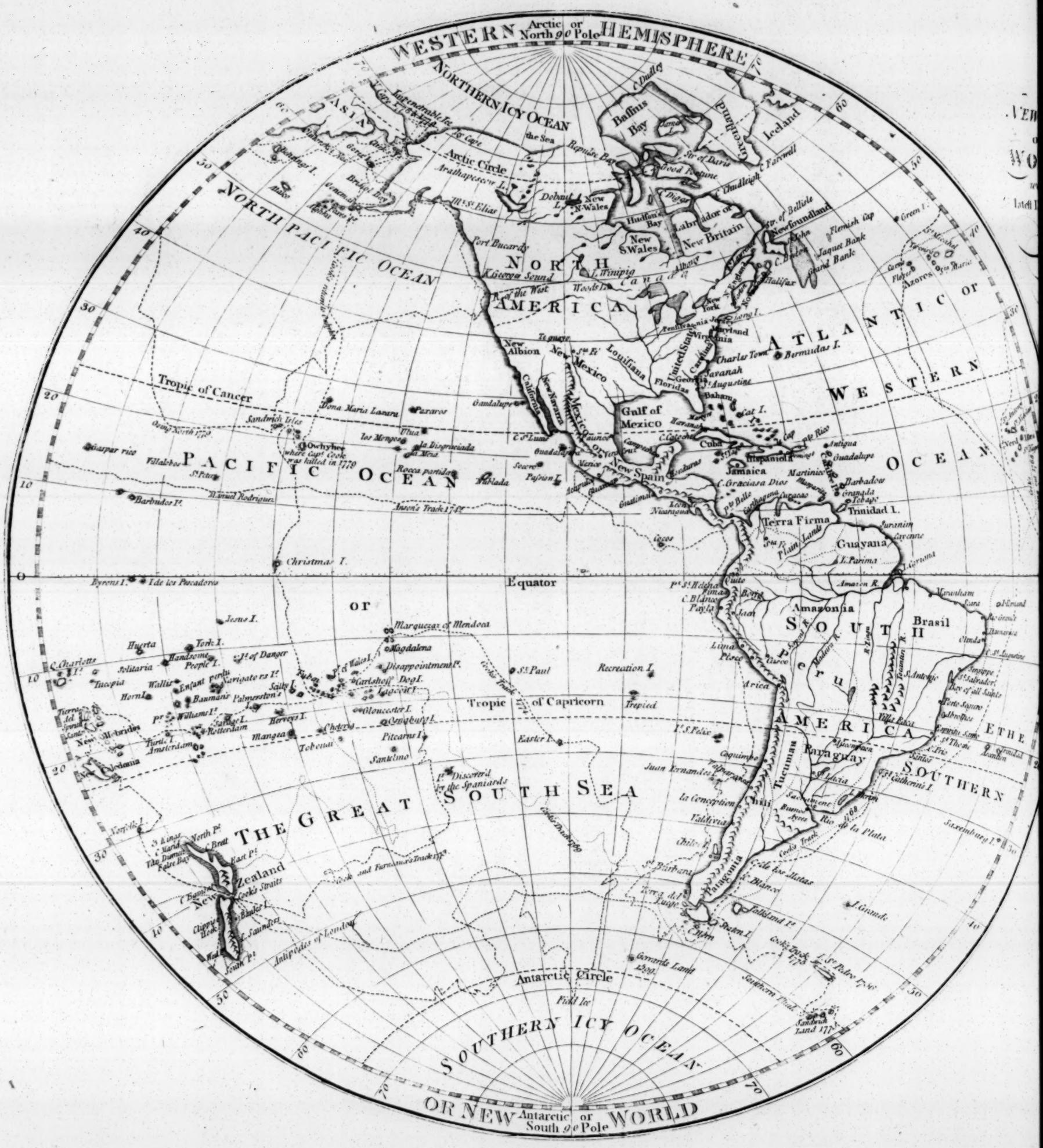

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Fleiborn Capt
Arctic Circle
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Skalholt
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Cape Stadt
Ferro I.
Shetland Is.
Lerwick
Orkney Is.
Pomona I.
Stavanger
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Rotterdam
Brussels
Paris
Rouen
Caen
Cherbourg
Jersey
Guernsey
Alderney
Ouessant
Brest
St Malo
Quimper
Rennes
Nantes
Bay of
BISCAY
Bordeaux
Rochelle
Limoges
Toulouse
Perigueux
Tours
Orleans
Paris
Nevers
Dijon
Strasburg
Basel
Zurich
Bern
SWITZERLAND
Geneva
Alps
Turin
Genoa
G. of Genoa
Nice
Marseille
G. of Lyon
Montpellier
Narbonne
Perpignan
Barcelona
Tarragona
Tortosa
Zaragoza
Pamplona
Burgos
Valladolid
Madrid
SPAIN
Salamanca
Toro
Zamora
Leon
Oviedo
Santillana
Bilboa
St Sebastian
Pau
Capbreux
Bayonne
St Martha
Corunna
Santiago
Compostella
Braga
Oporto
Coimbra
Lisbon
C. de Roca
Setubal
Evora
Badajoz
Seville
Cadiz
Str. of Gibraltar
Gibraltar
Tangier
Ceuta
Malaga
Almeria
Carthagena
Murcia
Alicante
Cordova
Granada
Jaen
Cuenca
Saragossa
Majorca
Minorca
Ivica
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Algeri
Cagliari
Bona
Tunis
Oran
Salle
AFRICA
MEDITERRANEAN
Longit. W. from London.
T. Kitchin Del.
Engraved for Jno. Harris

EUROPE,

Drawn from

the latest and best

Authorities.

ICY SEA
North Cape
North Kyn Cape
Wardochuus
Porsanger
Kola
Kandalax
Polina
Kolguy I.
Candinos I.
Waygats
Pustozerskoi
Osbroy
Grodish
Mezen R.
Mezen
Mezenskoi Mountains
Petzkora R.
Petzkora Mountains
Archangel
Kouvrol
Werchilskoy
Yarensk
Ca. Pernow
Usting Weliki
Dwina R.
Kem
Sema
Lakta
Povenetz
Kargapol
Schenkers koy
Tolm
Khinow
Wologda
Galitsh
Usther's
Belosero
Petrowskie
Kostroma
Yaroslaw
Nishney
Novogrod
Trefna R.
Kama R.
Wolga R.
Oka R.
Moscow
Peresław
Wolodimer
Don R.
Voronetz
Pawlowsk
Kyrsk
Siewsk
Kursk
Sem R.
Tchernicow
Pultawa
Lampol
Donetz R.
Bakamt
Don R.
Afof
Kuban R.
Sea of Afof
Crim
Kaffa
Balaklawa
Mouths of the Danube
Bielgorod
Ozalow
Precop
Dnieper R.
Dniester R.
Jassi
Bender
Prouth R.
Pruth R.
Bukorest
Silistria
Nicopoli
Widin
Berrowa
Pristin
Orbitello
Sophia
Philippopoli
Adrianopoli
Constantinople
Sea of Marmora
The Bosphorus
Dardanelles
Smyrna
Ephesus
Rhodes
Scarpanto
Santorin
Polycandro
Argentiera
Scio
Sciatho
Scyro
Lemnos
Lesbos
Tenedos
Troy
Gallipoli
Durazzo
Contessa
Salonichi
Embro
Strymon
Trajanopoli
Scutari
Ragusa
Uscup
Kraloro
Servia
Belgrade
Sip
Temes vor
Bats
Karlstadt
Gradisk
Essek
Banalucka
Cemender
Tibitz
Sarayo
Orbitello
Argentiera
Piombino
Rossano
St Severino
Squilace
Cape di Spartivento
Morea
Mistra
Modon
Navarin
Zante
Cephalonia
Durazzo
Otranto
Brindisi
Tarento
B. of Tarento
C. di Leuca
Corfu
Ancona
Rimini
Ravenna
Ferrara
Venice
Trieste
Fiume
Segna
Zara
Spalatro
Narenta R.
Ragusa
Cattaro
Durazzo
Scutari
Durazzo
Black Drin R.
Drin R.
Vistula R.
Cracow
Sendomir
Lemberg
Zaslow
Jaroslaw
Lublin
Belz
Chelm
Brzesk
Czartorisk
Wlodawa
Luck
Mirapel
Kiew
Pultawa
Czerkass
Kylow
Winnica
Bracław
Rudak
Terekan R.
Volga R.
Don R.
Donetz R.
Kuban R.
Afof

ASIA,

Drawn from the Latest and best

AUTHORITIES.

NORTH

EUROPEAN TURKEY

BLACK SEA

Constantinople

Crim

Kuban R.

Azof

Don R.

Volga R.

Astracan

Krasnoyar

CASPIAN SEA

Kaffa

Nova Sembla

Str. of Waygats

White Sea

Archangel

Oldenskoi

Obdorskoi

Obi R.

Berezov

Tiumenskoi

Kuiskoi

Atlimsk

Tobolskoi

Samarovskoi

Surgut

Demianskoi

Tomskoi

Yeniseiskoi

Irkutsk

Nertchinskoi

Selenginskoi

Nertchinsk

Argun R.

Amur R.

Okhotskoi

Kamtschatka

Penschinskoi

Anadirskoi

Kolymskoi

Yakutskoi

Lena R.

Yenisei R.

Ob R.

Irtish R.

Tobol R.

Ural R.

Wolga R.

Kama R.

Viatka R.

Moscow

Wolynskoi

Orlau

Kiowo

Tamensk

Kasan

Saratow

Penza

Simbirsk

Menzelinsk

Tumen

Permskoi

Werkoturskoi

Kungoor

Krasnoyarsk

Irkutsk

Nertchinsk

Selenginsk

Okhotsk

Kamtschatka

Penschinsk

Anadirsk

Kolymsk

Yakutsk

OCEAN
Glacial Prom.
Diomedes I.
St Laurence I.
Joanike I.
Arctic Circle
Anadir R.
Anadirskoi Ostrog
Olutorskoi Ostrog
Ost Kamtschatskoi Ostrog
Verkney Kamtschatskoi Ostrog
Nishney Kamtschatskoi Ostrog
Kamtschatka
Sea of Kamtschatca
Penginskoi Ostrog
Tigilskoi Ostrog
Okolskoi Ostrog
Udskoi Ostrog
Aldan R.
Yakutsk
Olekminskoi Ostrog
Slobeda Kirenska
Kirenskoi Ostrog
Lenskoi Ostrog
Yakutsk
Irkuts
Verkhinsk
Udinsk
Seledinsk
Baikal L.
Selinga R.
Orkon R.
Dalay Nor
Parrakotun
Teidsicar
Niman
Tebasi
Sangar R.
Nimgita
Burgonboten
Purin
Uncheonoo
Sandy Desert or Gobi
EASTERN TARTARY
MONGOLS
Kara Koram
Kukukk
Trat
Kara
Shin yang
Arbai
Yarsban
Pekin
Yellow Sea
Kingkitan
Yang Tse
Sea of Korea
Korea
Oki I.
Sado
Yesso I.
Tacapsi
C. Eroeu
Sangaar Str.
Vambu
C. Kennis
Catsima
Tatsisio
Kinsa I.
Sokoko I.
Yunai I.
Meaco
Japan
Amanl
Kayfong
Sin-gan
Honan
Yangchow
Tsongming
Chusan
Vuchang
Nanchang
Kinchen
Yochow
Kingchow
Linkeang
Panking
Yenpin
Fuchow
Tayan
Quey-yang
Quey-ling
Yunan
Kyangsi
Kyangnan
Kuntai
Kanchow
Amoy
Pouhu
Basbi I.
Formosa I.
Tropic of Cancer
Lekeyo I.
Kindobin
Pinnacle I.
Prima
Pasan
Anatachan
Tinian
Guhon
Bolls
Farallon
Patos
St Juan
Malabrigo
MARIANA I.
Kiuchow
Kwangtung
Kwangsi
Tonquin
Gulf of Tonquin
Hainan I.
Tinkin
Yay
Kesay
Faifo
Kemoy
Cochin China
Cambodia
CAMBODIA
CHAMPA
Siam
Gulf of Siam
Andaman Islands
Nicobar Isles
Junselon
Malacca
Malacca Str.
Natuna
Tsiang
Borneo
BORNEO
Pulo Timon
Lei Portune
Nassau I.
Banca
Sincapore
Str. of Sincapore
Pulo Aor
Pulo Pinang
Benjarmassen
Celebes
CELEBES
Macassar
Ora
Salayer
Boutan
MOLO
Cumbaya
Java
Isles of Sunda
Batavia
Sunda Str.
Timor
Timorland
Pulo Laut
Laos
Siam
Ava
Pegu
Arakan
Bengal
Andaman Islands
Nicobar Isles
Philippine Islands
Luconia I.
Manilla
Mindoro
Panay
Sanar I.
Leyta I.
Parago I.
Min danao
Jolo
Basilan
Sooloo I.
Gilolo I.
Morotai
Sanguin
Sapo
Celebes
Ceram
Spice Isles
New Guinea
Arru Isles
Timorland
Pulo Condore
Cape Romania
Cape Comorin
Ceylon
Maldivia
Laccadives
Mahe
Calicut
Goa
Surat
Persian Gulf
Ormus
Muscat
Arabia
Mocha
Red Sea
Babelmandel Str.
Socotra I.
Aden
Abyssinia
Africa
Madagascar
Mozambique
Sofala
Natal
Cape of Good Hope
Table Bay
Cape Agulhas
Saldanha Bay
Falso C.
Diemens Land
Van Diemens Land
Tasmania
New Zealand
New Holland
Terra Australis
Engraved by C. Terry.
95
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BRITISH
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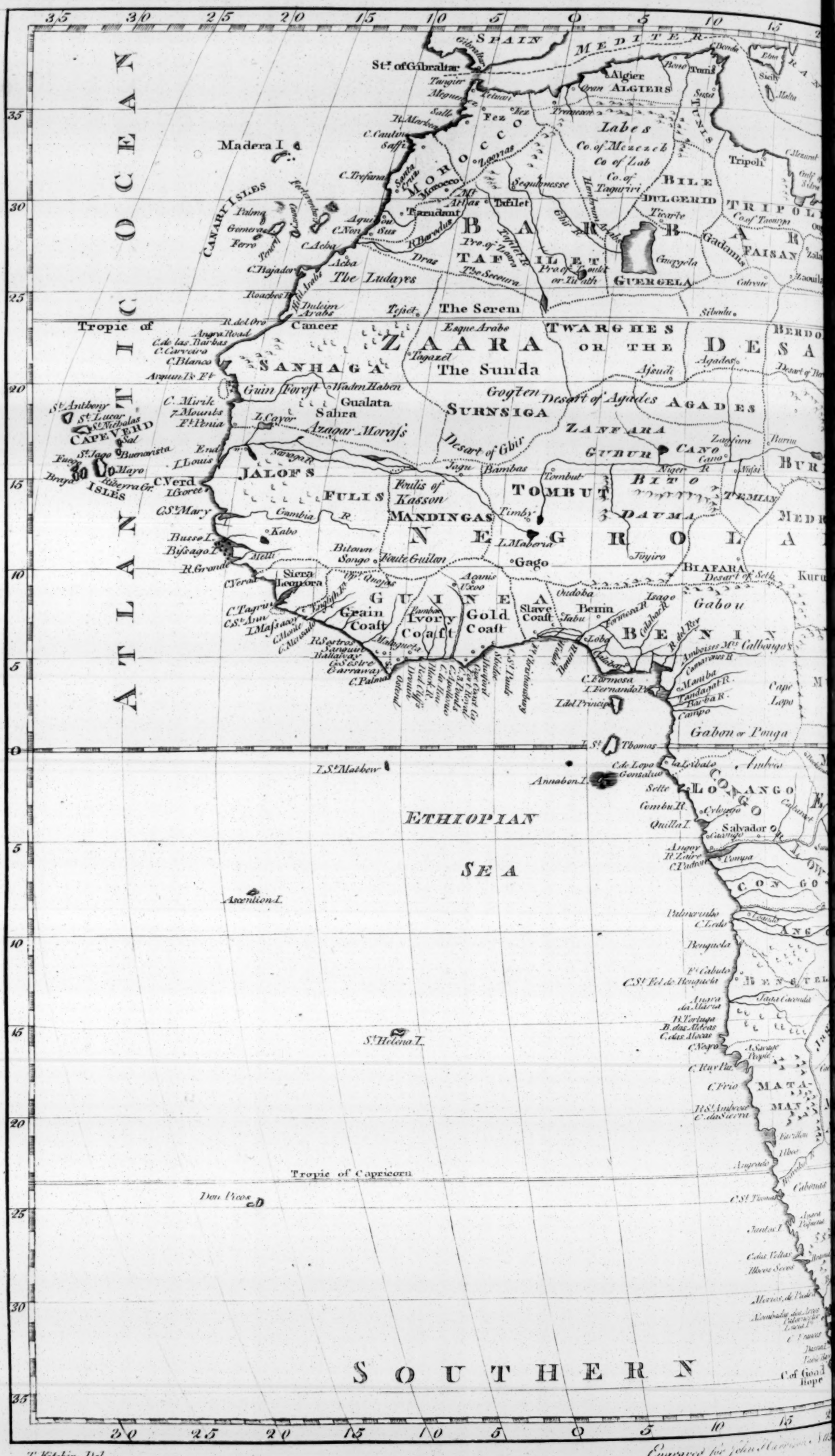
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ETHIOPIAN SEA
SOUTHERN
SPAIN
MEDITER.
St.r of Gibraltar
Gibraltar
Algier
Oran ALGIERS
Tunis
Bona
Tripoli
Malta
Sicily
Madera I.d
CANARY ISLES
Palma
Gomera
Ferro
Teneriffe
Canaria
Fuerteventura
MOROCCO
Fez
Mequinez
Tangier
Tetuan
Salle
Mt Marbeta
C. Cantin
Saffi
C. Trefana
Santa Cruz
Morocco
Mt Atlas
Tafilet
Tarudant
Aguz ou Sus
C. Non
R. Berdoa
C. Acha
Acha
C. Bajador
Roaches
Wild Arabs
Duleim Arabs
The Ludayes
Dras
Tegaza
Labes
Co. of Mezeeh
Co of Lab
Co. of Taguriri
Sequinesse
Hoshmum Arabs
BILEDULGERID
Tiarite
Gadamis
Gauryela
GUERGELA
Fezzan
TRIPOLI
Co. of Taourga
Sibadu
Cabrone
Tropic of Cancer
R. del Oro
Angra Road
C. de las Barbas
C. Carvairo
C. Blanco
Arguin Is.ds
SANHAGA
The Serem
Teffet
Esque Arabs
TWARGHES OR THE ZAARA
Tagazel
The Sunda
Ajsudi
Agades
DESA
Desart of Agades
AGADES
Gogten
SURNSIGA
ZANFARA
Desart of Gbir
GUBUR
CANO
Cano
Zanfara
Burnu
Bambas
Tombut
Niger R.
Wassi
BITO
TOMBUT
TEMIAN
DAUMA
MEDI
Timbo
Foulis of Kasson
MANDINGAS
FULIS
JALOFS
Senega R.
Gambia R.
Kabo
Busse I.
Bissago I.
Melli
R. Grande
C. Verd
I. Goree
C.S.t Mary
St Anthony
St Lucar
St Nicholas
CAPE VERD
Sal
St Iago
Buenavista
Fuego
Mayo
Brava
Liberra Gr.
ISLES
C. Mirik
Mounts
Ft Penia
Guin Forest
Wadem Haben
Gualata
Sahra
Azuggar Morass
L. Cayor
End
L. Louis
L. Mabera
Timbo
Gago
Tinyiro
BIAFARA
Desart of Sets
Kuru
Sierra Leonora
C. Verd
C. Tagrin
C.S.t Ann
I. Massacre
C. Monte Alegre
R. Sestros
Sangwin
Ballaway
G.o Estre
Barraway
C. Palmas
Mt Apollonia
Agonis
Vxoo
Grain Coast
Ivory Coast
Gold Coast
Slave Coast
Benin
Jabu
Ardra
Formosa R.
Calabar R.
Lobo
Bonny R.
R. del Rey
BENIN
Gabon
Amboises
Mts Callongos
Camaranes R.
Mamba
Tandagat R.
Barba R.
Campo
C. Formosa
I. Fernando Po
I. del Principe
Cape Lopo
Gabon or Ponga
I. St Thomas
C. de Lopo Gonsalvo
I. St Matthew
Annabon I.
Settc
Gombu R.
Quilla I.
Loango
Cabenda
Salvador
Angoy
R. Zaire
C. Padron
Pemba
CONGO
Benguela
C. St Fel. de Benguela
Ascention I.
St Helena I.
Tropic of Capricorn
Don Roos
C. Rux Pta.
C. Frio
MATA-MA
Cabenda
C. of Good Hope
T. Kitchin Del.
Engraved for John Cary

Africa,

Drawn from

the lateſt and beſt,

AUTHORITIES.

ANATOLIA
Greece
Candia
Cyprus
Aleppo
C. Gata
Sydon
Jeruſalem
Alexandria
C. Rosat
C. Brule
Luco
BARCA
Tibah
El'aqh
Mt
Girze
Cairo
Suez
Arſa
Gaza
Girge
Aiat
Ainsais
Lamule
EGYPT
Harque
Cosir
Esouan
Syene
Gr. Cataract
Medina
Mecca
Red Sea
Arabian Gulf
Gaud Ter.
I. de Curia Muria
Kaou
LEVATA
Little Cataract
Nubasses
Derra
Bugiens
Kenus
NUBIA
Kayar
Mocbo
Desart of Nubia
Dongola
Fungi
Barber
GAUGA
Ganga
Ganga L.
Derkut
Balous
Sennar
Dambea
Gondar
Dambea L.
Tigra
Bageinder
Head of the Nile
White R.
Blue R.
GORHAM
ABASSIA
Amare
Kesen
Danakil
Str. of Babelmandel
Mocca
Aden
Salt Mines
Mt Mendale
Zeila
C. Guardafui
Socotora I.
2 Sisters
Abdelcuri
C. de Orsin
Goada
Bandal de Agoa
Torrezella
Badris
Negro's B.
Pustu Matinga
ADEL
Desart coast
AJAN
Balli
Hawache R.
Pega
Lamria L.
Fatagar
Biziamo
Narea
Mts of Gauca
Rodway
Saspara
Cambat
Magnadava R.
Mac
Residence of the King
GALLA
Bida
JINJIRO
ALAOBA
The Cajaros
Arbores
MAGADOXA
Brava
Dubo
C. Basas
Bundal
INDIAN
Equinoctial Line
Rock to
Mosequitos
Angaza
Mt
Mombaſa
Melinda
Mantol
KOKO OR
NZIKO
The Jages
Anthropophages
or Man Eaters
Monsoes
Fungano
Melinda
C. Formoſa
I. Pate
I. Lamo
C. de Juan Mola
I. Pemba
I. Zanzabar
C. Falso
R. Rugbo
I. Monfia
C. del Gada
Melinde
Mombaſa
Mozambique
Meriavi
Mumbos
Prof. the Zimbas
Sacomba
Chicova
Abutua
Gold Mines
MATRUCA
Inhamior
Tete or San Jago
Rede Guana
Baeta
Convent of Dominicans
MONOMOTAPA
Quelere
Monomotapa
Sofala
Limbaye
Manica
Gold Mines
Sedanda
Sofala
R. St Maria
St Sebaſtian
C. Corrientes
Rod. Spirito Santo
Bajaral
Ferd
Chauvea
Mozambique
Channel
St Juan
Mansiadey
Les Sedores
St Vincent
Pte St Jago
Juan L.
Dava
MADAGASCAR I.
Bruce
B. St Auguſtin
Nasumento I.
C. St Maria
Fansberg
B. of Antongil
I. Ibrahim or St Maria
Ivone Pt
Antibate
Mauguerone
C. Lamaraffi
Antavara
Itapoule
Manangara
Manatanga
Anambole
Pte Dauphin
C. Romain
Mauritius I.
Ley Bourbon or Maſcarin
Diego Reis
Das Garacos
Ide Sable
St John of Lisbon
Baxos del Paleram de Perez dos Bambos
Amirante Is.
St Francisco
Francisco Alphonse
OCEAN
St Miguel
St Juan de Nueva
C. Selvas Bum
I. Aſtova
La Malba
Banks of Nazareth
C. Natao
Boamarro
Comora
Fairimbo Fort.
Moelia
Johanna
St Chriſtopher
Abutua
Gold Mines
Inhamior
Tete or San Jago
Rede Guana
Baeta
Convent of Dominicans
MONOMOTAPA
Quelere
Monomotapa
Sofala
Limbaye
Manica
Gold Mines
Sedanda
Sofala
R. St Maria
St Sebaſtian
C. Corrientes
Rod. Spirito Santo
Bajaral
Ferd
R. Vembe or Lake
Babel Agoa
L. St Maria
Inhagua
Chamvuquas
Chamvuquas
HOTTENTOTS
B. St Lucia
C. des Pescadores
Terra dos Naonetas
B. de Natal
Stephens Pt
R. St Chriſtopher
Sonqua
B. de Algoa
OCEAN

Engraved by G. Terry.

Newgate ſtreet. Aug.t 31.t 1787.

North America
Drawn from the lateſt and beſt Authorities.

Longitude West from London.

Arctic Circle

These Parts are unknown

NEW NORTH WALES

Christinaux

and of the Afsiniboils

WESTERN SEA

NEW ALBION

Teguayo & Quivira

Snowy Mountains

The Head of this River is unknown

Black Padoucas

White Padoucas

Panimaha

Kansez

Apaches of Seven Rivers.

Apacheria

Cocomari

Copias

Gulf of California

New Biſcay

NEW LEON

Panuco

Culiacan

Sinaloa

Real of Frayles

Real Nuevo

Parral

Saneca

Durango

Cibuatlan

Culiacan

Chiametlan

Fisher's R.

C. St Lucar

Blue Mts

Snake

Red R.

Mississippi R.

Red L.

Pikes R.

Bourbon R.

Bourbon Lake

Meadows Lake

Great Meadows

Quinipique L.

Pt. Maurepas

Pt. Bourbon

Village

Fondalac

Pt. Charles

Pikes Lake

Mantons R.

Assiniboils R.

Mountain of bright Stones.

River of the West

Discovered by Juan de Fuca

Discovered by Aguilar

Discovered by Francis Drake Anno 1578

Carmel R.

Colorado R.

Rio Grande

Nueces R.

R. Bravo

R. Palmas

Caouita

Esnoval

Panis

Osages

Missouris

Engraved for Jno. Harrison's Atlas

T. Kitchin Del.

BAFFINS BAY
Cumberland I.
Eftimeaux
Repulse Bay
C. Hope
Wager Bay
Strait Duerfort
North Main
C. King Charles
Good Fortune I.
Fretum Hudson
C. Elizabeth
Resolution Is.
Chesterfield Inlet
Barren L.
Nottingham I.
Hudsons Straits
C. Dudley
Rocks
Rankins Inlt
Mansolet I.
C. Hope
C. Walsingham
Hopes B.
Saddle Is.
C. Southampton
HUDSONS
Very Doubtfull Sea.
Davis's Inlt
St Anns B.
Esquimaux B.
BAY
Bakers Dozen
C. Tatham
Wt Penns Mt
Warwers Is.
Richmond Ft
Esquimaux
LABRADOR OR
NEW BRITAIN
Plumbers Factory
Cubbs
NEW SOUTH WALES
Albany R.
Henley Albany Ft
Christinaux Lake
Moose Ft
Peregy R.
Northern Mountains
Lake Acmipigon
Lake Sauteur
Lake Superior
Outabuas
Lake Huron
Outagamis
Sakis
Lake Erie
Mascoutens
Miamis
Pickanillances
Buffaloes Meadows
Mines
Missouris
Osages
Cherakees
Chicasaws
Akansas
SOUTH CAROLINA
Creek Indians
Chactaws
Mobile
Pensacola
WEST FLORIDA
New Orleans
Mississippi
North Cape
GULF OF MEXICO
Cape Florida
Bahama Straits
LUCAYOS or BAHAMA Is
Grenoa Bay
Whale Chan.
Lucayo I.
the Hole in the Rock
Providence
Eleuthera
Ship Chan.
Cat I.
Andros
Tropic of Cancer.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GREENLAND
C. Farewell
Cumberland Str.
Mt Raw leigh.
C. of Gods Mercy.
Fretum Davis
Cumberland Str.
Resolution I.
Frobisher Bay
Meta Incognita
Lady Hills
Frobisher Str.
Hudsons Str.
Very Doubtfull Sea.
Proposed limits of Hudsons Bay.
Jonakannaks
Davis's Inlt
St Anns B.
Esquimaux B.
Esquimaux
LABRADOR OR
NEW BRITAIN
C. Charles
Bell Ile Straits
Qairpon I.
White B.
Penguin I.
C. Bonavista
Trinity B.
C. Race
Great Bank
Richmond Ft
Esquimaux
Pambyar L.
St Johns R.
Studie R.
Factory
Mt Studock Mistaken Ft
Perrilz L.
Tapperts Ft.
Cubbs
Plumbers Factory.
NEW SOUTH WALES
Albany R.
Henley Albany Ft
Christinaux Lake
Moose Ft
Peregy R.
Northern Mountains
Lake Acmipigon
Lake Sauteur
Lake Superior
Outabuas
Lake Huron
Outagamis
Sakis
Lake Erie
Mascoutens
Miamis
Pickanillances
Buffaloes Meadows
Mines
Missouris
Osages
Cherakees
Chicasaws
Akansas
SOUTH CAROLINA
Creek Indians
Chactaws
Mobile
Pensacola
WEST FLORIDA
New Orleans
Mississippi
North Cape
GULF OF MEXICO
Cape Florida
Bahama Straits
LUCAYOS or BAHAMA Is
Gen

BRITISH
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MUSEUM

BRITISH
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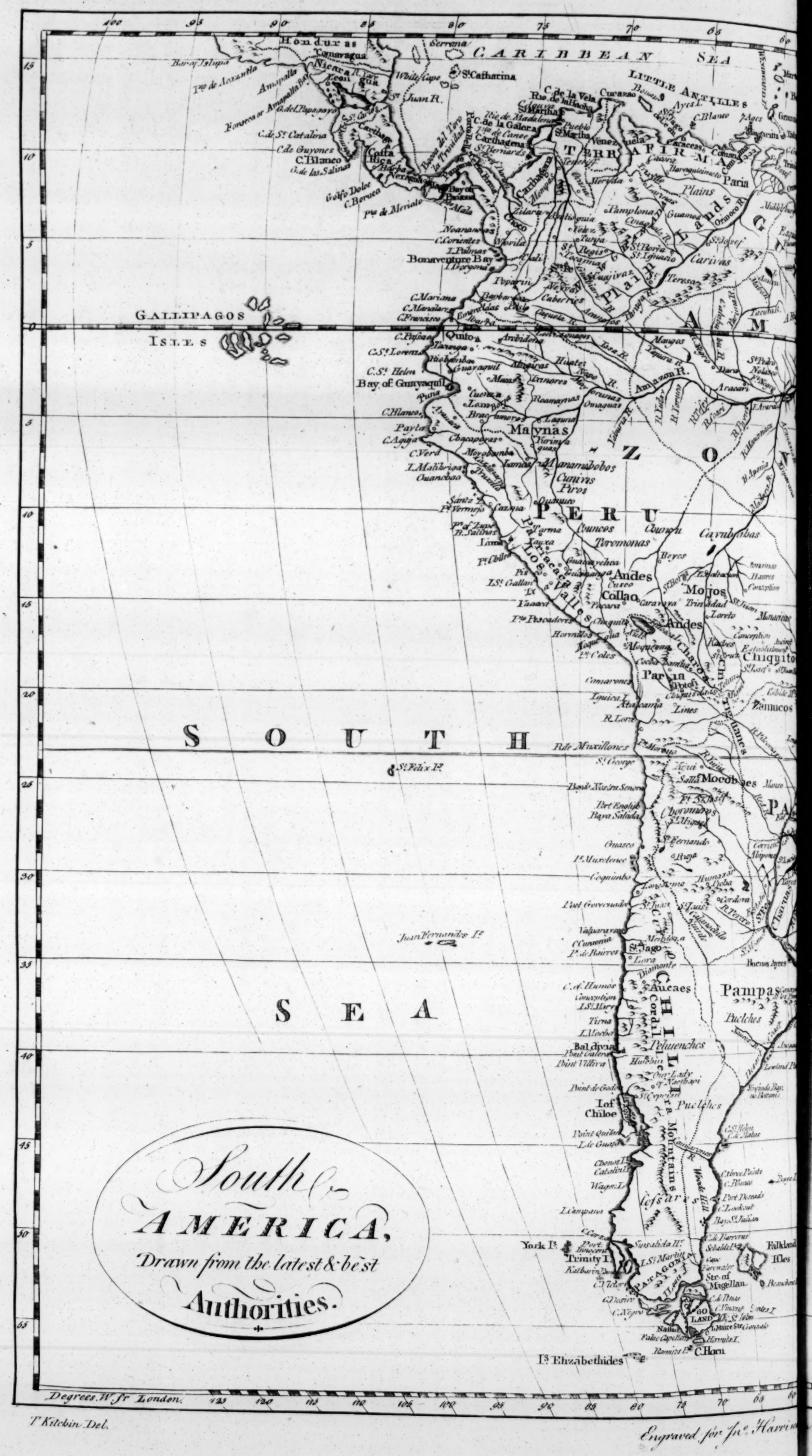
MUSEUM


Honduras
Truxillo
Bay of Islupa
Pto de Alexandria
Amapalla
Amapalla Bay
Fonseca or Amapalla Bay
C. del Papagayo
C. de Guyones
C. Blanco
C. de las Salinas
Golfo Dolce
C. Bonica
Pto de Mariato
GALLIPAGOS
ISLES
C. Pinsas
C. St. Lorenzo
C. St. Helen
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Rio Itenez
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Rio Topayos
Rio Negro
Rio Branco
Rio Parima
Rio Caroni
Rio Apure
Rio Meta
Rio Guaviare
Rio Yupura
Rio Putumayo
Rio Napo
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ATLANTIC

OCEAN

SOUTHERN

OCEAN

CAPE VERD Is.

C. Verd

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Equinoctial Line

Tropic of Capricorn

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Amanibo
Manemanori
Cayenne I. & T.
C. Orange
Mariz Creek
Is. Marasa
North Cape
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R. Arinos
R. Tapicuru
R. Rio Negro
R. Madeira
R. Topayos
R. Xingu
R. Araguari
R. Parnahiba
R. Grand
R. Tocantins
R. Paraguay
R. Tocayo
R. Pitinga
R. Arinos
R. Tapicuru
R. Rio Negro
R. Madeira
R. Topayos
R. Xingu
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